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OF THE

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

FOR

THE YEAR 1895.

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ACT OF INCORPORATION.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Andrew D. White, of Ithaca, in the State of New York; George Bancroft, of Washington, in the District of Columbia; Justin Winsor, of Cambridge, in the State of Massachusetts; William F. Poole, of Chicago, in the State of Illinois; Herbert B. Adams, of Baltimore, in the State of Maryland; Clarence W. Bowen, of Brooklyn, in the State of New York; their associates and successors, are hereby created, in the District of Columbia, a body corporate and politic, by the name of the American Historical Association, for the promotion of historical studies, the collection and preservation of historical manuscripts, and for kindred purposes in the interest of American history and of history in America. Said association is authorized to hold real and personal estate in the District of Columbia so far only as may be necessary to its lawful ends to an amount not exceeding five hundred thousand dollars, to adopt a constitution, and to make by-laws not inconsistent with law. Said association shall have its principal office at Washington, in the District of Columbia, and may hold its annual meetings in such places as the said incorporators shall determine. Said association shall report annually to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution concerning its proceedings and the condition of historical study in America. Said Secretary shall communicate to Congress the whole of such reports, or such portions thereof as he shall see fit. The Regents of the Smithsonian Institution are authorized to permit said association to deposit its collections, manuscripts, books, pamphlets, and other material for history in the Smithsonian Institution or in the National Museum at their discretion, upon such conditions and under such rules as they shall prescribe.

[Approved, January 4, 1889.]

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LETTER OF SUBMITTAL.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
Washington, D. C., February 13, 1896.

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with the act of incorporation of the American Historical Association, approved January 4, 1889, I have the honor to submit to Congress the annual report of said association for the year 1895.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

S. P. LANGLEY,
Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

Hon. ADLAI E. STEVENSON,
President of the Senate.

Hon. THOMAS B. REED,
Speaker of the House.

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION,
Washington, D. C., February 10, 1896.

SIR: In compliance with the act of incorporation of the American Historical Association, approved January 4, 1889, which requires that "said association shall report annually to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution concerning its proceedings and the condition of historical study in America," I have the honor to transmit herewith my general report of the proceedings of the American Historical Association at their eleventh annual meeting, held in Washington, D. C., December 26–27, 1895. The report is prefaced by a list of officers for 1896, a table of contents, and a general summary of proceedings by the secretary. Then follows the inaugural address by the president of the association, Hon. George F. Hoar, with most of the papers that were presented at the meeting. In order to show the condition and progress of historical studies in America a valuable bibliography is appended, representing the work of the historical societies of the various States during the last hundred years.

Very respectfully,

HERBERT B. ADAMS,
Secretary.

DR. S. P. LANGLEY,
Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

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AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

Organized at Saratoga, N. Y., September 10, 1884.

OFFICERS FOR 1886.

President:
RICHARD S. STORRS, D. D., LL. D.,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Vice-Presidents:
JAMES SCHOULER, LL. D.,
Boston, Mass.
GEORGE P. FISHER, D. D., LL. D.,
Professor in Yale University.

Secretary:
HERBERT B. ADAMS, Ph. D., LL. D.,
Professor of History, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

Assistant Secretary and Curator:
A. HOWARD CLARK,
Curator of the Historical Collections, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.

Treasurer:
CLARENCE WINTHROP BOWEN, Ph. D.,
130 Fulton street, New York.

Executive Council:
(In addition to the above named officers.)
Hon. ANDREW D. WHITE, LL. D., L. H. D.,
Ithaca, N. Y.
JUSTIN WINSOR, LL. D.,
Cambridge, Mass.
CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS, LL. D.,
President University of Wisconsin, Madison.
Hon. WILLIAM WIRT HENRY,
Richmond, Va.
JAMES B. ANGELL, LL. D.,
President of the University of Michigan.
HENRY ADAMS,
Washington, D. C.
Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR,
Worcester, Mass.
G. BROWN GOODE, Ph. D., LL. D.,
Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, in charge of the National Museum.
GEORGE B. ADAMS,
Professor of History, Yale University.

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H. MORSE STEPHENS,
Professor of History, Cornell University.
F. J. TURNER, Ph. D.,
Professor of History, University of Wisconsin.

Ex-Presidents:

Hon. ANDREW D. WHITE, LL. D., L. H. D., 1884–85.
† Hon. GEORGE BANCROFT, LL. D., 1885–86.
JUSTIN WINSOR, LL. D., 1886–87.
† WILLIAM F. POOLE, LL. D., 1887–88.
CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS, LL. D., 1888–89.
† Hon. JOHN JAY, LL. D., 1889–90.
Hon. WILLIAM WIRT HENRY, 1890–91.
JAMES B. ANGELL, LL. D., 1891–93.
HENRY ADAMS, 1893–94.
Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR, LL. D., 1894–95.

Ex-Vice-Presidents:

JUSTIN WINSOR, LL. D., 1884–86.
CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS, LL. D., 1884–88.
† WILLIAM F. POOLE, LL. D., 1886–87.
† Hon. JOHN JAY, LL. D., 1887–89.
Hon. WILLIAM WIRT HENRY, 1888–90.
JAMES B. ANGELL, LL. D., 1889–91.
HENRY ADAMS, 1890–93.
EDWARD G. MASON, 1891–93.
Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR, LL. D., 1894–95.

Secretaries:

HERBERT B. ADAMS, Ph. D., LL. D., 1884–
A. HOWARD CLARK, 1889–

Treasurer:

CLARENCE WINTHROP BOWEN, Ph. D., 1884–

Executive Council:

(In addition to the above-named officers.)

WILLIAM B. WEEDEN, A. M., 1884–86.
† CHARLES DEANE, LL. D., 1884–87.
Prof. MOSES COIT TYLER, LL. D., L. H. D., 1884–85.
Prof. EPHRAIM EMERTON, 1884–85.
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† Prof. WILLIAM F. ALLEN, 1885–87.
Hon. WILLIAM WIRT HENRY, 1886–88.
† Hon. RUTHERFORD B. HAYES, LL. D., 1887–88.
Prof. JOHN W. BURGESS, 1887–91.
Prof. ARTHUR M. WHEELER, 1887–89.
Prof. GEORGE P. FISHER, D. D., LL. D., 1888–91.
G. BROWN GOODE, Ph. D., LL. D., 1889–
JOHN GEORGE BOURINOT, LL. D., D. C. L., 1889–94.
Prof. JOHN BACH McMASTER, 1891–94.
Prof. GEORGE B. ADAMS, 1891–

The term of office is indicated by the dates following the name. Deceased officers are marked thus †.

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I.—REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS OF ELEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

WASHINGTON, D. C., DECEMBER 26, 27, 1895.

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REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS OF ELEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

By HERBERT B. ADAMS, Ph. D., Secretary.

The American Historical Association has passed its first decade. Its eleventh annual meeting was held in Washington, D. C., December 26, 27, 1895, at the Columbian University, with headquarters at the Arlington. The short space of time between Christmas, which fell on Wednesday, and the end of the week necessitated the compression of the public exercises within the limit of two days. The programme was so full that it was found expedient to hold the Friday morning session in two sections, one devoted to American colonial history and the other to American political history. A short afternoon session, from 4 to 5, was held in the banqueting hall of the Arlington, Dr. J. L. M. Curry presiding. This session was specially devoted to European history. The two evening sessions, Thursday and Friday, attracted the largest audiences, although the section meetings were well attended. The usual number of members were registered.

On the opening night, the Hon. George F. Hoar, president of the Association, gave an eloquent and patriotic address in defense of representative government. He deprecated the growing tendency among some historical writers of imputing wrong motives to the acts of men in public life and of blackening the character of the dead. He maintained that the conduct of public affairs is growing better, purer, and wiser from generation to generation. The motives by which our public men are governed in the administration of national, State, and local affairs are honest and upright. No man can put a noble pride in a base history. He said he was willing to compare our representative government at its worst with any monarchic government at its best, when the authority of the monarchy is really felt. Senator Hoar paid a high tribute to the character of the men who legislate for our country, and said that

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his remarks were based on an intimate acquaintance with the majority of them during the last thirty years. There has been a steady increase in the number of men who come to Congress to work wholly for the best interests of their country.

Senator Hoar's address occupied about an hour. He was followed by Prof. Edward G. Bourne, of Yale University, who gave an appreciative account of the critical methods of Leopold von Ranke, who had such a profound influence upon modern students of history. Mr. Bourne explained the origin of the historical seminary, now so common in German and American universities. Ranke's habit was to draw all his information from original sources. He was well versed in classical, mediæval, and early modern writings, but was entirely unacquainted with the results of higher biblical criticism. Although he wrote about the Hebrews in his Universal History, his knowledge of the Old Testament and of Semitic institutions was that of a former generation.

Gen. James Grant Wilson, president of the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, read the last paper of the opening session, on "Arent Van Curler and his journal of 1634." It is published in the following proceedings.

The second day's session was opened promptly at 10 o'clock, Senator Hoar presiding until Dr. James Schouler was called to the chair. The colonial section, although held in a smaller room, seemed for a time to be more popular than the political section, which, however, under the guidance of Gen. John Eaton, soon recovered the lost balance. The two lecture halls were in such close proximity that members could easily pass from one to the other. This bicameral method has never before been tried by the Historical Association, but it proved an expeditious way of disposing of a long programme, which would otherwise have required an extra day in Washington.

In this connection it is impossible to give even abstracts of all the numerous contributions to the various section meetings. Some were read by title only. Others were greatly abridged in reading. Most of them are printed in the proceedings of the Association.

Among the noteworthy papers were two by Talcott Williams, of the Philadelphia Press. The first was upon the subject of "Raleigh's colony and its present remains." Mr. Williams and his wife had just come from a visit to the original site of the first English colony planted in the New World.

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This site has lately been purchased by the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association, and it is hoped that the island may some day become attractive to historical pilgrims. Mr. Williams described the excavations which he had recently made on the site of Raleigh's fort, the lines of which can still be clearly traced. He discussed the probable approach of the early navigators, Amadas and Barlowe, and of Raleigh's expedition. The Indian villages on the island were also described and historical localities identified. A plea was made for contributions to enable the Memorial Association to erect a suitable monument. The second paper by Mr. Williams was read at the closing session. In a most interesting and suggestive way the question was discussed how far was "Primeval man a modern savage." The author called attention to the entirely different conditions of primitive men and modern savages. The latter live under constant pressure and aggression from without. The former had room for movement, natural expression, and free development. Mr. Williams criticised modern writers like Morgan, McLennan, and Lubbock, who assume too much in regard to the likeness of ancient and modern conditions of savage life. He maintained the dignity of human nature and the probability of a higher system of family morals for primitive society than is commonly allowed by anthropologists.

Various institutional studies of interest and value were presented. Prof. H. L. Osgood, of Columbia College, gave a "Classification of colonial government," showing that the proprietary system and the royal province are practically the same form, and that the term "corporation" correctly describes only Massachusetts previous to 1684, Connecticut, and Rhode Island. Virginia, under the London company, and Georgia, under the trustees, were essentially proprietary and should be included under the class of provinces. So must New Plymouth. Corporations were the earliest forms of the American Commonwealth. Dr. B. C. Steiner, of Baltimore, gave an historical account of "The electoral college for the senate of Maryland." Dr. J. S. Bassett, of Trinity College, North Carolina, outlined the history of suffrage in his State. In 1776 the aristocracy took control of the assembly, only landholders voting for members of the senate. The system was modified in 1835 and again in 1848. Final reform in the suffrage was not accomplished until 1857. Dr. Jeffrey R. Brackett, of Baltimore, gave a graphic

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account of the struggle of democracy versus aristocracy in Virginia in 1830. After the Revolutionary war a minority of landed proprietors governed the State. An extension of the suffrage was finally made to resident housekeepers, heads of families, and taxpayers. Mr. H. A. Cushing, of Columbia College, discussed the "Political activity of Massachusetts towns during the Revolution." He showed that from the day of Samuel Adams's coup d'état in Salem to the inauguration of Governor Hancock the true center of Massachusetts politics was the town meeting. Town republics maintained an unbroken activity during the whole Revolutionary period, which saw the closing of the royal courts, the destruction of the legislature, and the deposition of royal officials. "The land system of provincial Pennsylvania" was described by William R. Shepherd, of Brooklyn, N. Y. "Colonial culture in North Carolina" was illustrated by a native of that State, Dr. S. B. Weeks, now of the Bureau of Education.

A paper on the "Agreement of 1817, concerning the reduction of naval forces upon the American lakes," was read by J. M. Callahan, of Johns Hopkins University. The American lakes were the scenes of desperate conflict in the war of 1812. The idea of mutual disarmament by England and the United States on this lake frontier was proposed by J. Q. Adams to Lord Castlereagh, to avert the evil of rival naval forces. After long debates and vexatious delays an agreement was reached in April, 1817, to reduce the forces of each power to four vessels and to limit their duties. With the exception of brief intervals, the United States vessel *Michigan* has long been the only American naval vessel on the lakes. Each country has indeed modern revenue cutters on the lakes, but war vessels for the sea are not allowed to be built by lake companies. This has caused some dissatisfaction, but the agreement has been, on the whole, very advantageous. For eighty years the vast commerce of the lakes has been perfectly safe without the rivalry of expensive armaments.

The political aspects of the homestead law agitation were vigorously presented by Prof. B. S. Terry, of the University of Chicago, who is elaborating a monograph upon this important subject. A very entertaining and instructive paper entitled "Light on the underground railroad" was read by Prof. W. H. Siebert, of Ohio State University, who has made extensive and original studies both of routes and men connected with the

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escape of negro slaves to Canada. The old lines of escape traversed various States from New England to Iowa, and terminated at various points along the Canadian frontier. Maps and pictures were shown by Mr. Siebert that ought sometime to be reproduced. Among the photographs were those of escaped slaves now living in Canada, and pictures of various Quakers who harbored runaways, and even of the caves and houses where they found refuge along the lines of the underground railroad. It is computed that at least 29,000 fugitives found freedom by routes leading through Ohio. The curious manuscript record of an old Quaker was shown, indicating that forty-seven different runaways were sheltered at various times from April 14 to September 10, 1844. Many refugees did not go to Canada, but settled in friendly neighborhoods where they were protected by Covenanters and Methodists as well as by Quakers.

Dr. James Schouler, of Boston, read an excellent paper upon "Historical testimony." He said that our common law pays a delicate compliment to writers of history in permitting their works to be cited in court with something of the authenticity of official documents. This privilege should confirm us in the conviction that the truth of history is, above everything else, what historians should strive after; and writers should make all needful correction after publication, as opportunity offers or later knowledge comes to them. Nor can we pay the common law a better compliment in return for its flattering confidence than to adapt to our own use for investigation some of its familiar rules and methods for eliciting the truth from testimony. Primary and secondary evidence should be kept distinct in the mind; and we should consider the competency of each witness and his probable bias. We should also regard the presumptions and burden of proof where witnesses disagree, and respect at all times the judgment of history.

Two papers of biographical interest were presented. One was by Martin I. J. Griffin, of the American Catholic Historical Society in Philadelphia, upon "Commodore John Barry," concerning whom Mr. Griffin is writing a full biography. The second paper was by the Rev. Dr. W. C. Winslow, of Boston, upon the "Part and place of Governor Edward Winslow, in Plymouth Colony." The author paid special attention to the public services of Winslow in developing the territorial and colonizing policy of Massachusetts and in representing colonial

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interests in England. In the united leadership of Brewster, Bradford, Winslow, and Standish lay the foundation of the Pilgrim State. In their peculiar work as statesman and soldier, Winslow and Standish displayed qualities as indispensable as those of the other two, and performed an even more distinctive part than they. One kept and promoted peace; the other prepared in peace for war.

Mr. Gaillard Hunt, of the Department of State, read a paper upon "Locating the capital." He alluded to Jefferson's famous dinner party given to Hamilton and the Potomac Members of Congress, and to the bargains made for delivering votes for placing the Federal city on the banks of the Potomac in return for votes for the assumption bill. Mr. Hunt described the extent of the District of Columbia and Washington's negotiations with the landowners, together with the work of the two chief surveyors, L'Enfant and Ellicott. Dr. Herbert Friedenwald, of Philadelphia, brought out some very interesting facts regarding the manuscript journals of the Continental Congress and the unpublished papers connected with its proceedings. There are various published editions of the journals, but all of them are inexact and incomplete. The editors often took liberties with the original text and left out very important parts of the original record. Dr. Friedenwald urged that steps be taken to secure a trustworthy and complete edition of these documents, which are fundamental in our Congressional and Revolutionary history.

"A plea for the study of the history of northern Europe" was made by Dr. A. C. Coolidge, of Harvard University. He showed the reasons why such study is of especial value to Americans. The importance of Russia in modern politics was emphasized. The antagonism of the German and the Slav is as intense as ever. The influence of the Scandinavians and the Slavs upon western countries is worthy of our attention. The endless variety of detail in the political history of Scandinavia, Poland, and Russia put us on our guard against the dangers of hasty generalization. Moreover, the constitutional development of these northern countries is full of suggestive interest.

A valuable study in comparative politics was that of Mr. Oswald G. Villard, of Harvard University, on "The German Imperial court," as compared with the American Supreme Court. Instead of 9 members the German court has 84, organ-

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ized in ten senates, each presided over by a senate president and the whole by a president corresponding to our Chief Justice. Six of these senates deal wholly with civil cases, which must have passed through two State courts to reach the Imperial court. The other four senates deal with criminal cases which may be appealed direct from the State court next above the police justice, corresponding to the general sessions court in New York or the superior court in Massachusetts. All questions involving interstate relations, or those of a State to the Imperial Government, are wholly beyond the competence of the Imperial court and rest with the federal council.

A graphic study of "The French revolution as seen by the Americans of the eighteenth century," was read by Prof. Charles D. Hazen, of Smith College. A great variety of interesting evidence was drawn from American literature of the revolutionary period. Whichever side Americans adopted for the time being they adopted it with vehemence. Their attitude was marked by no greater moderation than that of the English or the French themselves. The French revolution left no one indifferent either in the Old World or in the New. Another paper of international interest was that by Dr. Frederic Bancroft, of Columbia College, on "The French in Mexico and the Monroe doctrine." He described the attempt of France to acquire territory on this continent and to maintain a representative on the Mexican throne. During the civil war our Government refrained from interference, but immediately afterwards gave Louis Napoleon to understand that his forces must be withdrawn. Curiously enough, there was no mention of the Monroe doctrine in those days; but, as Mr. Bancroft pointedly said, it was probably understood as well then as now, perhaps better. Gen. Marcus J. Wright, of the War Records Office, described an interesting diplomatic incident in 1861, when President Lincoln and William H. Seward, our Secretary of State, obtained redress, through the American consul-general at Alexandria, from Mohammed Said, the Viceroy of Egypt, for an act of persecution against a Christian missionary in Upper Egypt.

At the closing session, which was attended by an appreciative audience, various reports and announcements were made. The treasurer's report, by Dr. C. W. Bowen, showed that the total assets of the Association now amount to nearly $8,000. The

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Association owns a good 5 per cent bond and mortgage for $5,000 and ten shares of stock in the National Bank of Commerce, costing $1,910, and has nearly $1,000 cash on hand. The income of the Association last year from annual dues, interest money, sale of publications, and other sources was over $2,000. The current expenses for one year are about $600. It is proposed to expend some of the future revenue of the Association in the promotion of historical investigation and American bibliography.

It was announced that the executive council of the American Historical Association has resolved to institute a historical manuscripts commission,[1] for the preparation or supervision of a calendar of original manuscripts and records of national interest relating to the colonial and later history of the United States. Such original materials for American history as may be found in public or private hands within the territory of the United States, or elsewhere, can thus be brought to the attention of historical students and of the country at large, through the medium of special reports issued by the Association. In cases where no other provision can be made for the publication of such records and original materials the executive council will endeavor to devise ways and means for copying or publishing such selections as may be recommended by the manuscripts commission.

The executive council has also voted to offer a prize of $100 for the best monograph based upon original investigation in history submitted to the council during the coming year, university dissertations excluded, and to print the best five or six of the monographs thus submitted, if of an approved degree of excellence. The council has also voted to establish a gold prize medal of the value of $100, to be awarded at suitable intervals for the best completed work of research in history published in this country through the ordinary channels of publication. This will be understood to apply, in the first instance, only to works published after January 1, 1896, and in later awards only to works published since the last preceding award. It is expected by the council that the interval between successive awards will be about three years.

[1] The executive council subsequently appointed the Historical Manuscript Commission as follows: J. Franklin Jameson, Providence, R. I., chairman; Douglas Brymner, Ottawa, Canada; Talcott Williams, Philadelphia, Pa.; William P. Trent, Sewanee, Tenn.; Frederick J. Turner, Madison, Wis.

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The committee on the time and place of next meeting reported that, in their judgment, it was desirable that the meetings of the Association be held in various places, including Washington, in rotation. For the next meeting they had considered Cleveland, Cambridge, and New York. Though confident of a successful meeting in Cambridge, the committee thought that, since a meeting had been held in Chicago in 1893, it would be better to hold at least one meeting in the East before going West again. As a meeting had been held in Boston and Cambridge in 1887, and as none had ever been held in New York, the last-named city seemed to have the preference. The Association was assured of the cordial cooperation of the professors of Columbia College and the members of local historical societies. It was therefore agreed that the next meeting of the Association be held in New York City on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, December 29, 30, and 31, 1896.

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II.—REPORT OF TREASURER—LIST OF COMMITTEES—NECROLOGY.

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REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

The American Historical Association in account with Clarence W. Bowen, treasurer.

1895.			1895.		
Jan. 2	To paid H. S. Chandler, voucher 1	$150.00	Jan. 2	By balance from last account	$440.61
2	United States Express Co., voucher 2	.30	4	interest on bond and mortgage	125.00
7	A. H. Clark, voucher 3	30.00	4	dividend National Bank of Commerce	20.00
7	Jno. Murphy & Son, voucher 4	22.60	July 3	interest on bond and mortgage	125.00
10	The Independent Press, voucher 5	2.50	Oct. 7	rebate of tax from city of New York on stock National Bank of Commerce	12.22
21	H. Glaze, voucher 6	60.00	7	dividend National Bank of Commerce	20.00
Apr. 20	H. B. Adams, voucher 7	100.00	7	receipts from sales of Association's publications	117.67
23	A. H. Clark, voucher 8	40.00	7	4 life memberships, at $50	200.00
July 17	The Independent Press, voucher 9	12.30	7	513 annual dues, at $3	1,539.00
Sept. 18	The Independent Press, voucher 10	25.60			
Nov. 1	J. B. Manning, voucher 11	1,020.00			
1	A. H. Clark, voucher 12	60.00			
Dec. 10	Jno. Murphy & Son, voucher 13	8.40			
10	The Independent Press, voucher 14	1.25			
11	H. B. Adams, voucher 15	50.00			
11	Wm. Fleming, voucher 16	17.00			
11	Balance cash on hand	999.55			
		2,599.50			2,599.50

The Association has assets as follows: Bond and mortgage, at 5 per cent interest, $5,000; 10 shares of stock National Bank of Commerce of New York, cost $1,910; cash on hand, $999.55; total assets, $7,909.55.

Respectfully submitted.

CLARENCE W. BOWEN, *Treasurer.*

Audited and found correct:

JAS. GRANT WILSON,
GEORGE ILES.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *December 27, 1895.*

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LIST OF COMMITTEES, 1895-96.

1. *Auditing committee:* Gen. James Grant Wilson and George Iles.
2. *Finance:* Hon. John A. King, E. W. Blatchford, and Dr. C. W. Bowen.
3. *Nominations:* Dr. Frederic Bancroft, James F. Rhodes, and Gen. John Eaton.
4. *Time and place of next meeting:* Prof. A. B. Hart, Prof. W. A. Dunning, and Prof. A. C. McLaughlin.
5. *Programme:* Prof. H. Morse Stephens, Prof. E. Emerton, Prof. E. G. Bourne, Prof. John W. Burgess, and Prof. H. B. Adams.
6. *Resolutions:* Dr. W. B. Scaife and Harry A. Cushing.

OFFICERS FOR 1895-96.

President: Richard S. Storrs, D. D., LL. D., Brooklyn, N. Y.

Vice-presidents: James Schouler, LL. D., Boston, Mass.; George P. Fisher, D. D., LL. D., Yale University.

Secretary: Herbert B. Adams, Ph. D., LL. D., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

Assistant secretary and curator: A. Howard Clark, Smithsonian Institution, curator of the historical collections, United States National Museum, Washington, D. C.

Treasurer: Clarence Winthrop Bowen, Ph. D., 130 Fulton street, New York City.

Executive council (in addition to the above-named officers): Hon. Andrew D. White, LL. D., L. H. D., Ithaca, N. Y.; Justin Winsor, LL. D., Cambridge, Mass.; Charles Kendall Adams, LL. D., president of the University of Wisconsin; Hon. William Wirt Henry, Richmond, Va.; James B. Angell, LL. D., president of the University of Michigan; Henry Adams, Washington, D. C.; Hon. George F. Hoar, Worcester, Mass.; G. Brown Goode, LL. D., assistant secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, in charge of the National Museum; George B. Adams, professor of history, Yale University; H. Morse Stephens, professor of history, Cornell University; F. J. Turner, Ph. D., professor of history, University of Wisconsin.

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NECROLOGY FOR 1895.

By Gen. JAS. GRANT WILSON, D. C. L.

Among the members of the American Historical Association deceased during the year were the following:

BERNHEIM, ABRAM C., born in New York City, February 1, 1866; died at his home at Arverne, Long Island, July 24, 1895. He was educated at Columbia College, from which he was graduated in the Schools of Law and Political Science, receiving the degree of bachelor of laws and doctor of philosophy. His business was that of a banker and broker, but his learning and faculty for imparting knowledge led to his selection by Columbia College as lecturer on the history of New York City and State. He was in 1886 appointed prize lecturer, and in 1894 was made permanent lecturer. Mr. Bernheim joined our Association in 1888.

HILL, HAMILTON ANDREWS, born in London, England, April 14, 1827; died in Boston, April 27, 1895. He came to this country as a youth, completing his education at Oberlin College, Ohio, of which his father, Hamilton Hill, was for twenty-five years treasurer. He became a commission merchant in Boston, and later was secretary of the Boston Board of Trade, and secretary of the National Board of Trade. He was the author of many papers and pamphlets upon commercial questions, was a prominent member of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society of Boston, and received the degree of M. A. from Oberlin and Williams colleges. Mr. Hill became a member of the Historical Association in 1884.

RICE, ALEXANDER HAMILTON, ex-governor of Massachusetts, born at Newton, Mass., August 30, 1818; died at his home in Melrose, Mass., July 21, 1895. His father was a paper manufacturer, having mills at Newton Lower Falls. He was educated at Union College, where he was graduated with honors in 1844. Three years later he received from Union the degree of A. M., and in 1876 the degree of LL. D. was conferred by Harvard University. He became a junior partner in a firm of Boston paper dealers, of which he eventually was the head. In 1856 he was elected mayor of Boston, being twice reelected. From 1859 to 1867 Mr. Rice represented the Fourth Massachusetts district in Congress, and was the Republican governor of his native State in 1876, 1877, and 1878. He was a prominent member of the Episcopal Club, a member for some years of the Standing Committee of the diocese, and several times a delegate to the General Conventions of the church.

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It is an interesting fact that five governors of Massachusetts were born in the year 1818—Boutwell, Butler, Claflin, Rice, and Talbot. The senior of the two survivors in age, as well as in date of service, is Mr. Boutwell, who held the governorship in 1851–1853, and is five weeks older than Mr. Claflin. Governor Rice joined our society in 1885.

SALTONSTALL, LEVERETT, born in Salem, Mass., March 16, 1825; died in Brookline April 15, 1895. He was a descendant of Sir Richard Saltonstall who accompanied Governor Winthrop to this country, and was one of the six patentees of the colony of Massachusetts. Mr. Saltonstall was graduated from Harvard in 1844, and six weeks later was admitted to practice at the Boston bar. He was the Democratic candidate for Congress in 1858, being defeated by Charles Francis Adams, and later was an active war Democrat. He was the sixth Saltonstall in lineal descent who has graduated from Harvard College, and his son was the seventh. He was elected an overseer of Harvard in 1876 for six years, and was reelected at the end of that term. In 1885 he was appointed by President Cleveland as collector of the port of Boston. He declined an appointment as Civil Service Commissioner. He was a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, and the Bostonian Society, one of the trustees of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture, and president of the Unitarian Club. Mr. Saltonstall became a member of the Association in 1884.

STOCKBRIDGE, HENRY, born in North Hadley, Mass., August 31, 1822; died in Baltimore, Md., March 11, 1895. He was graduated at Amherst College in the class of 1845, and three years later was admitted to the bar in Baltimore, to which city he had removed after graduation. He soon acquired an honorable position in his profession. Residing as he did in a district where the tendency was toward the Confederacy, his stanch loyalty to the Union was of great service to the country. Mr. Stockbridge was for many years the first vice-president of the Maryland Historical Society, and he was also one of the trustees of Howard University, Washington. His interest in his alma mater was always keen. He was president of the Amherst Alumni Association of Baltimore, and one of the speakers at the semicentenial of the college in 1871. Mr. Stockbridge became a member of the Historical Association in 1884.

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III.—POPULAR DISCONTENT WITH REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

By HON. GEORGE F. HOAR, LL. D.,
PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

[Read at the annual meeting, December 27, 1895.]

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POPULAR DISCONTENT WITH REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT.

Inaugural address by Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR, LL. D.

I congratulate this society upon the auspicious beginning of the twelfth year of its useful and patriotic work. We can claim our full share of the credit for the interest in American history which is growing up all over the whole country. The researches to which the members of this society devote themselves, if they are to be of any value, must deserve the strict and austere epithet "Study." Certainly no study can be nobler. In the natural sciences there is more and more a division of labor. Students in every locality gather the natural productions of the place into museums and cabinets ready for examination and comparison by the master who discovers and makes clear the general laws which embrace all places. Agassiz had in that way a thousand helpers and disciples. Something much like this is going on all over the country in the established societies for antiquarian and historical research, which supply the material for the writers of national history. These men gather the facts for the investigator on a larger scale, as a quarryman or hodman collects the material for the builder of the palace. They gather local traditions, rescue manuscripts and old pamphlets from destruction, and chronicle the events of municipal and local history. They discover facts by minute investigation.

Next to them comes the historical student who extracts from local histories the material which is important to national history, and performs a like function on a larger scale.

Both these men perform a service of great importance and dignity, not to be undervalued anywhere, least of all to be undervalued here. But the great historian must be a genius of a far higher order. He must be capable of seeing clearly the great forces which determine the current of human affairs. He must have the profound judgment and insight of the philoso-

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pher. He must have the imagination of the poet, not exaggerating or distorting, or falsifying or clouding, but at the same time idealizing the national history with which he deals. He must have the artist's gift of portraiture. He must be himself great enough to comprehend greatness of personal character, heroic enough to comprehend heroism, and must be so penetrated with the sentiments of honor and duty as to recognize them when they are the governing forces in national or in personal conduct. It has been said—I know not whether truly or no—that no portrait painter can put into the face of his subject a loftier character than his own. But I am sure that no biographer or writer of history will ever do justice to a great character of whose quality he does not himself partake.

Now to the historian, to whichever of these two classes he may belong, from the compiler of the genealogy of the Smith family to Thucydides or Tacitus, truth, inexorable truth, is the first essential and requisite. It can not be for the advantage of any people to substitute romance or fiction for veritable history, or to bring up its youth on pleasant self-delusions.

But surely there is as much of falsehood in the spirit of detraction as in the spirit of indiscriminate eulogy. The judgment of contemporaries, of friends, of associates, is of very high value indeed. The judgment which, after the first burst of public sorrow for the death of an eminent man and after those tributes in which censure, however deserved, does not find a place, is commonly of the highest value, and expresses what usually turns out to be the permanent judgment of history. Sometimes, though rarely, records leap to light which reverse that judgment and overthrow the ill-placed statue. But there seems to be an unusual fondness of late for overthrowing reputations of dead men, by reviving the obscure calumnies which were despised by their contemporaries when they were living. Some single copy of a forgotten newspaper or the letter of some enemy is exhumed. The writer of history exults in his discovery of what was probably the invention of contemporary and despised malice as if it had been his own. A single such example is enough to deface the brightest page. But what shall be said of a history that is made up of them?

In what I have to say this evening I wish to be distinctly understood that I am pleading for no departure from absolute verity anywhere. But I wish to protest against what I deem

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a prevalent and most pestilent form of historic falsehood to which some writers in this modern time seem to me specially addicted, that of undervaluing, underestimating, falsifying, and belittling the history of their country and the characters of the men who have had a large share in making it.

There is an inscription on the beautiful monument of our first president, George Bancroft, in the city where I dwell, which declares:

> "He made it the high purpose of a life
> Which nearly spanned a century,
> To trace the origin of his country,
> To show her part in the advancement of man,
> And from the rare resources
> Of his genius, his learning, and his labor,
> To ennoble the story of her birth."

Mr. Bancroft well deserved this eulogy, which he would have himself preferred to any other.

The first duty of the historian, as I have said, as the first duty of every man in every relation of life, is to absolute truth. Yet if in anything the love of country or a lofty enthusiasm may have led him to paint her in too favorable colors, the sober judgment of time will correct the mistake. No serious harm will have been done. Certainly no youth was ever yet spoiled by reverencing too much the memory of his parents. If anything is to be pardoned to human infirmity, it is surely better to err on the side of ennobling the country's history than to err on the side of degrading it. It is certainly better to have deserved the epitaph I have repeated; it is on the whole more to be desired than to have it said of him that he spent his century in showing that his country's part had been to set men backward, to exert an evil influence on mankind, and that he had written her history standing at the mouths of her sewers, and had spent "the rare resources of his genius, his learning, and his labor" to preserve the memory and the example of whatever of evil he could find in her.

There are few instances in which the dilettante spirit is more mischievous than in historical pursuits. There are few sciences whose votaries are more likely to deceive themselves by convincing themselves that they are engaged in a serious occupation when they are little better than idling. There is no study in which the devotion of a trained intellect, inspired by the love of excellence, is more likely to be of service to the

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country and to mankind. The preservation of history is an honorable achievement; the preservation of a great history is a great benefit to mankind. Everywhere, the loftiest stimulant of the child is the example of the father. There is scarcely a record left of heroic action which was not inspired by the memory of the heroism of ancestors. It is this that it is the true function of the historian to preserve. It is the memory of virtue that should be immortal, and it is best that the memory and example of evil should perish.

The man who presumes to write the annals of a great, brave, and free people should himself have a soul penetrated by the lofty spirit of courage and freedom. He must be accustomed to the vocabulary, he must be stirred with the emotions, which belong to liberty. When we read Tacitus, or Thucydides, or Xenophon, or Clarendon, or Macaulay, we feel instantly that men are narrating great actions who are capable of great actions. The love of truth is the first condition. But the power to comprehend, to understand, and to see truth is equally indispensable. No great poet can be translated adequately if the translator's language have but a mean and petty vocabulary. Milton's lofty note, "Hail, horrors, hail!" may perhaps have been translated faithfully enough by the Comme vous portez-vous, mes horreurs, in the French version. Certainly the translator did quite as well as some of our modern writers of American history who have undertaken to narrate some of the great transactions in our history or draw the portraiture of the men who have conducted them.

I wish to speak to-night of one or two causes of popular discontent with our representative Government. I suppose that the flame of patriotism never burned brighter nor clearer anywhere than it does in the bosom of the youth of America to-day. This is not only true of those who are born and bred on American soil, but, with the exception I am about to state, men of other races and other blood seem to catch the American spirit as soon as they breathe the American air.

Yet when I consider the tone of the press, of men of letters, and even some writers of history when they describe her, I am sometimes astonished that any American youth can love his country at all. Every morning, Sunday and week day, there comes from the press by the million, by the hundred million, what constitutes the staple reading of nearly all of our people who can read at all. These publications are largely the organs

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of one or another political party. They represent the party to which they are opposed, as base, selfish, intriguing, or at least narrow and wrong headed. Yet it is unquestionably true that nearly all the voting population of the country belongs to one or the other of these political organizations. If those political organizations be base, the American people are base. If the trusted leaders of those political organizations are base and mean, then the country is base and mean.

We are restive under foreign criticism; we resent, angrily, the common speech of the Englishman; we are disturbed by the bitter, contemptuous utterances of English magazines like the Saturday Review, and newspapers like the Times.

Is it strange that the papers of foreign countries should adopt the opinions that are constantly uttered by our metropolitan press? Is there any offense of this sort in London which can not be matched in New York?

Some of our men of letters are not much better. When they speak of the country in the abstract, they adorn her with graces and virtues proportioned to their own poetic fancy; but when they come to speak of what she does, of what she is, and of the men to whom she gives her confidence, whom she commissions to act for her, who are picked and chosen for the great transactions by which alone her character can be made to appear, it is curious what a Setebos or Caliban they make of her. Indeed, there could not possibly be written a more curious chapter in the history of human mistakes and delusions than one which would record the opinions of men of letters of their contemporaries and of their times—men from whom come to us the great inspirations to courage and to duty, whose noble trumpet blasts stir the soul to its depths, who, in the time of trial, nerve us to great deeds, and to great sacrifices, who console us in great sorrows and great suffering—it would be ludicrous, were it not pitiful, to see how at fault is their judgment of the men with whom they are living, and the transactions which are passing under their own eyes!

How often the best men are pursued with their scorn, and the vilest crowned with their praise! How they seem, sometimes, to accept everything that is base at its pretenses, and judge everything that is excellent by its defects!

Wordsworth's Essay on the Convention at Cintra is one whose power and genius Edmund Burke himself might have envied; yet in it he demands the recall of Wellington from the

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command of the English army and his humiliation in the eyes of Europe. It was when the great soldier was bravely standing at bay, in Spain, against the conqueror of Europe, and performing the greatest actions of the career which culminated at Waterloo.

Robert Browning's "Lost Leader"—

> "Just for a handful of silver, he left us,
> Just for a ribbon to stick in his coat.
>
> We shall march prospering, not through his presence;
> Sons may inspirit us, not from his lyre;
> Deeds will be done, while he boasts his quiescence,
> Still bidding crouch whom the rest bade aspire.
> Blot out his name, then, record one lost soul more,
> One task more declined, one more foot-path untrod,
> One more triumph for devils, and sorrow for angels,
> One wrong more to man, one more insult to God!"—

which our poetic youths still like to quote whenever anybody who is entrusted with any share in the conduct of this Government fails to take their sage advice, was written of William Wordsworth.

Carlyle describes his countrymen in the nineteenth century as "twenty million of people, principally fools." He has a passing word of contempt for George Washington. He finds nothing that was not contemptible in the spirit that animated our youth in the civil war. Then he holds his pistol to our heads and demands that we should fall down and worship Frederick and Napoleon, and proposes to himself, if he should find time in his old age, the deification of George III. Even Carlyle, when he speaks of his "twenty million fools," is rather more amiable than Tennyson with his "many-headed beast."

The men who despise humanity most, take its worst examples for their heroes. This tone of the cynic has spread from the newspaper and the poet, to the grave and serious writers of history.

It is not merely that men of foreign birth, whose hearts were never stirred in their boyhood by the stimulant traditions of the early history of America, are taking a considerable share in contemporary literary work. The intellectual habit of which they set the example is infecting men of native birth. It seems to be thought, in some quarters, that a sober and trustworthy history of the United States must only be a chronicle of the discarded and rejected scandals of all past generations;

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that the men whom their own times deemed most worthy are to be counted unworthy, and that the men whom their own times rejected are now to be accepted.

The story of the growth of this country from a little space by the seaside, until its temple covers a continent and its portals are on both the seas; of the settlement of the West, of the acquisition of Florida, of the purchase of Louisiana, of the exploration of the Rocky Mountains and of the Columbia River, is only the story of a generation of horse-jockies and swindlers, who covered the continent and drifted aimlessly into empire. John Adams was hot-headed, quarrelsome, vain, and egotistical; Jefferson was a poor, impractical philosopher, timid and dissimulating; Madison was a poltroon and coward; Clay was profligate and a gambler; Monroe was feeble and insignificant; and Jackson an unscrupulous, reckless, fighting frontiersman.

In what I have said of the habit of our great poets and scholars to disparage the public life of their own generation let me not be misunderstood. We shall make a graver mistake than they do if we discard them as leaders and teachers. I believe no men need them more; and there are no men more thoroughly inspired by them in the warfare of life than the men they so much and so mistakenly revile.

John Stuart Mill records that the English Radicals used to be very angry with him for loving Wordsworth. "I used to tell them," he said, "Wordsworth is against you, there is no doubt, in the battle which you are now waging, but after you have won, the world will need, more than ever, the qualities which Wordsworth has kept alive and flourishing."

That man is to be pitied, however far removed may be his calling from the domain of poetry, however close to the ground may be the daily duty of his life, however sober or prosaic may be the field of his studies, who shall fail to keep his soul in full communication with the electric current which comes from those to whom belongs the blessing and the eternal praise:

> "They give us nobler loves and nobler cares,
> The poets, who on earth, have made us heirs
> Of truth and pure delight, by heavenly lays."

We will still look to the scholar for our abstract truth; we will still look to the poet for our ideal of virtue; but, in estimating the character of practical men, we will respect the opinion of practical men.

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In forming our opinions of those who have conducted nations through great trial and peril, we will accept as best of all the judgment of those who went through great trials and perils with them. We will preserve the independence of our own judgment; we will rather trust our own practical experience when we are dealing with current and contemporary history.

I believe that the conduct of public affairs is growing better, purer, and wiser from generation to generation. I believe that, in the main, the motives by which our public men are governed in the administration of national, State, and local affairs are honest and upright.

I think that you should distrust the shallow philosophy that would ever attribute base motives to the great actions of human history, or teach that its mighty currents are determined by greed, selfishness, avarice, ambition, or revenge.

The pure and lofty emotions are ever the great and overmastering emotions. It is a maxim of the criminal law that evidence of previous good character is of little account in trials of murder. The temptation which will lead a man to that extremity of crime which violates the sanctity of human life and incurs the curse of Cain and risks the extreme penalty of the law, sweeps away the ordinary restraints of morality as the avalanche of the mountain sweeps before it the hedges of the peasantry in the valley. So, we are glad to believe, the love of country, the supremest passion of the human soul, possesses equally the men who are noble and the men who are ignoble in the conduct of ordinary life.

A famous general of the late war told me that he found among the papers of a distinguished officer who had been terribly wounded and lost a limb in battle, and who, before he recovered from his wound, went to the front again and gave up his life as cheerfully as he would have gone to his bridal, this charge against his father's estate, of which his mother, the widow, was then the representative:

The estate of....., *To* ....., *Dr.*

To making fire 17 mornings, at three cents a morning, ... 51c.

I like to believe, as I have said, that when the country utters its voice it is something higher and nobler than the voice of the individual citizen. When that lofty harmony is heard, the little discords are silent. The Middlesex farmer had his ignoble traits. I knew, in my boyhood, some survivors

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of the generation that opened the Revolution. I was familiar with their children. They were sharp at a bargain. I am afraid that, if you had bought a load of wood of some of them, you might have found some crooked and rotten sticks under the foreboard. But they were up before the sun, at Concord. They were not thinking of a bargain when they sold their lives at Lexington and Bunker Hill.

Tennyson saw the same thing when he fancied the common people of England rising against the French invasion.

"For I think if an enemy's fleet came yonder round by the hill,
And the rushing battle-bolt sang from the three-decker out of the foam,
That the smooth-faced, snub-nosed rogue would leap from his counter and till,
And strike, if he could, but a blow with his cheating yardwand, home."

If the critical and fault-finding temper to which I have referred be not justified by the truth, you will agree with me that its effect must be infinitely mischievous and pestilent.

I do not see how the love of country can long abide toward a country which is altogether unlovely. No man can feel a noble pride in a base history. I can not understand why these fault-finders, who can not find ten righteous men in our Sodom or Gomorrah, do not get out of it before the fire from heaven comes down.

I think every historical investigator will perform a useful service if he shall help satisfy the American people, especially the coming generation, that these men are mistaken.

It is time for the American youth to settle for himself whether there be any substantial truth in these stories. Is this the true portraiture of our country? Are these the true features of her whom we have conceived as

"The glorious lady with the eyes of light,
And laurels clustering 'round her lofty brow?"

Is the being we love with the supremest passion of our souls altogether unlovely? Is the being we would gladly die for unfit to live with? Is the being we have imagined to ourselves a thing of beauty and of joy, simply an aggregate of all falseness, and greed, and meanness?

Did the Pilgrim at Plymouth—did the great-hearted Puritan of Salem and New Haven—did the liberty-loving enthusiast of Rhode Island, the sturdy founders of New York, the Quaker of Pennsylvania, the Catholic of Baltimore, the adventurous

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cavalier of Jamestown, the woodsmen who, in later generations, struck their axes into the forests of this continent, the sailors who followed their prey in the Arctic and Antarctic seas—did the men of the Revolution, and the men who fought the great sea fights of the war of 1812—did the men who conducted the great debates, in the Senate and in the forum—did the judges who pronounced the great judgments which fixed the limits of constitutional authority and of public liberty—did the splendid youth of 1861 devote themselves—did Washington live—and did Lincoln die—only in order to build and to preserve this noble and stately palace for a den of thieves?

I can not go very deeply into the subject in the time which is at my command. I can only touch one or two matters; but I hope we may be satisfied that a great deal of the public impatience with our representative government is ill-founded, and that some of our more plausible complaints are hasty and inconsiderate.

There are two classes of complaints which I think are likely to make an impression on good men, and especially upon young men, which, if not altogether without foundation, are at least greatly exaggerated.

First, the complaint of what is called "Party spirit;" and second, the impatience of the slowness, fickleness, and inefficiency of legislative bodies.

Perhaps the charge against the conduct of public affairs in free States to-day, which makes most impression upon conscientious men, comes from the existence of political parties. It is said that we substitute party government for popular government, party spirit for public spirit, and the interests and advantage of party for public well-being. Under these malign influences, we no longer vote for the best men for places of honor and trust, but take the candidates of our party, regardless of character or capacity.

Now, let us see, if we may, what is the principle on which the just authority of party rests. What is the true dividing line which separates the domain of party from that of independent action? If we can find it, I think we shall see that the general instinct of the people in our day is sound and true, and that our government by party instrumentalities is not only the best, but the only government consistent with freedom or practicable under existing circumstances.

An unorganized government is nothing but a mob, and it

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makes little difference whether it be a mob of ruffians or of archangels.

"If every Athenian citizen had been a Socrates," said one of the authors of The Federalist, "every Athenian assembly would have been a mob."

I conceive that the man who conscientiously acts with his party is as truly independent in politics as the man who, according to Lord Dundreary's proverb, "flocks by himself."

The man who surrenders his opinion, either as to measures or to candidates, to that of the organization or association to which he belongs, honestly believing that in that way, on the whole, he can best serve the public welfare, acts in so doing according to his own conscience and judgment as thoroughly as the man who refuses to combine with other people for the promotion of public ends.

What are political parties? A political party is an organization of men for the purpose of securing the executive and legislative power in the State, that it may carry into effect in the government of the State certain principles upon which it is agreed.

No principles, sound or unsound, can be carried into effect in government without previous concert on the part of the men who hold them.

No candidate, good or bad, can be chosen to office without a previous arrangement to support him.

The government can not be committed to any man, or organization or class of men, unless some organization precede the action of the people from whom they derive their power.

Political parties are the instruments by which such principles are carried into effect, such candidates are nominated and chosen, or such organizations placed in power.

Now, the question, On what conditions and under what circumstances can a man be independent in politics? is, in substance, this: On what conditions and under what circumstances can an honest and patriotic man accept and act upon the judgment of a political party, instead of acting on what, but for that judgment, would have been his own?

Under what circumstances ought I to vote for the man I most prefer for Governor or Representative, instead of voting for the man selected for that office by the majority of the political party with whose principles I agree?

You will agree with me, I think, that this is not a ten-minute

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or a sixty-minute question. It is one of the most difficult, as it is one of the most important, questions that can come to an American citizen in the course of his life.

My statement must be very brief. But I wish to precede what I have to say about it to-day with saying something about another subject which will seem to you, perhaps, quite remote from what we are talking about, but which seems to me to have a very intimate and near connection with it.

That subject is the true conception of a country or State. Now, I hold the country and the State to be a moral being to which may be ascribed the qualities of wisdom, conscience, justice, courage, good faith, reason, nobility, or the reverse, as much as to any man or woman. These qualities are very different from the mere aggregation of such traits in the individuals that make up the country or State.

The words Switzerland, France, England, Rome, Athens, Massachusetts, America, convey to your mind a distinct and individual meaning, and suggest an image of distinct moral quality and moral being as clearly as do the words Washington, Wellington, or Napoleon. I believe it is, and I thank God that I believe it is, something much higher than the average of the qualities of the men who make it up. We think of Switzerland as something better than the individual Swiss, and of France as something better than the individual Frenchman, and of America as something better than the individual American. In great and heroic individual actions we often seem to feel that it is the country, of which the man is but an instrument, that gives expression to its quality in doing the deed.

It was Switzerland who gathered into her breast at Sempach, the sheaf of fatal Austrian spears. It was the hereditary spirit of New England that gave the word of command by the voice of Buttrick, at Concord, and was in the bosom of Parker, at Lexington.

The citizen on great occasions knows and obeys the voice of his country as he knows and obeys an individual voice, whether it appeal to a base or ignoble, or to a generous or noble passion.

"Sons of France, awake to glory," told the French youth what was the dominant passion in the bosom of France, and it awoke a corresponding sentiment in his own. Under its spell he marched through Europe and overthrew her kingdoms and empires, and felt in Egypt that forty centuries were looking down on him from the pyramids. But, at last, one June morning in Trafalgar Bay there was another utterance, more quiet

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in its tone, but speaking also with a personal and individual voice—

"England expects every man to do his duty."

At the sight of Nelson's immortal signal, duty-loving England and glory-loving France met as they have met on many an historic battlefield before and since, and the lover of duty proved the stronger. The England that expected every man to do his duty was as real a being to the humblest sailor in Nelson's fleet as the mother that bore him.

It is this personal quality in States and nations, as individual, moral beings—objects of love, and fear, and approbation, and condemnation having a personal, moral quality, separate purposes, separate interests, different public objects, separate fashions of behavior and of public conduct—which justifies the arrangement in the Constitution of the United States for an equal representation of States in the upper legislative chamber, and explains its admirable success.

The separate entity and the absolute freedom (except for the necessary restraints of the Constitution) of our different States is the cause alike of the greatness and the security of the country.

It is one of the most wonderful things in our history that the separate States, having so much in common, have preserved so completely, even to the present time, their original and individual characteristics.

Rhode Island, held in the hollow of the hand of Massachusetts; Connecticut, so placed that one would think it would become a province of New York; Delaware, whose chief city is but 25 miles from Philadelphia, yet preserve their distinctive characteristics, as if they were States of the continent of Europe, whose people speak a different language.

This shows how perfectly State rights and State freedom are preserved in spite of our national union; how little the power at the center interferes with the important things that affect the character of the people.

Why is it that little Delaware remains Delaware in spite of Pennsylvania, and little Rhode Island remains Rhode Island notwithstanding her neighbor, Massachusetts?

"What makes the meadow flower its bloom unfold?
Because the lovely little flower is free
Down to its roots, and in that freedom bold.
And so the grandeur of the forest tree
Comes not from casting in a formal mold,
But from its own divine vitality."

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And so it is that little Delaware or little Rhode Island is as much the political equal of giant New York or Pennsylvania as little Wendell Holmes was the political equal of Daniel Lambert or Daniel Webster.

Now, I have made this preface of mine a good deal longer than the body of the discourse. There are certain political actions of the individual or citizen which do not in the least affect the action of his country as a moral being. There are other actions which have no moral quality or significance of their own, except as they enter into and affect the moral conduct or the character of the country or State. Now, as it seems to me, the question of the propriety of independent action is to be resolved by this test and touchstone.

Take the matter of supporting candidates for office. I hold it to be a good thing to narrow and not to widen the field of controversy between different political parties, and that their controversies should, so far as possible, be confined to the principles about which they differ. There is a large class of officers whose duties are purely executive, which require only honesty, fidelity, and executive capacity for their performance. The political opinion of the official has nothing more to do with the discharge of his duties than his religious opinion or the color of his eyes or hair.

I hold that it is desirable to remove these offices from the domain of party conflict, and that a man, in recommending a person or supporting a person for such office, is not bound to surrender his own judgment as to the superior fitness of the candidate to the political party with whose principles he agrees. I think, further, that the making of political opinion a condition of holding such office is of evil effect, as tending to inspire political activity by the hope of such rewards, and so as bribing the people with the offices created to serve them.

Next, I do not see how an honest and patriotic citizen can support measures, or ought to support measures, which he thinks of evil influence, merely because the political party with which he generally acts declares itself in favor of them. Of course, in matter of detail, matter of seasonableness as to time, there is room for compromise, and there is room for such a deference. But for it a political party, organized and associated for the purpose of causing certain principles to take effect in legislation, never could accomplish its purposes, and a majority would be without value or power. So that I hold

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to the largest independence of the individual conscience and judgment in the matter of those measures of legislation or executive action which are to affect the interests of the people, and still more as to those which are to determine the moral quality and character of the State or nation.

We must also all agree that no party obligation can compel a man to do, or to help to do, an action which he deems unjust, or to refrain from doing an action, or helping to do an action, which is required by justice. But, in regard to the executive officers of whom I have just spoken, I do not see why an independent citizen is not justified in doing what he can to place in those offices the men whom, after the best reflection and investigation, he thinks the best fitted for them, having only that reasonable deference to the opinion of his party which is due from all of us to the opinion of other men whom we respect. I do not see why he may not, in that way, if he choose, honor so far as he can the men whom he chiefly delighteth to honor.

But there is a class of public officials, such as Presidents, Governors, Members of either House of Congress, and Members of the State legislature, who are chosen not for what they themselves are, not to honor or decorate, or crown the brows of individual men, but for what the country, or State, as a moral being, is to do through their votes.

In regard to that class of officials, I have never been able to approve or to respect the opinion of the man who classes himself as an independent in politics. I do not approve or respect the notion, as applied to that class of officials, of the man who says he is going to vote for the best man without regard to party. It seems to me that in so doing he is indulging his preference for an individual at the cost of dishonoring his country.

If in what I said a little while ago there be any truth, and if there be any difference between right and wrong in the conduct of the State—if there be such a thing as the attribute of righteousness, justice, honor, virtue, courage, generosity, heroism, as applied to this being whom we call our country, and for whose good name and honor, if need be, we are ready to die, how is it possible that we are justified in making her unrighteous, unjust, cowardly, mean, and impure, because of something in the personal quality which we like or dislike in the character of the man whom we commission to do it.

Let us take an illustration from current politics. There are

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men who believe as I do, that the most valuable, most precious right of property that belongs to an American citizen is his citizenship; that its crowning attribute is the elective franchise; who believe that the worst socialism, the most dangerous radicalism, the most wicked attack on vested rights, is that which deprives a man of his franchise or the fruit of his franchise by fraud or crime, or debauches it by a bribe; who believe that the blended and mingled wickedness of all anarchy, all socialism, all disorder, all disorganization is contained in crimes against the ballot.

The question whether I like or approve the law which has vested these rights in the poorer or less educated classes of our citizens is a question I have nothing more to do with, while they remain vested, than the question whether I like the law of descent or the title to property under which our wealthy men own their real estate. It is the law of the land. Every good citizen is bound to maintain and defend it whether he like it or no.

Am I to put in a place of power the man who approves these things, who sympathizes with them, by whose vote my country is to crush out with its armed heel the rights of citizens, because he is a man more amiable or more faultless in his private life than the man by whose vote the country will do what is righteous and just in the matter? Some of you think, as I do not, that the protective tariff is a policy of gross injustice; that it plunders the poor for the rich; that it plunders one part of the country for the benefit of another; that it is organized monopoly, robbery, and plunder; and that the country that enacts it is the servant of monopoly, and plunder, and private greed.

Can I ask you to support a man who does not think so, and who is an accomplice himself and makes his country an accomplice in all these things, because he is a man more agreeable or more free from the faults which disgrace, or possesses more of the virtues which adorn private citizens, than a competitor who is sound in this matter? Your vote for governor, or President, or legislator, national or State, means simply, *I desire that my country shall pursue the path of honesty or of dishonesty, of prosperity or adversity, as I see it.*

The question of the individual quality of the person so commissioned is, compared with this, a secondary, subordinate, and trivial matter.

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Let me not be misunderstood. I do not mean that you should vote for a man if you can not trust him; I do not mean that you should vote for a man who is rotten, or corrupt, or base. You can not have honesty in the country with rulers who are venal and corrupt and profligate in their private conduct. You will not often have such men proposed to you by any party in the country for high public offices. When they are, the time has arrived for the independent in politics.

Every man who comes into the national legislative service will, I think, confirm what I say. He meets, perhaps for the first time, men who have been represented by the partisan, or so called independent, press as corrupt and self-seeking schemers, men who disgrace their country and their constituency, seeking public office to gratify selfish ambition, and using it after it is obtained to promote their personal fortunes. He finds them faithful, industrious, seeking the public good—men with many faults and foibles and, rarely, vices, but men to whom the suggestion of a corrupt motive would be received with as swift indignation as would have been a proposition to George Washington to pick a pocket; but, I believe, if you will reflect, you will find a large majority acting upon these principles, and that they have acted on them in the main from the beginning of our constitutional history. You will find, if you penetrate below the anger, and heat, and excitement of political discussion, and the misrepresentation and misjudgment which attend political controversies, that an honest desire for the public good and also a wise comprehension of what is for the public good have been the prevalent forces in guiding the great currents of our history.

I suppose you have heard all your lives, and will hear all your lives, constant complaints of the slowness, dullness, fickleness, and inefficiency of representative bodies of Congress, State legislatures, and municipal councils. The press is full of it. Writers of history who agree in nothing else agree in that. It is the burden of common speech everywhere. Nobody ever praises them except the men who belong to them. Yet the legislation of a free people alike determines and records their history. You can not separate the character of the people from the character of the men whom they deliberately, from year to year, and from generation to generation, elect to represent them. Men whose blood would fly to their cheeks at a charge of baseness, or wickedness, or cowardice, made against

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their country, or their State, or their city, will constantl in discourse attribute these qualities to the chosen bodies by which, and by which alone, their country, or State, or city speaks or acts.

Now, I think there are several things to be borne in mind in considering the justice of such criticism. The nation is the largest business organization that exists. It has more than 100,000 employees. It must not only provide for managing the Army and Navy, Post-Office, tax collections, custom-houses, courts of justice, light-houses, Life-Saving Service, Land Office, Patent Office, Indian tribes, pensions, Territories, elections, currency, and foreign affairs, but it must enact the laws by which all these are to be governed, and provide the executive officers by which they are to be administered. It must also determine the laws, and keep abreast of the age in enacting them, by which every great concern of a national or international character is regulated. Commerce between the different States, commerce with foreign nations, railroads, telegraphs, telephones, inventions, manufactures depend not only for their security, but for their prosperity, on the constant supervision and control exercised by the National Congress.

Would you think it strange if a board of directors having in charge the least of these vast subjects had to sit all the year round and toil from morning till sundown and from sundown far into the small hours of the morning? Would you think it strange that they took a good while for discussion and decision of that?

Consider how our National Congress is made up. Its members represent a constituency covering a territory and having interests as various as all Europe with all its empires and kingdoms and republics. Suppose that there were a convocation or conference representing all the States of Europe, called together for the single purpose of conferring upon this difficult and subtle question of using gold and silver as a currency and a standard of value. The question has taxed the resources of the profoundest intellect among mankind from the earliest dawnings of civilization. Suppose such a body were to confer even without authority to decide. We should think six months a pretty brief period for the discussions of such a body.

But, it is said: "Your Representatives and Senators come together with their minds made up, and the wishes of their constituents well known. Why don't you take a vote and the majority decide the matter and put a stop to the public

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anxiety?" But, suppose it happens that among the men representing 44 States and 70,000,000 people, there be more than two opinions on a question concerning which there are one hundred opinions among the people and among scholars and scientific men, and that neither of these opinions happen in the first instance to be found with a clear majority. You have got, in that case, to discuss and reflect and have experimental votes, and committees and compromises till you find some common ground for harmony—not perhaps the best solution, but a practicable solution of your difficulty.

Consider, in the next place, that the mischief of a mistake is irreparable. The individual, the business corporation can change its mind in the light of experiments, and can retrace a step as easily as it took it. But there is no such possibility to a body clothed with the functions of national legislation.

Next you are to consider that these periods of time which to individuals and to common men seem so long are really brief, compared with the duration of the mighty national life. The mushroom grows in a night to perish in a day. But this oak of ours adds ring to ring, slowly and imperceptibly. Years, sessions of legislative bodies, terms of Presidential office, generations of men count but as minutes, are but the pulsations of an artery in the mighty national life. This mighty being, an aggregation of 70,000,000 lives, may well take twelve months to draw its breath.

The processes, whether of nature or history, are slow, or they have led to nothing permanent. Do you not suppose that the mushroom, if it could think, would look with infinite impatience and scorn at the unchanged appearance of the oak under whose shadow it had sprung up in an hour?

You remember when the lawyers who had come from the ordinary courts of justice to take part in the impeachment of Warren Hastings before the British Parliament cited some of their precedents and attempted to hurry the august proceeding, Burke told them that it was as if the rabbit which breeds four times a year should attempt to prescribe the period of gestation of an elephant.

I am willing to take any period in the legislative history of any free people—England, the United States, the Netherlands—and compare it with any period that may be selected under the most prosperous and flourishing despotism and see which has done most for human happiness or human progress.

Take our Continental Congress, which existed as a body

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clothed with political power for the fourteen years from its assembling in 1775 to the inauguration of Washington in 1789, or, indeed, it would be more proper to speak of it as lasting only until the formation of the Constitution in 1787, when its functions practically ended. It is a habit into which intelligent and patriotic historians have fallen to speak with contempt of that body as "sluggish, hesitating, timid, and inefficient."

But just think for a moment of the difficulties under which they labored. They were the representatives of thirteen colonies, independent and separated governments, having as little intercourse with each other and as little knowledge of each other as we have with and of the nations of Asia to-day. They had no power to levy taxes, but only to recommend them; no power to pass a vote without the consent of nine States, and no power to make a law to which any penalty could be attached for its enforcement. It was a difficult, three days' journey from New York to Philadelphia. My grandfather, who lived in New Haven, and was a member of the Continental Congress, used to ride horseback from Philadelphia to Perth Amboy, and then take a sloop to New York and another sloop from New York to get home to New Haven. I have a letter of his in my possession to his wife in which he says that he hopes to leave Philadelphia the next Monday morning and, if he has a favorable journey, to get to New Haven on Saturday night.

There were a few newspapers, published weekly, uncertain post-office service between a few of the large towns, and their communications during a great part of the way interrupted by the British possession of New York and the Hudson River below West Point, of New Jersey, of Philadelphia, of York River, of parts of North Carolina, and of Charlestown at different parts of the war, while British men-of-war were hovering on the coast.

There was a feeling of distrust by an agricultural people of new measures and of all legislation in which strangers were to have a share.

Now, in those twelve years not only did our fathers maintain, except as to the parts of the country which were debatable ground between two contending armies, peaceable and orderly government, the administration of justice, punishment of crime, the collection of debts, which were State matters, but

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in the Continental Congress they wrote a chapter of political history of which their children may well be proud.

They produced at the outset those great State papers—the Address to the King, the Address to the People of Ireland, the Declaration of Independence—which commanded the admiration of Lord Chatham, who said, "When your lordships look at the papers transmitted us from America, when you consider their decency, firmness, and wisdom, you can not but respect their cause and wish to make it your own. For myself, I must avow that, in all my reading—and I have read Thucydides, and have studied and admired the master states of the world—for solidity of reason, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion under a complication of difficult circumstances, no nation or body of men could stand in preference to the general Congress at Philadelphia. The histories of Greece and Rome give us nothing equal to it, and all attempts to impose servitude upon such a mighty continental nation must be vain."

They summoned Washington to the command of the armies; they stood firm amid every discouragement; they resisted alike the power and the blandishments of Great Britain; there was scarcely a Tory or a traitor among them. Those stout hearts never flinched. They put on the seas, with the help of individual enterprise, a warlike power which, before the French alliance, sent the rate of marine insurance up to 28 per cent and made a long continuance of the war an impossibility. They selected Franklin and John Adams as their diplomatic agents abroad, and through them negotiated the alliance with France and Spain. They *won* in the contest for Independence. They enacted the Ordinance of 1787. They called the convention which framed the Constitution, most of whose members had been members of the Congress, and took steps for inaugurating and setting it in motion.

Now, I would like to have some of our historical critics tell us what twelve years of legislative history anywhere they can produce in which such results were accomplished with such instrumentalities.

Daniel Webster, whose historic sense was almost unerring, and who certainly had a lofty standard of excellence, says:

> The first Congress, for the ability which it manifested, the principles which it proclaimed, and the characters of those who composed it, makes an illustrious chapter in our American history. Its members should be regarded not only individually, but as in a group; they should be viewed

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as living pictures, exhibiting young America as it then was and when the seeds of its public destiny were beginning to start into life, well described by our early motto, as a being full of energy and prospered by heaven:

"Non sine Dis, animosus infans."

The detractors of popular representative government are apt to point at the Shays rebellion in Massachusetts, early in 1787, as indicating the feebleness of the State and national authority. Well, it is true that, after eight years of war, the people were poor and suffering, and that the due process of debt collecting was interfered with for a short time. But Shays's rebellion ended, I believe, with only two or three men slain and the life of no single rebel taken by the authorities after it ended. There was little property destroyed beyond a hen roost. There was scarcely a woman frightened.

Compare that with the Gordon riot in London, in 1780, with its vast conflagration of property, with its destruction of life, and the terrible vengeance of the British law. Compare it with what was going on in France in that year and the years that followed, of the drama in which the old monarchy of France went down.

I am willing to compare our representative Government at its worst with any monarchic government under which the authority of the monarchy is really felt in supremacy over the expression of a represented and controlling popular will at its best, and risk everything that I hold dear and precious on the result of the comparison.

Now, my friends, I hope you do not think I have come up here to ask you to listen to a few generalities and boastful utterances. It is a very serious question to any American whether his love for his country is a sentiment which has its root and its foundation in a solid respect and honor. If it be true, as the critics of the London Saturday Review and of the London Times and their New York imitators are telling us from day to day and from week to week, that these representative governments of ours are but an aggregation of base men, seeking base, personal ends, governed by low and sordid motives, and that this condition of things is growing from year to year worse and not better, then your country is not a fit object of your love. You can not be grateful to the fathers who have bequeathed to you these institutions, and you can have no rational hope for the children to whom you hope to deliver them.

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But it is not true. My life for thirty years has been given, in a humble way, to the public service. I have known intimately, through and through, the men whom the people from all the States of the country have intrusted with the conduct of public affairs.

You can not be one of sixty or eighty men, shut up together in the same room for twenty years to debate and deal with the most exciting subjects of human interest, without knowing pretty well the temper and character and quality of your associates. There is a good deal of human nature in all of them. They are subject to the passions of anger, to the infirmities of impatience and of ambition. They meet each other under circumstances tending to excite rivalry, jealousy, distrust, and often hasty and passionate judgment and speech.

And yet, I am sure that among the men of all parties and of all shades of opinion on public questions, of all sections of the country, the men who are not governed in their public conduct by an honorable love of country and an honorable desire to do their best for the highest interest of the people are the rare exceptions and not the rule. And, in this respect, there has been a steady and constant and certain improvement. There are a few exceptions. But the men in this country who are clothed with legislative powers lead frugal, temperate, simple lives; the hours of the day and the days of the year are occupied by honest, hard work in the public service.

The faults which pertain to humanity are theirs. The faults which pertain to men coming from the humblest places and raising themselves to places of honor and confidence and power are also, in large measure, theirs; but, in the main, they have given their country their best service, and the beneficent institutions they have received from those who went before them, they will hand down unimpaired for a larger beneficence to the generations that are to come.

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IV.—THE SURROUNDINGS AND SITE OF RALEIGH'S COLONY.

By TALCOTT WILLIAMS,
OF PHILADELPHIA, PA.

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THE SURROUNDINGS AND SITE OF RALEIGH'S COLONY.

By Talcott Williams.

A strange Nemesis has attended every original site of colonization on the North American continent. Not one has waxed great and prospered. Most stand to-day desolate. Plymouth is but a village. The island which the Dutch first occupied below Albany is as empty of men as when the first blockhouse was built upon it. Jamestown is an open field. First and earliest of all, the scene of Raleigh's colony, Roanoke Island, has to-day a population probably not much larger than when it was discovered, and the site of the colony itself has held no dwelling for three centuries.

The occupation of civilized man has left its visible mark and change on most of our coast, but the shores of the two great sounds of North Carolina, Albemarle and Pamlico, and the various islands which separate them from the ocean—the waters which first received English keels and the lands which were first occupied by English-speaking men—are to-day, for leagues together, as they were first seen. Nothing has altered. The long, low island, pictured by De Bry from White's drawing is still a better sketch of Roanoke than any published since—far superior to the somewhat ridiculous print repeated in school histories from a modern magazine.[1] The rows of white swan still rise at a shot as they rose at the report of Barlowe's arquebus. The flat line of the horizon, the amazing luxuriance of vegetation (1,800 species in a single pocoson[2]), the wilderness of bird life, the wine-colored waters of Albemarle, the shifting shoals which connect it with Pamlico, the tempestuous ocean without and the calm sounds within—these all still repeat in minute detail the narratives of Lane, of Hariot, of Amadas and of Barlowe, and the sketches of John White.

[1] Harper's New Monthly Magazine, 20:730 (May, 1860), "Loungings in the footprints of the pioneers," by Edward C. Bruce.

[2] Goldthwaite's Geographical Magazine, II:373 (May, 1892), "Physiography of a pocoson," by Charles Hallock.

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This permanence of physical conditions, untouched and unchanged by man, lends a singular interest to this forgotten corner of the continent and sheds a special illumination on the narratives of the expeditions which we owe chiefly to the care of Hakluyt. History the colony of Raleigh has had in abundant measure, particularly in the last decade, the last and fullest account having been read before the American Historical Association by Dr. Stephen Beauregard Weeks at its meeting in December, 1890.[1] Into the narrative of the colony which begins with the voyage of Amadas and Barlowe in 1584[2], ends with the return of White in 1590, and is prolonged by the search for the colony in 1602, 1608, and 1610, I do not propose to enter; but I have twice devoted the scanty recreation of a journalist to a visit and examination of the site, once in November, 1887, and again in November and December of this year; I have sailed over the waters of the region in an open boat from Edenton to Hatteras and I have given the physical conditions of the region and the present state of its remains a direct and practical examination with sail, lead, and spade, supplemented by a study of the physiography of the region which may, I trust, collectively throw light on the written record. For it can not be too often repeated or too well remembered that the current of history flows in channels furnished by the earth's surface and that every narrative, however full, however accurate, however near, and however remote, needs for its full comprehension the study of the region in which its events took place, its institutions were formed, its greater figures produced, and its battles decided. Without this background and foundation, history is but a succession of shadowy and shifting scenes "whose worth's unknown although their height be taken."

[1] American Historical Association V: 107. The Lost Colony of Roanoke: Its Fate and Survival by Prof. Stephen Beauregard Weeks. Magazine of Am. History, 29: 459 May–June, 1893. Raleigh's New Fort in Virginia, 1585, by Edward Graham Daves. New England Magazine, N. S., 11: 565, January, 1895. Raleigh's Lost Colony, by James Phinney Baxter. Canadian Magazine, 4: 500, April, 1895, Lost Colony of Roanoke, by E. Y. Wilson.

[2] Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe sailed in 1584, and discovered Roanoke and the Carolina sounds. Sir Richard Grenville in 1585 landed over 100 persons on the island who were brought back by Drake in 1586. In the same year Sir Richard Grenville left 15 persons on the island who were all slain by the Indians. Raleigh's second colony, 117 souls, went out in 1587, and settled at Roanoke. When the island was visited in 1590 by Ralph Lane, their governor, all had disappeared, and it is about the deserted site that there centers the interest which still attaches to Roanoke and the first English colony on this continent.

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The long rampart of sandy islands which shut in the two sounds of North Carolina, between which lies the island of Roanoke, constitutes, taken together, the physical feature on the Atlantic Coast, whose conditions have changed less and whose hydrography has altered more than any stretch as long on the continent. Now, as then, two rivers, the Roanoke and the Neuse, and numerous lesser streams, pour their waters into these shallow sounds.[1] Now, as then triple forces, the Gulf Stream, the prevailing northeast and southwest winds, and these rivers, heap these sand-bars and fill with silt the space behind them. But while this process, in progress from the earliest days of the current emergence of the coast along the line of the Cincinnati upheaval, produces the same conditions and leaves the same general outline of coast and the same low horizon of sand-dune swamp and wooded islands, the outlines of the coast steadily alter as land and sand encroach on the sea. Nowhere else are general outlines more permanent. Nowhere else are specific boundaries and physical features more transitory. Much ingenuity has been expended, particularly by those who have never visited the region, in determining the exact course followed by the voyagers of three centuries ago; but as it is morally certain that no one of the inlets now open was open then, with possibly a dubious exception at the southern end in Ocracoke—if this was Wokokok—the attempt to decide this question absolutely is a fruitless labor. The utmost which can be done is to reach approximate conclusions.

In our own brief day, Hatteras—opened in 1846; in 1860 the accepted gateway of the entire system of sounds—has begun to close, and can no longer be entered even by schooners of moderate size. Without the coast, off Hatteras, Diamond Shoals alter so rapidly that their rapid changes have thus far baffled the most astute and experienced of light-house builders and submarine engineers, Capt. John F. Anderson, who, in 1892, lost some $100,000, by the destruction of his caisson, to learn that the soundings of one year on this tempestuous elbow of the continent are all altered by the storms of the next winter. Steadily the winds carry the sands grinding along the coast from Cape Cod to Florida, until the characteristic detritus of the New England coast can be traced a

[1] The area of these streams is: Neuse 5,299 and Roanoke 9,237 square miles. The area of the sounds is approximately 3,500 square miles.

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thousand miles south; steadily the ocean currents and storms together dig breaches in the sandy rampart, and as steadily are they filled by the southward march of sand and the outward flow of fluviatile deposits; but in no ten years together do these varying conditions produce exactly the same result in bar, inlet, and channel. When it is once clearly understood that inlets have been and still are opening and closing, like doors on a hotel corridor, along the entire line of this coast for three centuries, it will be seen what a fruitless labor it is to endeavor to determine by exactly which inlet Amadas, Barlowe, and their successors entered by applying the uncertain record of the successive navigators from 1584 to 1590 to our still more uncertain knowledge of the region then and our none too certain acquaintance with it now. Very nearly every inlet[1] now upon our maps has been credited with furnishing an entrance to the voyagers during the period, now approaching two centuries, in which the subject has been under active discussion. But of the ten inlets which have been open at intervals into these sounds since 1580, only one, Ocracoke, has been open through that period, and it is not improbable that this was closed during part of the seventeenth century from a reference made to its navigation.[2]

[1] The creation of the beaches and tidal marshes of the Atlantic Coast has been luminously discussed by Prof. Nathaniel Southgate Shaler. (Report United States Geological Survey, X, 147, and in National Geographic Monographs, I, 137–168.)

[2] Beginning at the north the varying authorities are: Byrd, opposite Collidon Island, now Collington Island; Welsh and Weeks, Caffeys Inlet; Hawks and Dover, New Inlet; Ruffin, Roanoke Inlet; Bancroft, Abert, and Moore, Ocracoke, identified with Wokokok. Of these the last appear to me the least and the first the most probable. The three principal discussions of the physiography of this region in connection with this subject are:

Bulletin of the Essex Institute, XVII, Nos. 1–3. An account of the cutting through of Hatteras Inlet, North Carolina, September 7, 1846; also through which inlet did the English adventurers of 1584 enter the sounds of North Carolina, and some changes in the coast line since their time, by William L. Welsh.

Appendix G of the Annual Report of the Chief of Engineers for 1876, being annual report upon the improvement of rivers and harbors in the District of Columbia, Virginia, and North Carolina, in charge of S.T. Abert, United States civil engineer.

Ex. Doc. H. R., Forty-first Congress, third session (January 18, 1871), Engineers' Report on Certain Rivers and Harbors, contains, pp. 52–59, report of J. H. Simpson, colonel engineers and brevet brigadier-general, United States Army, on Roanoke Inlet and its proposed reopening.

Mr. Welsh's contribution, while brief, is the most important of all, because it was the first to grasp the fact of frequent changes and to note that "Hatarask" and "Hatteras" are miles apart. Mr. Abert's report is the fullest

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While a specific determination of all the places and inlets mentioned in these early itineraries is now impossible, a general comprehension of the coast as they found it is as important and perhaps more instructive. To-day there is no entrance to the sounds north of Oregon Inlet, fast filling, and there will soon be none above Ocracoke, at present the only practicable ship channel. Both sounds have made considerable progress toward their ultimate destiny of land-locked waters slowly filling up to the condition of the Dismal Swamp, or, better, drained and turned into fertile lands. In Byrd's time the most northern arm of these sounds, Currituck,[1] could be entered by vessels

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and most satisfactory discussion of the physical condition of the region, moved by the not unnatural circumstance that he was a better engineer than historian, and failed to note past changes while studying the current situation. Colonel Simpson's paper summarizes the physical history of the region immediately about and opposite Roanoke Island. His conclusion that the voyagers could not have entered at Roanoke Inlet (now Nags Head) is probably accurate, but this omits the still more important fact that an inlet undoubtedly existed just above Nags Head by which they did in all probability enter.

Nearly every historian of North Carolina has made an attempt to answer the geographical questions involved in the accounts of these voyages, most of them by resorting to the charts of their own day, with little comprehension of the physical history of the region, its unceasing change, and its early condition. The first indispensable apparatus for the study of this problem are the early narratives, the charts of White and Hariot, and the Coast Survey charts of the region. The gap between the outline of 1586 and the coast as it is to-day can only be filled by a careful study of intervening charts, nearly every one of which throws some light on the problem. These consist of three classes—the outline sketches of early navigators extending over the first century, colonial surveys over the next century, and modern charts over the past one hundred years. The first have become familiar in facsimile, and it is unnecessary to specify them. Exact knowledge begins with the accounts and maps of John Lawson, surveyor-general, 1708, and William Byrd, of Westover. Wimbler, 1730, republished by act of Parliament, and Emanuel Rowen, 1763, are the most important of the colonial charts. Modern surveys and charts may be fairly said to begin with Daniel Dunbibin, 1764. This was superseded by the State surveys made with a view to a canal in the early years of the century. (Murphey, 1816, and Hamilton Fuller, 1818; North American Review, January, 1821.) The reports of army engineers begin with that of Col. W. K. Armistead, December 15, 1820, and come down to the present time. The Coast Survey charts cover the last half century, and their comparison is important.

[1] Currituck Inlet was closed in 1828 (Ruffin, 116), but countless maps still carry it, and even the "Map of the United States and Territories," 1882, issued by the Land Office, has the familiar gap for Currituck Inlet. There is probably nothing so lasting as a geographical error, except a fictitious historical anecdote.

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drawing 10 feet, and there was a succession of inlets along the coast. Earlier the number of inlets was still greater. The bearings of the Long Shoal indicate its early existence under conditions similar to those which now create the Diamond Shoal.

The general coast line has probably been traveling to the eastward, working out under aëriel and aquatic influences, modified by the slow secular change which once elevated and is now probably depressing the entire region. During the century in which we have definite information we know that the inlets have been closing from north to south, and the waters just inside of the bars steadily shoaling. The first maps show scattered and not continuous islands.[1] Even White's map, which is extraordinarily accurate, shows the inclosing islands wider and the inlets broader than to-day.

It is not improbable that in 1654 there were a series of islands of considerable size, separated by inlets, which, at Trinity Harbor, just north of Roanoke, gave a broad entrance and an anchorage safe from any but southeast winds, and represented now by the fresh-water lakes north of Nags Head, the channels about Collington Island, and the remains and memory of Caffeys Inlet, closed in 1800, and Roanoke, closed in 1806. In all the maps of the middle of the last century there were not one but two inlets here, or one divided by an island, giving wider and easier access than at any other point.[2] In addition, while the inlets below and near Cape Hatteras are shut off from ocean approach by shoals extending far to sea, of which early mention is made,[3] these shoals disappear north of the turn of the cape. Once inside Ocracoke, also, while there is a broad stretch of water apparent, the expanse is shallow, the channel through the swash inside is not to be readily found, and this passed, the work of finding a way even for a pinnace from the south to Roanoke Island would not be easy. Inside and outside, therefore, the advantages of navigation are all in favor of an entrance north of Roanoke and against an entrance below.

[1] This is particularly true of a map of 1666 (Winsor, v, 338), Morden, 1687, and Powers, 1763, and John Mitchell, 1755, give the same impression. At the latter date Hatteras Island was six or seven times larger than to-day.

[2] This is true of Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson, 1755; Robert de Vangoudy, 1755; Emanuel Powers, 1763; William Faden, 1793, and the map with Thomas Jefferson's Notes on Virginia.

[3] Pedro Menendez, Morquez, 1573.

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I doubt if anyone could go over the coast without and within and not reach the conclusion that the most probable landfall of the first navigators drawing up from the south would be the shoals which make off from Capes Fear and Hatteras, and that these would hold them too far away to make any inlet until they reached the distinct break in the coast line marked and given the name, with good reason, as Trinity Harbor on the coast, and that this lay at a point cut by various inlets, of which Oregon, far to the south of the old opening, is to-day the solitary representative, but which then was in the condition whose traces are now apparent in the region just described. To Mr. W. L. Welsh must be given credit for calling attention to this point first named by William Byrd.[1]

The crucial argument in favor of entrance north of Roanoke is that the island is always approached from this direction. It was at the "north end thereof" that Barlowe found "a village of nine houses." If he had approached from the south he would have noted the other Indian village, whose remains are to-day abundantly visible on the island back of Round Ten Oak Island. It was "round about the north point of the island" that Ralph Lane sought his colony. Moreover, the upper end of this entrance was 35 miles (7 leagues) from Roanoke Island. Collington, then of larger size, furnishes the first island of Amadas and Barlowe. Approached from the sea it would seem the mainland, and on it the tradition repeated by Byrd places the scene of taking possession of the land. Moreover, starting from this point, with the prevalent wind of the region, it would be easy to run to the mainland "20 miles" away, the Alligator River, Occam, nearer here than Roanoke, and from thence to seek Roanoke. Coming from the south, Roanoke would be almost certainly the first landing made in the Sound. "Kendrick's Mounts" are, in all probability, the conspicuous sand hills near Nags Head, the highest on the coast, 100 feet high, and to-day marked objects and fronting dangerous shoals. Nor must it be forgotten that while in this century and in the last half of the eighteenth the inlets of Pamlico Sound have been the chief channels of commerce, in the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth

[1] "Not far from Roanoke Inlet. They ventured ashore near that place upon an island now called Colleton, where they set up the arms of England." (William Byrd, Notes, p. 12.)

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Albemarle was the more accessible sheet of water. The balance of evidence of record, of tradition, and of physical conditions is therefore all in favor of an entrance at some inlet, which even in Byrd's time had disappeared, north of Roanoke Island and not far from Collington Island.

This approach decided the point at which the two colonies planted by Raleigh were established on the higher ground at the northern end of the island, where a low, quadrangular mound has been identified since 1654 as its site. This island, which is now 12 miles by 3 and was three centuries ago 16 miles long and a half mile or more wide, is entered at the northwest, on the side toward Croatan Sound, by the Alder Branch below Weirs Point, and on the eastern face by Shallow Bag Bay, on which now stands the little village of Manteo, and about which Daniel Baum and other early settlers lived when the island was reoccupied. This harbor is the natural site for a settlement on the island. If another was earlier selected, it was for reasons due to the approach and the site of existing Indian villages. Indian remains are numerous on Roanoke Island and their careful study would probably do much to solve two important problems, the advance of the early red man along the coast and the first contact of his last descendants with the white man.

Four recent Indian village sites were examined by me, one at the southern end, where extensive shell mounds have been reduced in extent by their use as an easy fertilizer, but on which a clearly marked mound, 600 by 200 feet in size, fronts on an old canal or waterway cut through the swamp for a mile. Another extensive Indian deposit is on Baums Point,[1] most of which has been eaten away by the encroachment of the sound on the island, which a few years ago, about 1870 to 1875, laid bare a number of Indian skeletons.

Opposite this point, across the mouth of Shallow Bag Bay, is Ballast Point. Off this marshy projection is a mass of stones under from 3 to 4 feet of water, covering a space about

[1] This is the point now known as Dolbys Point, on which Martin (1: 35) places "the stump of a live oak said to have been the tree on which this word (Croaton) was cut, was shown as late as the year 1778 by the people of Roanoke Island. It stood at the distance of about 6 yards from the shore of Shalon-bas-bay, on the land then owned by Daniel Baum. This bay is formed by Ballast Point and Baums Point." Baum's descendant, Mr. B. F. Meekin, now holds the site of the original Baum farm.

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40 by 20 feet. These stones tradition for over a century has alleged to be ballast from Raleigh's first two vessels. They may possibly have reached this point. I procured a quantity of this ballast. It is made up of round and angular stones of quartzite, porphyritic rock, and greenstone of a few pounds of weight, some cleaved. It looks extremely like the raw material of an Indian workshop for the manufacture of arrowheads and stone axes, but I suspend judgment awaiting a competent mineralogical determination of the material.

A third Indian settlement is on the northeastern angle of the island, much of which has also been gradually swept away by the sound and the shifting sand dunes. The most important Indian remains are, however, the mounds on the Alder Branch, which stand about 100 yards south of the corduroy bridge, thrown over the creek during the war, and part of "Burnside avenue."[1] This low, but clearly artificial, mound contains closely packed in a sitting posture a great number of skeletons so decomposed that no bones can be extracted and only the general outlines of the skull vertebræ and femora traced. A single trench of several opened, 2½ feet square, showed twelve of these skeletons on its four faces.

White's sketches show that the Indians of the region kept their dead in huts, where they were exposed to smoke, as was the case in Florida, and it is interesting to have this corroborative proof that in addition the bodies were packed closely together and heaped about with sand. It is also an interesting circumstance that the Alder Branch, at an early date and one apparently anterior to white occupation, had been cut to a straight course and the earth heaped on its southern bank. Similar artificial waterways are to be found in east Florida. This mound probably marks the neighborhood of the Indian village found by Barlowe, as the Alder Branch makes a natural boat entrance to anyone approaching as he did from the mainland opposite. Besides these surface remains, there are on the northeastern shores of the island, where careless denudation of forest has set the sand in motion, two earlier horizons of Indian occupation, one 8 and the other about 15 feet below

[1] This is upon the land of Charles Pettigrew Meekin, near the "Indian hole," a large artificial cavity, 20 yards across and 30 feet deep, mentioned in deeds for many years and an early landmark. Neither this nor the mounds can be due to operations in the war.

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the present surface, the latter clearly marked and extending for a mile or two, with frequent fire pits and pottery fragments of the fish-net type.

When the colonists landed under Grenville and under Lane they came from the north, as Barlowe had. They would naturally enter at the same creek and push their boats up the mile or more which it was navigable down to the memory of men now living,[1] shipbuilding on a small scale having been carried on at its head in the last century, as the oak chips, blocks, etc., which can be turned up show, although the stream is now a dense marsh of tall reed. They sought for their new home the highest ground on the island, upon which stand such remains as are left, a site carefully designated, it may be noted, by White by a mark O, distinct from that used to indicate the Indian villages on the island.

That this was the approach to the colony, and not by Shallow Bag Bay, as the traditional oak tree would have indicated, appears from Lane's account of his return to the island. Coming from the sea side, he first "espied toward the north end of the island the light of a great fire." Landing at daybreak, he "went through the woods to that part of the island directly over against Dasamonguepeuk"—that is, the western or Croatan Sound side—and "from thence we returned by the water side round about the north part of the island until we came to the place where I left our colony in 1586," which would be the nearest approach from the eastern side of Roanoke Island to the existing fort. It was here on the "sandy bank" that he found the tree "in the very brow of which were curiously carved these fair Roman letters, C. R. O." From the fort he "went along by the water side to the point of the creek," which is more likely to be the Alder Branch, half a mile off, than the creek of Shallow Bog Bay, 3 miles distant. "Presently," continues Lane, "Captain Cooke and I went to the place, which was in the end of an old trench, made two years past by Captain Amadas." "Two years past" must be a misprint for six years past, when Captain Amadas visited the place in 1584; and as it is difficult to see what digging he could have done on his flying visit, it does not appear a forced construction to take "made" in the seafaring sense of "found," and the "old trench," the canalled stream of which I have already spoken.

[1] I owe much in these details to the kindly interest and the local knowledge of Mr. Walter Dough, long the owner of the fort site.

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Into the details of Lane's melancholy visit, whose pathos must have touched every reader, I do not enter, because I propose to confine myself to the topographical aspects of the history. On the site itself, while the colonists were "left in sundry houses" originally built by Grenville's colonists, Lane found "the houses taken down and the place very strongly inclosed with a high palisade of great trees, with curtains and flankers very fortlike." It is this for which the low, square mound, still preserved, now stands. Few sites are better established by tradition. In 1654 Travis Yardley records the visit of "a trader for beavers," in September, 1653, to Roanoke Island, where he was shown "the ruins of Sir Walter Raleigh's fort" by friendly Indians.[1] The island was bought from the Indians by Yardley, and in 1676 became the property of a New Englander. A gap of a century leaves it without record. The local tradition runs back clearly authenticated to the middle of the last century, and there were then living those who could by one or two removes have heard the Indian tradition noted by Yardley.

When I visited the site in November, 1887, I could find no record of any description since that made in 1860 by Mr. Edward C. Bruce, to whose article allusion has already been made. Judging from his account, it has seen few changes in thirty-five years, though all the brick and mortar he mentions is gone. It is a quadrangular embankment whose angles lie due north and south and east and west, so that the faces front southeast, northeast, northwest, and southwest. The mound, which is perfectly clear around the entire inclosure, is 2 feet 4 inches high above the ditch at its most prominent point. The eastern angle has a slope of 23 feet on the angles and about 15 feet on the curtains, and is broken by what was apparently a sally port crossing the southwest angle, the one turned toward the creek already mentioned. The four faces measure: The southeastern, 84.3 feet; the southwestern, 77.6 feet; the northwestern, 63.3 feet, and the northeastern, 73.9 feet. As the mound is irregular, these measurements are necessarily approximate. By measuring from points on the irregular slope farther in or farther out, different dimensions would be secured, but it was probably originally a square of 25 yards.

The eastern angle is a right angle, without any signs of a bastion whatever. Each face is broken by an angle about 15

[1] North Carolina Colonial Records, I: 18.

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to 18 feet across and projecting from the embankment line about 5 to 7 feet. The southern, western, and northern angles are bastioned. These may have anticipated the pentagonal bastion of a century later; but this is extremely improbable of Elizabethan fort builders, more familiar with the earlier roundel, better suited for the trajectory and angle of the projectiles of the period.

There is nothing in the bastions themselves to show that they were pentagons, unless one reads into them a preconception based on our familiarity with this form. The interior is nearly on a level with the embankment, but at points slightly lower. The oak mentioned by Mr. Bruce still stands, though aging. The other trees are more recent, and none are of any great age.

The most serious challenge which must be addressed to this ancient relic is its size. An area of 625 square yards is scant space for over 100 souls who composed the beleaguered colony for which it was built. As the houses had been taken down, it was their only dwelling, and while it is not impossible that it would hold them in leaguer, one would expect the fort would be larger. It is also rigorously fair to add that the remains have the look, slope, and appearance of smaller Indian mounds, some of which are quadrangular and are laid with reference to the four cardinal points. If this embankment were in an Indian mound region, with no other history, it would probably be given this origin; but with the chain of evidence which exists, broken though it be by the gap of a hundred years, there appears to be no reason for challenging its assigned source.

So far as is known, the surface has been disturbed only once prior to the excavations just conducted. During the occupation of the island by Federal soldiers in 1863 holes were dug in the embankment at the eastern angle and on the southeastern face. On complaint by Mr. Walter Dough, who then owned the fort, the vandalism was promptly checked and the fort placed under military guard. It was probably at this time that the hatchet mentioned by Mr. Weeks in his paper was found. With the exception of the Indian pottery and the small iron fragments just discovered, this is the only object yet found in the inclosure.

As a careful examination of the site seemed desirable, I made application to its present owner, the Roanoke Memorial Association, and from its president, Maj. Graham Daves, and its

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secretary, Dr. J. B. Bassett received prompt and cordial permission to conduct excavations. I was careful to avoid any disturbance of the embankment and its slope, the surface disturbed was carefully returned to its original condition, the site of each trench was carefully plotted and fixed by bearings and measurements, and a minute record kept and deposited with the association, so that no injury would be done to the site and no embarrassment caused to any future explorer by his inability to know where the soil was disturbed. In all, 13 trenches, most of them 5 by 3 feet, were opened and carried from 4 to 9 feet deep.

Water, it may be premised, is reached at 15 feet, and undisturbed sand at about 4 feet. Wherever trenches were sunk, and, it is fair to conclude, over the entire area, there was found a thin and undisturbed layer of sandy humus of 6 to 8 inches to a foot, then a layer of black, ashy earth, containing many fragments of charcoal and frequent fire pits. This layer rested directly on undisturbed sand, often penetrated by fire pits. If we imagine a forest surface from which the original humus had been removed to make an embankment, laying bare the sand below, this site occupied for a season and then for three centuries left to gather humus again, the condition revealed would be created. Toward the base of the black, ashy layer were found small pieces of iron, a corroded nail, a chipped piece of quartzite, and some small fragments of Indian pottery, networked. No one could reasonably expect to find any objects of importance on a site ransacked as this must have been, but I confess my surprise at the absence of small fragments, particularly of pottery. For a site occupied as it was, the place proved singularly barren of débris. Like its size, this circumstance has no ready explanation. The trenches opened were dug in three angles, the eastern, northern, and western—the southern being too much occupied by trees—across the center in two of the flanking bastions, and at other points where the surface was either above or below the normal level.

In addition, the embankment was sounded with an iron rod for a depth of from 3 to 4 feet at intervals of from 10 to 20 feet around the inclosure. The embankment may have had logs in it which have wholly decayed, but the indications were that it was heaped sand, the dark ashy layer curving over its slopes. Excavations were also made in the ditch and at

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various points in the woods, showing there an undisturbed surface and no remains of a layer of coal and ashes below the surface. The most plausible deduction which can be made from these sparse results is that the site was occupied at an early period by those using iron, succeeded by many years in which the forest did its natural work of making soil. As a corroboration of the tradition in regard to the site, this conclusion is important. In any other view the fruits were meager; but the fortune of excavation—of all pursuits of chance the most baffling and the most absorbing—may richly reward some successor with more time than the brief days I could devote. It is at least a profound satisfaction, for which I am most grateful to the officers of the association, to have had the privilege of devoting a short vacation to increasing the scanty knowledge previously recorded in regard to the earliest site associated with the history of men of our race and tongue on this continent.

The site, as already remarked, is now the property of the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association. With this last chapter in its history, there rests the same melancholy associations as with all before, the founder of the association, Edward Graham Daves, late of Johns Hopkins University, having died within a year of its organization. In November, 1887, after my first visit to the site, when I made a compass survey of the mound and a hurried investigation of its surroundings, I stopped at Johns Hopkins University on my return, where my account of the remarkable preservation of the old fort excited the interest of both Dr. Herbert Baxter Adams, the secretary of the American Historical Association, and of Dr. Daves.

The possibility of purchasing the site was discussed at the time, but no active steps were taken until March 25, 1893, when a call[1] for enough money to buy the fort and a farm of 250 acres on the northern end of the island was issued by Dr. Daves, a native of eastern North Carolina, to whose personal enthusiasm as an historical student was altogether due the acquisition of the site, the organization of the association, and the preservation by it of the earliest English remains on the continent. The modest sum needed, $1,250, was raised before the end of the year, a large portion being the returns of author's

[1] This call was signed by Edward Graham Daves, Francis White, William Shepard Bryan, A. Marshall Elliott, Bartlett S. Johnston, and Thomas J. Boykin.

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readings by Dr. S. Weir Mitchell of his poem, "Francis Drake," at Bar Harbor, Baltimore, Philadelphia, the residence of Mr. Frank Thomson at Marion, Pa., and elsewhere. May 22, 1893, the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association was organized at Baltimore, and the first meeting of its stockholders was held at Raleigh October 23, 1894, a second meeting having been held last October. The present officers of the association are: President, Maj. Graham Daves, of Newbern; vice-president, Mr. W. D. Pruden, Edenton, N. C., and secretary and treasurer, Dr. John Spencer Bassett, of Trinity College, Durham, N. C. The association now owns the site, with 10 acres, and a farm of 230 acres covering the northern end of the island. The association proposes to fence and preserve the site, erect a monument upon it, and draw public attention to its history. Contributions for this purpose are urgently needed.

With the association and its work, the history of the site closes. By little short of a miracle of accident this crumbling mound, "child of silence and slow time," has escaped destruction. The elements have spared it on an island where the merest exposure of the loose, thin soil starts shifting sands to pile dunes and level them. The plow has never passed over its low walls and it has escaped the ravages of the relic hunter. Even the war found officers who appreciated its value and guarded its outlines. A just local pride has shared in its preservation, and the first sod turned by English hands in the Americas stands to-day after three centuries more clearly marked than many a later site and more ambitious structure. The low mound, scarce higher than a grave, will rear its round outline for long years to come. The beginning of the birth of a great people, it is impossible to forget that it was also the sepulcher of the hopes, the fortune, and the future of Walter Raleigh, brightest blossom of our English renaissance. About this low heap centered once the plans of a kingdom, the promise of a principality, and the prospect of enduring fame.

"——the lion and the lizard keep
The courts where Jamshyd gloried and drank deep:
And Bahram, that great hunter—the wild ass
Stamps o'er his head but can not break his sleep."

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V.—GOVERNOR EDWARD WINSLOW: HIS PART AND PLACE IN PLYMOUTH COLONY.

By Rev. WILLIAM C. WINSLOW, Ph. D., D. D., LL. D.

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GOVERNOR EDWARD WINSLOW: HIS PART AND PLACE IN PLYMOUTH COLONY.

By Rev. WILLIAM C. WINSLOW, PH. D., D. D., LL. D.

Each of the four great leaders of Plymouth Colony filled an indispensable place and performed a heroic part in the birth and development of the little Pilgrim Republic. Of the opening era at Plymouth, when the issue was between life and death itself to the infant State, Francis Baylies said:

> It was only by the consummate prudence of Bradford, the matchless valor of Standish, and the incessant enterprise of Winslow that the colony was saved from destruction. The submissive piety of Brewster, indeed, produced a moral effect as important in its consequences as the active virtues of the others.

This united leadership, without a parallel in the history of combined leadership, is far more admirable to contemplate, I think, than if the *Mayflower*, that ocean-tossed casket, contained a single jewel of inestimable value, instead of several of great price, and others of lesser ray, destined to shine in history and in poetry.

The piety of Brewster, the wisdom of Bradford, the diplomacy of Winslow, the bravery of Standish, each so essential, reflect a unique glory when aptly combined and justly portrayed in a history of Plymouth. Because of those who have dipped their pens in ink tinted with the notion that one of the Pilgrims—perhaps their own ancestor [1]—far outshone another, or all others, in gifts or achievements, I emphasize the beauty and the grandeur of this united leadership, which lay at the foundation of an English-speaking nation in North America. Ancestor worship among the Egyptians, the Arabs, or the Indians of to-day may point some moral; but in the delineation of the great actors on the historic stage—perhaps of Boston

[1] See notes at end of this paper.

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or of Plymouth—it may sometimes, and unconsciously, color the statement of facts with the wish of the heart.[2]

But biography selects an actor on the historic stage, and with us now it is one of a group of four leaders, to describe whose part and place in the Pilgrim evolution but discloses better the character of the other three personalities. Each solo in turn but clearer proclaims the merit of a quartet; a study of Winslow deepens our respect and reverence for Bradford; of Bradford, our admiration for Winslow; the piety of Brewster shines brighter because of the flashing sword of Standish.

The distinct rôle of Edward Winslow in the Pilgrim economy, as fully established by 1625; a few distinctive transactions, chiefly diplomatic and gubernatorial, in his varied career, are all that it is possible for me to now present.

In writing of Winslow, whom he calls "one of the chief staff and support of the Plymouth colony," Hon. W. T. Davis, the most distinguished living historian of Plymouth, remarks of the Pilgrims:

> Without Winslow they were a body of religionists, circumscribed in their boundaries, keeping themselves unspotted from the world with which they must all finally mingle and negotiate. With him, the statesman, the scholar, the man of affairs, they had an ambassador in whose diplomacy they might trust, and the fruits of whose wisdom they would be sure to reap. (History of Plymouth County, 65.)

October 18 last saw the three hundredth anniversary of the birthday of Edward Winslow, whose family may probably be traced back to the time of "Walter de Wynslaive, esq. (gentleman at arms), * * * summoned from the county of Buckingham to perform military service in person against the Scotts," as the parliamentary record of 1322 reads.[3] Dr. Young says that "with the exception of Winslow and Standish, the first settlers of Plymouth colony were, in point of family and property, much inferior to those of Massachusetts." (Chron. of Pilgrims, 4.) Hutchinson, whose first mention of the *Mayflower* company is that of "Mr. Edward Winslow, one of the principal undertakers," refers to him as "a gentleman of the best family of any of the Pilgrim planters" (I, 13).

Winslow passed his twenty-fifth birthday in mid ocean, but a momentous birthday arrived—that of the birth of popular government in the New World—when the *Mayflower* compact was drawn up and signed. Who shall follow after the gov-

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ernor in signing? Surely those who for years have stood next to Robinson and Brewster in the councils of the Church. Winslow will be halfway down the list; perhaps precede his brother Gilbert, who, as it turned out, was 31 in a list of 41.

Bradford, whose talents and worth have impressed themselves on the congregation, properly follows the governor. Why is Winslow asked to register next? Of the reasons why, I give one that I have never seen given. It is that he materially aided in drawing up the compact, which, with his gifts of speech (for which in after years he was peerless among his associates), led those about him to place him second on the list next to Carver. We can never know the author or writer of that immortal paper; but in all probability Carver called on Brewster and Bradford to unite in its composition; Winslow, from his intelligence and rank, was asked to participate, also being the youngest, he acted as scribe for the committee. As Young intimates, Bradford and Winslow "were among the most active and efficient leaders among the Pilgrims; * * * they were also the only practiced writers among them" (115). That the document was framed without the essential aid of these two men is a moral impossibility. At any rate, there stands the signature of the youthful Winslow, who had been but three years with the company, before that of Allerton, Fuller, Brewster, Standish, and others.

The 22d of March added another "day of days" to the evolution of New England. The great Massasoit was at hand with his chiefs and chosen warriors. Did he mean peace or war?

"We were not willing to send our governor to them, and they were unwilling to come to us; so Squanto went again unto him (Massasoit), who brought word that we should send one to parley with him, which we did, which was Edward Winsloe." (Bradford and Winslow's Journal, 192.)

"Winslow and Massasoit on Watsons Hill! That interview saved the colony in its infancy, and therefore it has grown into manhood," exclaimed the president of the Pilgrim Society at the celebration in Plymouth in 1853.

The results of that interview, culminating in the treaty with Massasoit by Carver, lay at the very foundation of Plymouth's life, and vastly more. If Plymouth had failed, France would have probably occupied New England.[1]

The initial embassy to the Indians, including the first exploration of the interior and the expedition down the coast of

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Cape Cod, illustrates the affinities of the scholarly and the savage heart—Winslow decorating Massasoit with a copper chain from the colony; Iyanough placing a necklace of beads and shells upon Winslow.

Too little has been made of the enterprise of Plymouth in the exploration of Boston Harbor by Winslow and Standish within nine months after the landing at Plymouth, and in a shallop at that.

The most notable episode of 1623 was Winslow's visit to the sick monarch, his tenderness eliciting from Massasoit that memorable sentence, "Now I see that the English are my friends and love me, and while I live I will never forget this kindness they have showed me." His revelation of the Indian conspiracy probably saved Plymouth.

With Cushman, while in England in 1623–24, he took out the patent for Cape Anne, and, what is more important, he prepared his "Good Newes from New England," which created a great stir on the subject of immigration. About ten days after his return he was elected an assistant to the governor. Summer found him again in England to investigate the antecedents of Lyford and disprove his charges against Plymouth. He was now but 29 years of age, but the little State already saw in him its diplomatic representative over the seas, its man to keep peace with the Indians, its negotiator in business, and its member of the council second only in rank or influence to the governor. Plymouth already knew, in the words of Baylies, "that in devotion and zeal to her interests he was not excelled by anyone."

The same varied talents and sterling traits of character which so distinguished his subsequent career, causing James Savage, in his edition of Winthrop (I, 78), to remark that Winslow was "a great man in all circumstances," had appeared conspicuously before he reached his thirtieth birthday. Within five years from the landing at Plymouth, his part and place in the colony was defined for life. It involved long absences from home and a hearty consecration to his work, with an integrity that Cromwell admired and caused his appointment as chief commissioner, at a salary of £1,000, in the great expedition to the West Indies—long absences from those he loved,[5] but his consummate address and keen insight into the affairs of men and the world, his acquaintance with men of power and position no other leader possessed; and perforce his part and

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place no other leader could take. "For foreign employment his better birth and breeding gave him advantages over his fellow-immigrants. Among the gentlemen of the British Parliament, Winslow moved as one of themselves," says Palfrey (II 407), who remarks on his death in 1655:

> Bradford grievously missed from his side the partner of his early struggles. * * * Now that Bradford was old, Plymouth could not have sustained a greater loss.

It is as a diplomatist and statesman that Dr. Charles Deane, in his edition of Bradford (p. 111), refers to Winslow as "the most accomplished man of the oldcomers, distinguished for the important services he rendered the colony at home and abroad, and for the eminent abilities he displayed as the representative of the sister colony to the English Government."

The essential point I am presenting, that Winslow, as much as Brewster, Bradford, or Standish, filled a definite and distinct sphere of leadership in the little State, and that Winslow's part and place were clearly defined and commonly accepted before he was 30 years old—this point is established by evidence. Of the four leaders, the two most distinctively such were Winslow and Standish; and doubtless that eminent authority, Bartlett, in his now rare book, The Pilgrim Fathers, had some such idea in mind when he said:

> Edward Winslow may not inaptly be denominated the *head* of the emigration, as Miles Standish was its *right hand*.

He must, of course, by "head" mean "intellectual" and not civic leadership (for Carver was the civic head), just as by "right hand" he conveys the designation of military leader.[6]

Too little attention has been directed to the remarkable circumstance that both a Winslow and a Standish, so utterly unlike, yet always friends, should have joined the Pilgrims in Holland after their long exile from England. Poetry and the romance of prose have naturally and justly popularized the sword of so brave a captain, while leaving the weapons of diplomacy and statesmanship for the historian to draw from the scabbard of peace. And not until late years has the historian (not including Palfrey)[7] investigated, even partially, the records of what Winslow accomplished in England for Plymouth and her sister colonies.[8]

In so weighty and honorable an affair as the settlement of Connecticut, Winslow, as governor in 1633, wished Boston to

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participate, but Winthrop and his council declined the invitation.[9] Captain Holmes sailed by the future site of Hartford, where the Dutch had improvised a fort—replying to the commander who threatened to fire upon his vessel, that the governor of Plymouth had sent him "to go up the river to such a place," and that he should "proceed"—and set up at what is now Windsor the first house erected in Connecticut.

Thus Plymouth, not Massachusetts, made the initial settlement. But more, Winslow was the first New England colonist to discover that important artery in the New England system, now called the Connecticut River. Says Hutchinson:

> The Commissioners of the United Colonies, in a declaration against the Dutch in 1653, say that "Mr. Winslow discovered the fresh river when the Dutch had neither trading house nor any pretense to a foot of land there" (I: 46).[10]

In 1636, under Winslow as governor, was enacted an elaborate scheme of laws which placed the Government on a stable foundation—a transaction of an official nature probably the most important since the compact. His parliamentary talents, as well as his knowledge practically of English laws, both of which had been quickened or sharpened by his remarkable experiences in England during his missions of 1623, 1624, 1630, and 1635, singularly qualified him to preside over the body of fifteen men[11] selected for the important task of preparing a written code of laws for a State that had existed for fifteen years or more without such written laws.[12] A marked feature, too, of Winslow's care in legalities is seen in the precision with which he recorded data. The official journal of proceedings of the gubernatorial and general courts was begun (in 1633) during his first term as governor.

It is remarkable that Winslow was the only one of the *Mayflower* band as commissioner from Plymouth when the new England Confederacy was formed in 1643; that he was Plymouth's first governor after its establishment; and that in the following year (1645) he was president of the council of war of Plymouth, which numbered twelve members. It is remarkable, too, that Bradford, then governor, was not one of the two initial commissioners for Plymouth as Winthrop, then governor, was for Massachusetts. A striking point, too, touching the origin of the union is the circumstance that in 1635, while in England, Winslow, who had even then seen the necessity of a union of the colonies, petitioned the council for "a special

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warrant to the English colonies to defend themselves against all foreign enemies." [13]

During his stay in England from 1646 to 1655, whether acting as representative for Plymouth or Boston, or both, or for the United Colonies, we find that their educational and spiritual interests, whatever the concerns of politics and diplomacy, always received the best services of Edward Winslow, as seen in his purchase of the library of the Rev. Thomas Jenner, in 1651, to send to the commissioners to be placed in Harvard College, or in his book The Glorious Gospel in New England, etc., [14] which, with his influence and efforts with members of Parliament, caused the incorporation of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England.[15]

President Steele, of that society, wrote as follows to the Commissioners of the United Colonies:

> Through the blessing of God, the business of the said corporation is in a good forwardness, and the integrity, abilities, and diligence of the said Mr. Winslow being well known to you and us, as also his great interest and acquaintance with the members of Parliament and other gentlemen of quality in the respective counties of this Commonwealth, we can not but conceive his presence and residence here to be of absolute necessity for the carrying on of the work; for we can not conceive you can send over any that hath the like influence and interest in the affections of such as may be most helpful herein. * * * If he leave now, the work, in all likelihood, will be hazarded (if not fail), which is at present in an hopeful way, notwithstanding all the oppositions we have met withall. (Hazard, II, 1794.)

Or, as Moore remarks—

> The various employments of Governor Winslow in England on behalf of the colonies and his own high character had given him a standing such as no other New England man enjoyed at this time. (Lives, etc., 129.)

It is of this period of Winslow's life, when he knew the Protector and the leading men of the Commonwealth that the historian is yet to write, in order to more fully estimate his services as the representative of the colonies, and even more positively stamp his part and place among the four great leaders of Plymouth as her diplomatist and statesman.

Nevertheless, all the historians from Hutchinson to Young and Palfrey have recognized, more or less, these distinct, conspicuous, unrivaled qualities and services of Edward Winslow; and only of late, in a marked instance or two—especially in a school history by a most pleasing lecturer [16]—has his career been overlooked—the career, to quote Winthrop, of "one of

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the very noblest of our little band, who was soon associated most leadingly and lovingly with all their spiritual as well as temporal concerns."[17] In the united leadership of Brewster,[18] Bradford, Winslow, and Standish lay the foundation and the evolution of the Pilgrim State; and in their peculiar rôles as statesman and soldier, Winslow and Standish, the recruits of the Pilgrim band at Leyden, displayed as indispensable qualities as the other two, and performed an even more distinctive part than they—one in keeping and promoting peace, the other in being prepared in peace for war.

NOTES.

[1] Even John A. Goodwin, in his very readable history, the result of much study, asserts that Bradford "had gone before the foremost, and stood without a peer." (The Pilgrim Republic, 459.)

[2] On one of the four inscribed sides of the statue to Winthrop in Scollay Square, Boston, is this lettering, furnished by Robert C. Winthrop: "First President of the New England Confederation." There was no such office created or held; the governor of the chief colony was chosen by the eight commissioners to be chairman, or president, of the commission. Fiske is here correct: "The commissioners could choose for themselves a president or chairman out of their own number, but such a president was to have no more power than the other members of the board." (Beginnings of New England History, 158.)

[3] For the spelling of the name, such as Wyncelowe, etc., see Winslow Memorial, Vol. I, pp. 5–8. Even as late as 1620 the name is sometimes spelled Winsloe. (See Young's Chron. of the Pilgrims, p. 149.)

[4] "The settlement of this colony occasioned the settlement of Massachusetts Bay, which was the source of all the other colonies in New England." (Hutchinson, Pref.) "Had Plymouth been deserted by the Pilgrim Fathers in 1621–22 Massachusetts Bay would have remained desolate, and even Virginia would have doubtless been abandoned. Then, before new colonization could be organized, France would have made good her claim by pushing down our Atlantic Coast until she met Spain ascending from the South, unless, indeed, Holland had retained her hold at the centre." (Goodwin, Pref., XXII.)

[5] In 1650 President Steele, of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in New England, wrote to the Commissioners of the United Colonies that Winslow was unwilling to be longer kept from his family, but his great acquaintance and influence with members of Parliament required it. (Goodwin, 444.)

[6] "Edward Winslow may not inaptly be denominated the *head* of the emigration, as Myles Standish was its *right hand*. Upon these two men appears to have devolved most of the active external service of the colony,—Winslow's province being that of negotiating its business, while to the valiant Myles was entrusted its military defense." (The Pilgrim Fathers, etc., W. H. Bartlett, p. 197.)

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[7]Hon. John Winslow, of Brooklyn, received a reply to his inquiry of Mr. Palfrey, expressing that gentleman's regret that in the course of his studies of New England History he had not investigated the work of Winslow as a representative before the Parliamentary and Council's committees.

[8]CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS.—COLONIAL SERIES, 1574–1660.—EXTRACTS.

[Edited by W. Noel Sainsbury, five vols., London, 1860–1880.]

1650—January 22.—Orders of committee of the Admiralty. Concerning a remonstrance touching Lord Baltimore's government of Maryland, presented by Capt. Rich Ingle; at the desire of the latter, Captain Leverett, Edward Winslow, Richard Allen, and others were summoned as witnesses (p. 333).

1650—March 9.—Order of the Council of State. Edward Winslow to be permitted to carry to New England the powder, shot, and ammunition mentioned in his petition, upon giving security that it shall not be sold to any plantation in disaffection to the Commonwealth (p. 335).

1651—September 30.—Order of the Council of State. One hundred narratives of the battle at Worcester, and acts for a day of thanksgiving, to be delivered to Edward Winslow, that he may send them to New England (p. 362).

1651—December 9.—Petition of Edward Winslow to be referred to the consideration of the committee for plantations (p. 367).

1652—January 26.—Order of the Council of State. Mr. Holland, Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, Mr. Gurdon, Mr. Carew, and Sir Arthur Hesilrig, or any three of them, appointed a committee to report upon the paper given in by Edward Winslow concerning New England.

1652—March 8.—Order of the Council of State. In their report to be presented to Parliament upon petition of Edward Winslow, in behalf of William Bradford, governor of New Plymouth, in New England, and his associates, wherein he sets forth that for many years the plantation has had a grant for a trading place in the river Kennebec, but not having the whole of the river under their grant and government, many excesses and wickednesses have been committed, and the benefit for trade and furs, one of the greatest supports of their plantation, has been taken from the inhabitants of New Plymouth, and prays for a grant of the whole river Kennebec; recommending the desire of the petitioner be granted, with a saving in the grant of the rights of any of the people of the Commonwealth, the grant to pass under the great seal, if Parliament think fit (p. 376).

1652—April 29.—Order of the Council of State. Referring the desire of Edward Winslow to have a patent for Kennebec River, in New England, sealed with the seal of the council, to the committee for foreign affairs, for their report upon what has been done in cases of the like nature (p. 378).

1652—May 12.—Minutes of committee for foreign affairs. Mr. Joscelyn's propositions relating to New England to be considered on Friday fortnight (28th instant), when Mr. Winslow is directed to be present (p. 379).

1652—July 28.—Minutes of a committee for foreign affairs, upon petition and proposal of Edward Winslow, Edward Hopkins, and Fras. Willoughby to the Council of State. Recommend that liberty be given to them to send

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a ship with ammunition to New England to give notice to the colonies of the differences between the Commonwealth and the United Provinces; also barrels of powder, shot, and 1,000 swords for increase of their present store. That it be also declared by the Council of State that, as the colonies may expect all fitting encouragement and assistance from hence, so they should demean themselves against the Dutch as declared enemies of the Commonwealth (p. 386).

1652—September 13.—Minutes of a committee for foreign affairs. Upon petition of Capt. William Digby, Maurice Gardener's petition to be considered on Friday next, when the answer of Jennings to Digby's petition is to be brought in, and Mr. Thurloe is to draw up the state of that business and present it to the committee; he is also to speak with Edward Winslow concerning the petition of William Dyre, and report thereon. Any of the committee with Mr. Thurloe to look over and report upon letters and papers from Barbadoes referred from the Council of State (p. 389).

1652—October 22.—Order of the Council of State. Edward Winslow, Edward Hopkins, and Mr. Joscelyn to attend the committee for plantations on the 29th instant concerning the furnishing of some commodities from New England, usually furnished from the East lands (p. 391).

1652—November 1.—Order of the Council of State. Desiring the committee for foreign affairs to confer with Mr. Winslow, Mr. Joscelyn, and others of New England concerning the furnishing from thence commodities usually had from the East lands, for accommodating the shipping of this nation (p. 392).

1652—December 15.—Minutes of a committee for foreign affairs. Colonel Sydney, Colonel Ingoldsby, Mr. Scott, Major Lister, Sir William Mashum, and Mr. Love, or any two of them, to be a subcommittee, to consider the business of furnishing masts for New England, for the use of the Commonwealth, to meet on the 18th, and Edward Winslow to attend at the same time (p. 384).

1653—January 28.—Order of the Council of State. Referring petition of Edward Winslow to the consideration of committee for foreign affairs (p. 398).

1653—February 1.—Minutes of a committee on foreign affairs. Edward Winslow's petition to be taken into consideration on the 4th (p. 398).

1653—September 14.—Order of the Council of State. Appointing Mr. Courtney, Mr. Broughton, and Mr. St. Nichols a committee to speak with Edward Winslow concerning petition of David Selleck, of Boston, that the council may be fully informed of the matter of fact alleged in that petition (p. 408).

1653—December 29.—Order of the Council of State. Referring petition of Col. Samuel Mathews, agent for Virginia, to Mr. Strickland, and Sir Anthony A. Cooper, to confer with Edward Winslow, Colonel Mathews, and others thereon; as also how the question between Lord Baltimore and the people of Virginia, concerning the bounds claimed by them respectively, may be determined; all papers in the hands of the committee of the navy to be sent for, and the whole matter reported to the Lord Protector (p. 412).

[9] Savage mildly comments upon the reasons assigned by Winthrop and the Council as "pretexts," adding, "Some disingenuousness, I fear, may

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be imputed to our council * * * for the next season we were careful to warn the Dutch against occupation of it, and the following year took possession ourselves." (Winthrop, I, 105.) Drake is more blunt: "There may be a suspicion, very honestly entertained, that the decision against uniting with Plymouth was dictated by a disposition to overreach their neighbors; or, as would be said in modern times, their decision was 'based upon political considerations.'" (Hist. and Antiq. of Boston, p. 155.)

[10] During his expeditions for food and trade, a few years before, Winslow located the river, which Indians had reported to him as the Quohacktacut. (See Memoirs of American Governors, by Jacob B. Moore.)

[11] To the governor and council were added eight men: Brewster, Smith, Doane, and Jenney, of Plymouth; Jonathan Brewster and Wadsworth, of Duxbury; Cudworth and Annable, of Scituate.

[12] In 1658 occurred a revision; in 1671 the new digest was printed by Samuel Green, of the Cambridge Press; in 1685 the last revision was made.

[13] Winthrop disapproved of Winslow's petition (I, 172), but the petitioner in England knew the temper of the Government better than Winthrop in Boston. "A man of eminent activity, resolution, and bravery," as Robert C. Winthrop calls Winslow in his oration at Plymouth, he was yet a diplomatist and prudent. He knew that independent action by the colonies at that time meant rashness.

Rev. Dr. John Brown, of Bedford, England, in that latest contribution (1895) to the story of Plymouth, The Pilgrim Fathers of New England, aptly sustains my point: "It has been well said the commissioners sought no permission beforehand; they did as they pleased at the time and defended their conduct afterwards. As Edward Winslow put the case when sent over to London to defend the action of the colonies: 'If we in America should forbear to unite for offense or defense against a common enemy till we have leave from England our throats might all be cut before the messenger would be half seas through.' It seemed a daring step to take; in reality, it was less daring in 1643 than it would have been some years earlier. For then Laud had been two years in the Tower awaiting that execution which came two years later, and Charles I was engaged in that life and death struggle with his Parliament which ended so fatally for him" (p. 334).

[14] The chief works of Winslow include: Bradford and Winslow's Journal, or a Diary of Occurrences (London, 1622); Winslow's Relation (1624), also published in Young's Chronicles; Brief Narration, or Hypocrisy Unmasked (1646); New England's Salamander (1647); The Glorious Progress of the Gospel Among the Indians, etc. (1649); A Platform of Church Discipline in New England (1653). Among his published letters are one to George Morton, advisory to such as purposed voyaging to Plymouth (Young's Chronicles); letters to Winthrop (Hutchinson's Collection); and to Secretary Thurlow (State Papers, 111).

[15] Had this society been created simply to publish Eliot's Catechism, his Indian Grammar; his Indian Primer; his Old and New Testaments in Indian, and his Bay Psalm Book, it would have performed a splendid service in the spiritual and historical estimate of our age. Winslow was far-sighted, but he may have builded better than he knew in being the essential agency in its formation.

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[16] See my article on "Singular omissions" in Fiske's History of United States for Schools, in the Virginia Historical Magazine (Virginia Historical Society) for October, 1895. It closes as follows:

That greatest naval event on the high seas in the war for the Union, the combat between the *Kearsarge* and the *Alabama*, and that supremely momentous naval incident, the battle between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*, as described by Fiske, entirely omits to name either of the two commanders in both contests, all of them brave men, and two of them, from Fiske's standpoint, patriots of the truest dye. His inconsistency is shown from the fact that in the various portrayals of naval battles from the Revolution down he names the respective captains and sometimes gives their portraits. He heaps glory upon Ericsson, the inventor of the *Monitor*, as "among the great men who saved the Union and freed the slaves," and prints his likeness "from the unique marble bust modeled from life by Kneeland, and now in my possession in my house at Cambridge." Worden, who helped to complete the *Monitor*, to be in time to meet its terrible opponent, and who so dexterously handled it, receiving severe wounds, is not so much as named by Fiske, who, of course, overlooks Winslow, of the *Kearsarge*. (Here read what he indorses of Winslow and Worden in Appleton.) In that "utterly unjustifiable" transaction, the taking of Mason and Slidell from the *Trent*, he twice particularizes the Federal commander.

Simple want of space prevents further illustration of the inconsistency of Fiske in his compressions. No matter how much he knows, how inspiring it is to hear him lecture, how instructive are his portrayals, if he fails here, it is a vital defect—especially in a text-book for our Southern and Northern boys and girls who are entitled to impartially know not only the facts but the factors by name in the making or "saving" of our nation. It seems almost incredible that Dr. Fiske does not know that an equitable and uniform compression in such a book as his, possessing many merits, is a virtue indispensable to its truth-telling mission to our youth. For Dr. F. A. Hill's addenda we have only words of praise. To him Dr. Fiske owes much that goes to make his history useful in many ways.

[17] "There, too, at Leyden, they were joined—by the accidents of travel, as it would seem—in 1617 by one of the very noblest of our little band, who was soon associated most leadingly and lovingly with all their spiritual as well as temporal concerns; * * * the narrator and chronicler of not a few of the most interesting passages of their history; the leader of not a few of their most important enterprises; a man of eminent activity, resolution, and bravery, who did not shrink from offering himself as a hostage to the savages; * * * who did not shrink from imprisonment and the danger of death, in confronting, as an agent of Plymouth and Massachusetts, the tyrannical Archbishop Laud; who earned a gentler and more practical title to remembrance as the importer of the first neat cattle ever introduced into New England; an earnest and devoted friend to the civilization of the Indian tribes and their conversion to Christianity; the chief commissioner of Oliver Cromwell in his warlike designs upon an island, which our own hero President has so recently attempted to secure by peaceful purchase—Edward Winslow, the only one of the Pilgrim Fathers of whom we have an authentic portrait; whose old seat of Careswell, at Marshfield, was the chosen home of Webster; and whose remains, had they not been committed to the deep, when he died so sadly on the sea, * * * would have been counted among the most precious dust which New England could possess." (Oration by Robert C. Winthrop, at the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary, etc., at Plymouth, 1878.)

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[18]Goodwin places this chief leadership without Brewster, dedicating his book "To the memory of Bradford, Standish, and Winslow, the wise, the brave, the able triumvirs of the Pilgrim Republic."

"Wonderful indeed was it that a single shipload, * * * cast up like waifs on the shore of an unknown wilderness, should have had not only a Carver, Brewster, and Fuller, but also such a greater trio as Winslow, Standish, and Bradford" (p. 459).

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VI.—ARENT VAN CURLER AND HIS JOURNAL OF 1634-35.

By GEN. JAS. GRANT WILSON, D. C. L.,

OF NEW YORK CITY.

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ARENT VAN CURLER AND HIS JOURNAL OF 1634-35.

By Gen. JAS. GRANT WILSON, D. C. L.

The original journal of an expedition to the country of the Iroquois, made in the winter of 1634–35, by Arent Van Curler, or Corlear, according to the usual pronunciation of the name in English, was fortunately discovered and acquired by the writer during the past summer. It consists of 32 pages of well-preserved foolscap, which had been buried in a Dutch garret of Amsterdam for two hundred and sixty years. The journal is written in the language of Holland of that period, usually designated "Black Dutch." It is of great historical value, antedating as it does any existing public document in this country relating to the history of New Netherland, and coming from the pen of one of the principal actors in the colonial affairs of that early period.

This precious manuscript contains the first appearance of the Iroquois in any written paper of any language, or on any map now known. Van Curler calls it a memorial of the principal events that happened during a voyage to the Mohawks and Senecas, for at that time the Dutch distinguished only the Mohawks and Senecas among the Iroquois. The only documents of earlier date relating to New Netherland, are Captain Hendricksen's brief report of discoveries in that colony, dated August 18, 1616, and a letter addressed to the States-General of Holland by Peter James Schaghen, announcing the arrival of a vessel at Amsterdam with a cargo of beaver skins, and bringing intelligence of the purchase of the island of Manhattan from the Indians for 60 guilders—about $24. These two manuscripts are among the archives at The Hague, and a facsimile of Schaghen's letter, dated Amsterdam, November 5, 1626, may be seen in the first volume of my Memorial History of the City of New York.

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The third document antedating Van Curler's journal is in the Lenox Library. It is a private letter, written by Jonas Michaelius, a Dutch clergyman, to a friend in Amsterdam, and is dated August 11, 1628, "from the island of Manhatas, in New Netherland." This epistle of two sheets of folio paper, descriptive of the small settlement of that day, is believed to be the oldest document extant written on the spot where now stands the metropolis of our country, with its 2,000,000 inhabitants.

The Indians of New York State are divided into two great families—the Algonquins, who resided on the east and west banks of the Hudson River south of Albany, and the Iroquois, occupying the district north, and west of Albany. The Iroquois Confederation consisted at the date of Van Curler's visit to their country, which takes us back to the time—

When wild in woods the noble savage ran,—

of the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and the Senecas, the most powerful of the five tribes. In 1714–15 the confederacy received an accession of members and strength by the addition of the Tuscaroras, a kindred nation of North Carolina, who had been harshly treated by the colonists, and had emigrated to New York. Thenceforth the allies were known as the Six Nations. Gen. Ely S. Parker, who died a few months ago, a descendant of Red Jacket, usually described as the "Last of the Senecas," to whom the writer showed Van Curler's diary, was deeply interested in the document and expressed the opinion that its author had penetrated as far as Oneida Castle, beyond Utica, a distance of more than 100 miles west of Albany, then known as Fort Orange.

A monument, perhaps without a peer on the pages of the history of New Netherlands, was that erected in the hearts of the Mohawks, Senecas, and other native tribes, as well as in the hearts of the French of Canada, to Arent Van Curler, a man of large benevolence and unsullied honor, in remembrance of the kindness, the justness, and the mercy by which he so won the affections of the simple sons of the forest, ever open to the manifestations of regard for their welfare, that when taken from them by death they extended his name to every governor of the province of New York for a hundred years, with the signification "good friend," and all that that title implies. To this day the present Queen of England is known among the Mohawks of Canada as "The Great Corlear."

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Van Curler was a cousin of Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, and a nephew of Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, to whom was granted the manor of Rensselaerwyck, now mainly included in Albany and Rensselaer counties. He came to this country in 1630, as commissary or agent of his uncle's estate, and took up his residence in the colony of Rensselaerwyck, which soon gathered in the vicinity of Fort Orange and its immediately surrounding settlement of Beaverwyck. From the first day of his advent in the field of his duties he was thrown in contact with the native tribes, and during nearly forty years of association with them, and the uniform observance of the law of kindness and fairness in his transactions with them, so won their esteem that his wishes were a law unto them, and restrained them from violence even under the most trying provocations known to savage laws. In how many instances his mediation for the lives of Christian captives was effectual is not known, but it is of record that he was the first New Netherlander who explored the paths to the country of the Mohawks, in 1634, and to the Mohawk castle where Father Jogues was held a prisoner, in 1642; that his mission was for mercy, and that while the Mohawks would not grant the release of the devoted missionary, they did promise that his life should be spared, and kept that promise sacred until he again fell into their hands after escaping from them. It is also of record that when in 1661 the French invaded the Mohawk country and, during the absence of the warriors, burned a Mohawk castle in which were only old men, women, and children, and were pursued and overtaken near Schenectady, every man had been cut off had not Van Curler interfered in their behalf.

When the English entered upon possession of the province in 1664, Governor Nicolls took Arent Van Curler into his confidence and consulted him on Indian affairs and the interests of the country generally, thus paving the way for the aggressive alliance of the Five Nations with the Government, a relation which under the Dutch had been nominal. In 1666 he was named as a commissioner to M. de Courcelles, the French governor of Canada, and the fact becoming known to the latter, he wrote:

> I am very glad, sir, your governor-general has selected Monsieur Corlart to come hither. That affords me great joy, because I shall attach more credit willingly to it, being assured of his probity.

In 1667, Lieutenant-General de Tracy, commandant of the French forces in Canada, sent Van Curler his personal invita-

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tion to visit Quebec, assuring him that he would be most welcome and entertained to the utmost of his ability, as he had great esteem for him, though he had not a personal acquaintance with him. On accepting this invitation Governor Nicolls furnished him with a letter to General de Tracy. It bears date May 20, 1667, and states that "M. Curler hath been importuned by divers of his friends at Quebec to give them a visit, and being ambitious to kiss your hands, he hath entreated my pass and liberty to conduct a young gentleman, M. Fontaine, who unfortunately fell into the barbarous hands of his enemies, and by means of M. Curler obtained his liberty."

On the 6th of July following Governor Nicolls's letter, Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, writing to Holland, announces that "Our cousin Arent Van Curler proceeds overland to Canada, having obtained leave from our general, and been invited thither by the viceroy, M. de Tracy." From this visit Arent Van Curler never returned. In an evil hour he embarked on board a frail canoe to cross Lake Champlain, and, having been overtaken by a storm, was drowned near Split Rock in the bay long called by the French "Baye Corlar," now included in Essex County, New York. The Indian tradition is that Van Curler lost his life by reason of his having expressed contempt for one of their idols that was set up on the shore near which the canoe passed.

Among the large mass of valuable Van Rensselaer manuscripts and records at Albany, which have recently been carefully catalogued by a member of this association, are many of Van Curler's letters and frequent mention of his name, covering a period of thirty-five years. In 1644, he is called commissary-general, and is living in the patroon's house. Six years later he is appointed commissioner to go to the Mohawks and renew the treaty of peace, and soon after his return he is appointed and sworn in as a magistrate. His numerous letters are chiefly addressed to his cousins, the second patroon and Jeremiah Van Rensselaer. Probably the last one penned by Van Curler, dated July 13, 1667, but a few days before his death, describes the country and his journey. It was written at the old fort on Lake Champlain, and in the course of his long communication to his cousin Van Rensselaer he incidentally remarks: "The map given me is as like the country as a cow to a duck."

Of the private life of Arent Van Curler there is little known,

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further than that he married, in 1643, Antonia Slackborn, widow of Jonas Bronck, a patentee of lands in Westchester County, where a river and park bear his name. Van Curler made his wedding the occasion of a voyage to Holland, accompanied by his bride. In 1661 he organized an association and made purchase of the flats west of Albany, to which he gave the name Schaenechstede, "beyond the pine plains," now corrupted to Schenectady, and was residing there and engaged in trade with the Indians at the time of his death. He had no legitimate children. His widow continued her residence on his farm and in trade until her death in 1677, and the estate then passed to the possession of his illegitimate son Benoni, by Anna Schacts, the domine's daughter. It is of record that for several years Mrs. Van Curler had a successful monopoly of the sale of beer in Schenectady, frequently called Corlear, by the Canadians.

Van Curler had two brothers, of whom I may be permitted to add a few words. Jacob was the third schoolmaster of the colony of the New Netherlands. Later he became prominent in public affairs, having as the agent of the Dutch West India Company bought from the Pequots territory on the Connecticut River, and erected there Fort Good Hope. He was also the Dutch commissary on the Delaware, subsequently purchasing lands on Long Island and a small "bouwery" at the foot of Grand street, New Amsterdam, still known as Corlear's Hook, or more familiarly among old New Yorkers as "The Hook."[1] Of the youngest brother, Antony, who was a wild roysterer, it is sufficient to say that he has been immortalized by Irving in his ever-delightful Knickbocker's History of New York. According to that veracious chronicle, Antony, like Arent, met with a watery grave, having been drowned in a daring attempt to swim the Harlem River on a dark and tempestuous night.

In the rescue by Arent Van Curler and his Protestant companion of the Jesuit missionaries, who were members of that church, which, as Motley has told us, caused so many thousands of their countrymen to be buried and burned alive,

[1] Since the delivery of this address, another addition has been made to the "breathing spots" of New York City by the opening of Corlear's Hook Park, situated south of Grand street. It occupies two blocks fronting on the East River, and contains an imposing pavilion, which was opened in June, 1896.

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as well as slaughtered in their long and stoutly contested war for independence, we discover another illustration of the noble spirit of humanity and religious toleration that has for centuries characterized the people of Holland, and made their land the land of liberty of thought and speech.

PRAISE THE LORD ABOVE ALL—FORT ORANGE, 1634.

December 11.—Memorial kept of the principal events that happened during the voyage to the Maquas and Sinnekens[1] Indians. The reason why we went was that the Maquas [Mohawks] and Sinnekens [Senecas] very often came to our commissioners (Martin Gerritsen[2] and me) stating that there were French Indians trading in their land, and that the Maquas wished to go and trade there with their skins, because the Maquas Indians wanted to receive just as much for their skins as the French Indians did. In consideration of this story, I proposed to Martin Gerritsen to go and see if it was true, and find out all about it, note down the facts and report to their High Mightinesses; and, besides, trade was doing very badly just now, therefore I went as above with Jeronimus de la Crois[3] and Willem Tomassen.[4] May the Lord bless my voyage! We went between 9 and 10 o'clock with five Maquas Indians, mostly northwest about 8 miles,[5] and arrived at half-past 12 in the evening at a little hunter's cabin, where we slept for the night, near the stream that runs into their land and of the name of Vyoge. The Indians here gave us venison to eat. The land is mostly full of oak trees, and the flat land is abundant. The stream

[1] The Dutch called all the Iroquois Senecas except the Mohawks. The party proceeded only to the country of the Oneidas.

[2] When Wouter Van Twiller became director of New Netherlands, Martin Gerritsen was a member of his council, and later was appointed an associate agent or commissioner with Van Curler of the Van Rensselaer manor. He was a brother of Wolfert Gerritsen, who, in 1630, sailed from Amsterdam in the ship *Union* with a party of tobacco planters as an overseer of farms for Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, the patroon. The Dutch farmers came over under a four years' contract, and were so much pleased with the new country that all remained. The brothers Gerritsen were among the most prominent of the pioneer colonists. Martin purchased land adjoining Curler's at the foot of Grand street, still known as Corlear's Hook, New York, and his name is commemorated by Cow Bay, or Martin Gerritsens Bay.

[3] Jeronimus de la Crois was the son of a person of the same name and was born in Amsterdam. He was a distant kinsman of Van Rensselaer and a small shareholder in the West India Company. His name is mentioned in a familiar and friendly manner in several of the patroon's letters to Governor Van Twiller.

[4] Of William, or Willem, Tomassen nothing is known beyond the fact that he accompanied Van Curler to this country, and that he was in some way connected with Van Rensselaer—probably a second or third cousin.

[5] These are Dutch miles and about double the distance of an American mile.

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runs into their land near their (Maquas) castles, but can not be navigated upstream on account of the heavy current.

December 12.—At 3 o'clock, before daylight, we proceeded again, and the savages that went with us would have left us there secretly if I had not noticed it; and when we thought of taking our meal we perceived that their dogs had eaten our meat and cheese. So we had to be contented with dry bread on which to travel; and, after going for an hour, we came to the branch [Mohawk River] that runs into our river and past the Maquas villages, where the ice drifted very fast. Jeronimus crossed first, with one savage in a canoe made of the bark of trees, because there was only room for two; after that Willem and I went over; and it was so dark that we could not see each other if we did not come close together. It was not without danger. When all of us had crossed, we went another mile and a half and came to a hunter's cabin, which we entered to eat some venison, and hastened farther, and after another half mile we saw some Indians approaching; and as soon as they saw us they ran off and threw their sacks and bags away, and fled down a valley behind the underwood, so that we could not see them. We looked at their goods and bags, but took only a piece of bread. It was baked with beans,[1] and we ate it. We went farther, and mostly along the aforesaid kill that ran swiftly. In this kill there are a good many islands, and on the sides upward of 500 or 600 morgen[2] of flat land; yes, I think even more. And after we had been marching about 11 miles, we arrived at 1 o'clock in the evening half a mile from the first castle at a little house. We found only Indian women inside. We should have gone farther, but I could hardly move my feet because of the rough road, so we slept there. It was very cold, with northerly wind.

December 13.—In the morning we went together to the castle over the ice that during the night had frozen on the kill, and, after going half a mile, we arrived in their first castle, which is built on a high hill. There stood but 36 houses, in rows like streets, so that we could pass nicely. The houses are made and covered with bark of trees, and mostly are flat at the top. Some are 100, 90, or 80 paces long and 22 and 23 feet high.[3] There were some inside doors of hewn boards, furnished with iron hinges. In some houses we saw different kinds of iron chains, harrow irons, iron hoops, nails—all probably stolen somewhere. Most of the people were out hunting deer and bear. The houses were full of corn that they lay in store, and we saw maize; yes, in some of the houses more than 300 bushels.[4] They make barrels and canoes of the bark of trees, and sew with bark as well.[5] We had a good many pumpkins cooked and baked that

[1] The Onondagas still continue to bake bread made of corn meal and beans.

[2] A morgen is a little more than 2 English acres. The Dutch rod in use in New Amsterdam contained 12 English feet 4¼ inches; there were 5 to a Dutch chain. Twenty-five such rods long and 24 broad makes a morgen, which consisted of 600 Dutch square rods.

[3] The Rev. W. M. Beauchamp is of the opinion that Van Curler has exaggerated the height of these lodges.

[4] The Iroquois frequently stored corn in chests of bark.

[5] The inner bark of the elm was much used by the Indians for coarse sewing. Basswood and leatherwood were also used.

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they called anansira. None of the chiefs were at home, but the principal chief is named Adriochten. We lived a quarter of a mile from the fort in a small house, because a good many savages in this castle died of smallpox. I sent him a message to come and see us, which he promptly did; he came and bade me welcome, and said that he wanted us very much to come with him. We should have done so, but when already on the way another chief called us, and so we went to the castle again. This one had a big fire lighted, and a fat turkey cooked, which we ate. He gave us two bearskins to sleep upon, and presented me with three beaver skins. In the evening Willem Tomassen, whose legs were swollen from the march, had a few cuts made with a knife therein, and after that had them rubbed with bear grease. We slept in this house, ate heartily of pumpkins, bear meat, and venison, so that we were not hungry, but were treated as well as possible. We hope that all will succeed.

December 14.—Jeronimus wrote a letter to our commissioner, Martin Gerritsen, and asked for paper, salt, and atsoch[1]—that means tobacco for the savages. We went out to shoot turkeys with the chief, but could not get any. In the evening I bought a very fat one for two hands of seawan. The chief cooked it for us, and the grease he mixed with our beans and maize. This chief showed me his idol; it was a head, with the teeth sticking out; it was dressed in red cloth. Others have a snake, a turtle, a swan, a crane, a pigeon, or the like for their idols, to tell the fortune; they think they will always have good luck in doing so. From here two savages went with their skins to Fort Orange.

December 15.—I went again with the chief to hunt turkeys, but could not get any; and in the evening the chief again showed us his idol, and we resolved to stay here for another two or three days till there should be an opportunity to proceed, because all the footpaths had disappeared under the heavy snowfalls.

December 16.—After midday a famous hunter came here named Sickarus, who wanted very much that we should go with him to his castle. He offered to carry our goods and to let us sleep and remain in his house as long as we liked; and because he was offering us so much I gave him a knife and two awls as a present, and to the chief in whose house we had been I presented a knife and a pair of scissors; and then we took our departure from this castle, named Onekagoncka, and after going for another half mile over the ice we saw a village with only six houses, of the name Canowarode; but we did not enter it, because it was not worth while, and after another half mile we passed again a village where twelve houses stood. It was named Senatsyerosy. Like the others, it was not worth while entering; and after another mile or mile and a half we passed by great stretches of flat land and came into this castle, Wetdashet, about 2 o'clock in the evening. I did not see much besides a good many graves. This castle is named Canagere. It is built on a hill, without any palisades or any defense. We found only seven men at home, besides a party of old women and children. The chiefs of this castle, named Tonnosatton and Tonewerot, were hunting; so we slept in the house of Sickarus, as he had

[1] Dr. Beauchamp writes: "I have not before seen atsoch used for tobacco. Bruyas gives Ojengwa, and the Onondagas always call it Oyenkwa. Bruyas, however, has 'asogonan petuner,' which means to smoke tobacco."

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promised us; and we counted in his house 120 pieces of salable beaver skins that he captured with his own dogs.[1] Every day we ate beaver meat here. In this castle are 16 houses, 50, 60, 70, or 80 paces long, and one of 16 paces, and one of 5 paces, containing a bear to be fattened. It had been in there upward of three years, and was so tame that it took everything that was given to it to eat.

December 17.—Sunday we looked over our goods, and found a paper filled with sulphur, and Jeronimus took some of it and threw it in the fire. They saw the blue flame and smelled the smoke, and told us they had the same stuff; and when Sickarus came they told us that they would show it to us, and we asked a chief where he obtained it. He told us they obtained it from the stranger savages, and that they believed it to be good against many maladies, but principally for their legs when they were sore from long marching and were very tired.

December 18.—Three women of the Sinnekens came here with dried and fresh salmon; the latter smelled very bad. They sold each salmon for one florin or two hands of seawan. They brought, also, a good quantity of green tobacco to sell; and had been six days on the march. They could not sell all their salmon here, but went farther on to the first castle; and when they returned we were to go with them, and in the evening Jeronimus told me that a savage tried to kill him with a knife.

December 19.—We received a letter from Martin Gerritsen dated December 18, and with it we received ham, beer, salt, tobacco for the savages, and a bottle of brandy, and secured an Indian that wished to be our guide to the Sinnekens. We gave him half a yard of cloth, two axes, two knives, and two pair of awls. If it had been summer, many Indians would have gone with us, but as it was winter they would not leave their land, because it snowed very often up to the height of a man. To-day we had a great rainfall, and I gave the guide a pair of shoes. His name was Sgorsia.

December 20.—We took our departure from the second castle, and, after marching a mile, our savage, Sgorsia, came to a stream that we had to pass. This stream ran very fast; besides, big flakes of ice came drifting along, for the heavy rainfall during yesterday had set the ice drifting. We were in great danger, for if one of us had lost his footing it had cost us our lives; but God the Lord preserved us, and we came through safely. We were wet up to above the waist, and after going for another half mile we became frozen all over in our leather shoes and stockings. On a very high hill stood 32 houses, like the other ones. Some were 100, 90, or 80 paces long; in every house we saw four, five, or six fireplaces where cooking went on. A good many savages were at home, so we were much looked at by both the old and the young. Yes; we could hardly pass through. They pushed each other in the fire to see us, and it was more than midnight before they took their departure. We could not absent ourselves to go to stool; even then they crawled around us without any feeling of shame. This is the third castle of the name of Sohanidisse. The chief's name is Tewowary. They lent me this evening a lion skin[2] to cover

[1] Dr. Beauchamp doubts this statement about capturing beaver with dogs, and says, "I know of no such case."

[2] The lion skin was probably a panther's.

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myself; but in the morning I had more than a hundred lice. We ate much venison here. Near this castle there is plenty of flat land, and the wood is full of oaks and nut trees. We exchanged here one beaver skin for one awl.

December 21.—We started very early in the morning, and thought of going to the fourth castle, but after a half mile's marching we came to a village with only nine houses, of the name of Osguage; the chief's name was Ognoho—that is, wolf. And here we saw a big stream that our guide did not dare to cross, as the water had swollen considerably under the heavy rainfall; so we were obliged to postpone it till the next day. The chief treated us very kindly; he gave us plenty to eat, and did us a deal of good; everything to be found in his houses was at our service. He said often to me that I was his brother and good friend; yes, he told me even how he had been traveling overland for thirty days, and how he met there an Englishman, to learn the language of the Minquase [1] and to buy the skins. I asked him whether there were any French savages there with the Sinnekens. He said yes; and I felt gratified and had a good hope to reach my aim. They called me here to cure a man that was very sick.

December 22.—When the sun rose, we waded together through the stream; the water was over the knee, and so cold that our shoes and stockings in a very short time were frozen as hard as steel armor. The savages dared not go through, but went two by two and hand in hand; and after going half a mile we came to a village named Cawaoge. There stood 14 houses, and a bear to fatten. We went in and smoked a pipe of tobacco, because the old man who was our guide was very tired. Another old man approached us, who shouted, "Welcome, welcome! you must stop here for the night;" but we wanted to be on the march and went forward. I tried to buy the bear, but they would not let it go. Along these roads we saw many trees much like the savin, with a very thick bark. The village stood on a very high hill, and after going for another mile we came into the fourth castle by land. We saw only a few trees. The name is Te notoge. There are 55 houses, some 100 and other ones more or less paces long. The kill we spoke about before runs past here, and the course is mostly north by west and south by east. On the other bank of the kill there are also a good many houses; but we did not go in, because they were filled with corn and beans. The savages here looked much surprised to see us, and they crowded so much around us that we could hardly pass through, for nearly all of them were at home. After awhile one of the savages came to us and invited us to go with him to his house, and we entered. This castle has been surrounded by three rows of palisades, but I did not see anything peculiar about them, but that six or seven pieces were so thick that it was quite a wonder that savages should be able to do that. They crowded each other in the fire to see us.

December 23.—A man came calling and shouting through some of the houses, but we did not know what it meant, and after awhile Jeronimus de la Croix came and told us what this was—that the savages are preparing and arming. I asked them what all this was about, and they told me that they were to have a sham fight among each other. I saw four men

[1] Minquase, sometimes called Susquehannas or Conestogas. They were the Andastœ of the French.

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with clubs and a party with axes and sticks—twenty in all. I counted 20 people armed, 9 on one side and 11 on the other; and they went off against each other, and they fought and threw each other roughly. Some of them wore armor and helmets that they make themselves of thin reeds and strings so well that no arrow or ax can pass through to wound them; and after they had been playing a good while the parties closed and dragged each other by the hair, just as they would have done to their enemies after defeating them and before cutting off their scalps. They wanted us to fire our pistols, but we went off and left them alone. This day we were invited to buy bear meat, and we also got half a bushel of beans and a quantity of dried strawberries, and we bought some bread, that we wanted to take on our march. Some of the loaves were baked with nuts and dry blueberries and the grains of the sunflower.

December 24.—It was Sunday. I saw in one of the houses a sick man. We had invited two of their doctors that could cure him—they call them sinnachkoes; and as soon as they came they began to sing and to light a big fire. They closed the house most carefully everywhere, so that the breeze could not come in, and after that each of them wrapped a snake-skin around his head. They washed their hands and faces, lifted the sick man from his place, and laid him alongside the big fire. Then they took a bucket of water, put some medicine in it, and washed with this water a stick about half a yard long, and put it in his throat that you could see it no more; and then they spat on the patient's head, and over all his body; and after that they made all sorts of farces, as shouting and raving, slapping of the hands; so are their manners; so after awhile the perspiration broke out on all sides.

December 25.—It being Christmas, we rose early in the morning and wanted to go to the Sinnekens; but, as it was snowing steadily, we could not go, because nobody wanted to go with us to carry our goods. I asked them how many chiefs there were in all, and they told me 30.

December 26.—In the morning I was offered two pieces of bear's bacon to take with us on the march; and we took our departure, escorted by many of them that walked before and after us. They kept up shouting: "Allesa rondade!" that is, to fire our pistols; but we did not want to do so, and at last they went back. This day we passed over many a stretch of flat land, and crossed a kill where the water was knee-deep; and I think we kept this day mostly the direction west and northwest. The woods that we traversed consisted in the beginning mostly of oaks, but after three or four hours' marching it was mostly birch trees. It snowed the whole day, so it was very heavy marching over the hills; and after 7 miles, by guess, we arrived at a little house made of bark in the forest, where we lighted a fire and stopped for the night to sleep. It went on snowing, with a sharp, northerly wind. It was very cold.

December 27.—In the morning again on our difficult march, while the snow lay 2½ feet in some places. We went over hills and through underwood. We saw traces of two bears, and elks, but no savages. There are beech trees; and after marching another 7 or 8 miles, at sunset we found another little cabin in the forest, with hardly any bark, but covered with the branches of trees. We made a big fire and cooked our dinner. It was so very cold during this night that I did not sleep more than two hours in all.

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December 28.—We went as before, and after marching 1 or 2 miles we arrived at a kill that, as the savages told me, ran into the land of the Minquaass, and after another mile we met another kill that runs into the South River,[1] as the savages told me, and here a good many otter and beaver were caught. This day we went over several high hills. The wood was full of great trees, mostly beeches; and after 7 or 8 miles' marching we did the same as mentioned above.

December 29.—We went again, proceeding on our voyage; and after a mile's marching we came on a very high hill, and as we nearly had mounted it I fell down so hard that I thought I had broken my ribs, but it was only the handle of my cutlass that was broken. We went through a good deal of flat land, with many oaks and handles for axes, and after another 7 miles we found another hut, where we rested ourselves. We made a fire and ate all the food we had left, because the savages told us that we were but 4 miles distant from the castle. The sun was near setting as one of the savages went on to the castle to tell them we were coming. We would have gone with him but that we felt so very hungry. So he went alone, the course northwest.

December 30.—Without anything to eat we went to the Sinnekens' castle,[2] and after marching awhile the savages showed me the branch[3] of the river that passes by Fort Orange and past the land of the Maquas. A woman came to meet us, bringing us baked pumpkins to eat. This road was mostly full of beeches and beautiful flat land. Before we reached the castle we saw three graves, just like our graves in length and height; usually their graves are round. These graves were surrounded with palisades that they had split from trees, and they were closed up so nicely that it was a wonder to see. They were painted with red, and white, and black paint; but the chief's grave had an entrance, and at the top of that was a big wooden bird, and all around were painted dogs, and deer, and snakes, and other beasts.[4] After 4 or 5 miles' marching the savages prayed us to fire our guns, and so we did, but loaded them again directly. When near the castle to the northwest, we saw a large river,[5] and on the other

[1] The Minquaas lived on both the Delaware and the Susquehanna, and the two creeks properly should flow into the former, the South River being the Delaware and yet mentioned last. They were probably the upper waters of the Unadilla, as they crossed no affluents of the Delaware and did not reach those of the Chenango.

[2] This castle was the Oneida village east of Munnsville, in Madison County. Several successive sites were occupied on the hillside east of the creek.

[3] The branch of the river was the Oriskany Creek, flowing north into the Mohawk; or possibly from the high hills the Indians may have pointed out the valley of the Mohawk. However, the party would cross the Oriskany Creek about 6 miles from the Oneida fort.

[4] Charlevoix and other writers relate that the Iroquois carved and painted their totems with much skill. Good Onondaga carving may still be seen.

[5] The large river was the Oneida Creek, and the surrounding hills lofty and steep, with commanding views.

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side thereof tremendously high land that seemed to lie in the clouds. Upon inquiring closely into this, the savages told me that in this country the Frenchmen came to trade. And then we marched boldly to the castle, where the savages opened to let us pass, and so we marched through them by the gate, which was 3½ feet wide, and at the top were standing three big wooden images, of cut wood, like men, and with them I saw three scalps fluttering in the wind, that they had taken from their foes as a token of the truth of their victory. This castle has two gates, one on the east and one on the west side. On the east side a lock of hair [scalp] was also hanging; but this gate was 1½ feet smaller than the other one. When at last we arrived in the chief's house, I saw there a good many people that I knew; and we were requested to sit down in the chief's place where he was accustomed to sit, because at the time he was not at home, and because we felt cold and were wet and tired. They at once gave us to eat, and they made a good fire. This castle is situated on a very high hill, and was surrounded with two rows of palisades. It was 767 paces in circumference. There are 66 houses, but much better, higher, and more finished than all the others we saw. A good many houses had wooden fronts that are painted with all sorts of beasts. There they sleep mostly on elevated boards, more than any other savages. In the afternoon one of the council came to me, asking the reason of our coming into his land, and what we brought for him as a present.[1] I told him that we did not bring any present, but that we only paid him a visit. He told us that we would not be allowed to do so, because we did not bring him a present. Then he told us how the Frenchmen had come thither to trade with six men, and had given him good gifts, because they had been trading in this river with six men in the month of August of this year. We saw very good axes to cut the underwood, and French shirts, and coats, and razors; and this member of the council said we were scoundrels, and would not be admitted, because we paid not enough for their beaver skins. They told us that the Frenchmen gave six hands of seawan[2] for one beaver, and all sorts of things more. The savages were pressing closely upon us, so that there was hardly room for us to sit. If they had desired to molest us, we could hardly have been able to defend ourselves; but there was no danger. In this river as spoken of, often six, seven, or eight salmon were daily caught. I saw houses where 60, 70, and more dried salmon were hanging.

December 31.—On Sunday the chief of this castle came back (his name is Arenias), and one more man. They told us that they returned from the French savages, and some of the savages shouted "Jawe arawi!" which

[1] Presents were always expected by the Iroquois on the occasion of any official or ceremonious visit.

[2] Seawan or sewant, also called wampumpeage or wampum, was used by the Iroquois for ornament and currency in their commercial intercourse with each other. The white was made from the conch or periwinkle, the black or purple from hard-shell clams. A single string of wampum of 1 fathom ruled as high as 5 shillings in New England, and is known in New Netherlands to have reached as much as 4 guilders, or $1.60. The Dutch, in adopting the Indian currency, applied to its manufacture the proper tools, and made it at Hackensack, N. J.

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meant that they thanked him for having come back. And I told him that in the night we should fire three shots; and he said it was all right; and they seemed very well contented. We asked them all sorts of questions about their castles and their names, and how far they were away from each other. They showed us with stones and maize cakes, and Jeronimus then made a chart of it. And we counted all in miles how far each village was away from the next. The savages told us that on the high land there lived men with horns on their heads; and when they saw us laugh they told us that a good many beavers were caught there, too, but they dared not go so far because of the French savages; therefore they thought best to make peace. We fired three shots in the night in honor of the year of our Lord and Redeemer, Jesus Christ. Praise the Lord above all! In the castle Enneyuttehage,[1] or Sinnekens, January 1, 1635.

January 1, 1635.—Another savage scolded at us. We were scoundrels, reason as told before;[2] and he looked ill-tempered. Willem Tomassen got so excited that the tears were running along his cheeks, and the savages, seeing that we were not at all contented, asked us what was the matter, and why we looked so disgusted at them. There were in all 46 persons seated near us; if they had intended to do mischief, they could easily have caught us with their hands and killed us without much trouble; but as I had listened long enough to the Indian's bragging I told him they all were scoundrels, and he was the biggest scoundrel of them all. He laughed at this and said he was not out of temper by the compliment. "You must not grow so furious, for we are very glad that you came here." And after that Jeronimus gave the chief two knives, two pairs of scissors, and a few awls and needles that we had with us. And in the evening the savages suspended a band of seawan, and some other stringed seawan that the chief had brought with him from the French savages as a sign of peace and that the French savages were to come in confidence to them, and he sang: "Ho schene jo ho ho schene I atsiehocwe atschoewe," after which all the savages shouted three times: "Netho, netho, netho!" and after that another band of seawan was suspended, and he sang then: "Katen, katen, katen, katen!" and all the savages shouted as hard as they could: "Hy, hy, hy!" After long deliberation they made peace for four years, and soon after everyone returned to his home.

January 2.—The savages came to us and told us that we had better stop another four or five days. They would provide us with good eating and have us treated nicely; but I told them I could not wait so long as that. They replied that they had sent a message to the Onondagas—that is, the castle next to theirs—but I told them they nearly starved us, and for that reason I did not want to stay. Then they said that in future they would look better after us, and twice during this day we were invited to be their guests, and treated to salmon and bear's bacon.

January 3.—Some old men came to us and told us they wanted to be our friends, and they said we need not be afraid. And I replied we never thought of that; and in the evening the council sat here—in all, 24 men—and after consulting for a long while an old man approached me and

[1] This word is equivalent to Oneida-aug, the Oneida people.

[2] See second paragraph under date of December 30, 1634, for the statement referred to.

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laid his hand upon my heart to feel it beat; and then he shouted I really was not afraid at all. After that another half dozen tried the same, and after that they presented me a coat made of beaver skin, and told me they gave it to me because I came here and ought to be very tired, and he pointed to his and my legs; and besides, it is because you have been marching through the snow. And when I took the coat they shouted three times: "Netho, netho, netho!" which means, "This is very well." And directly after that they laid five pieces of beaver skins on my feet, at the same time requesting me that in the future they should receive four hands of seawan and four handbreadths of cloth for every big beaver skin, because we have to go so far with our skins; and very often if we do not come to your places we do not find any cloth or seawan or axes or kettles, or not enough for all of us, and then we have had much trouble for nothing, and have to go back over a great distance, carrying our goods back again. After we sat for a considerable time, an old man came to us, and translated it to us in the other language, and told us that we did not answer yet whether they were to have four hands of seawan or not for their skins. I told him that we were not entitled to promise that, but that we should report about it to the governor at Manhattan, who was our chief, and that I should send him a message in the spring, or come again myself. Then they said to me "Welswachkoo," you must not lie, and surely come to us in the spring, and report to us about all. And if you want to give us four hands of seawan we will not sell our skins to anyone but you; and after that they gave me the five beaver skins, and shouted as hard as they could: "Netho, netho, netho!" And then, to show that everything has been fixed in proper order, they sang: "Ha assironi atsiwach koo kent oya kauwig wee Onneyatte Onondaga Koyockure hoo hanoto wany ageoegowie hoo Tiolohalton scahten franosoni yndicho." That means that I could go in all the places they said the names of the castles, freely and everywhere. I should be provided with a house and a fire and wood and everything I needed; and if I wanted to go to the Frenchmen they would guide me there and back; and after that they shouted again: "Netho, netho, netho!" and they made a present of another beaver skin to me, and we ate to-day bear meat that we were invited to. In this house, belonging to the chief, there were three or four meals a day, and they did not cook in it, as everything was brought in from the other houses in large kettles; for it was the council that took their meals here every day. And if we happened to be in the house we received a basinful of food; for it seems to be the rule here that everyone that comes here has his basin filled; and if there were basins short they brought them and their spoons[1] with them. They sit side by side, and the basin, when empty, is taken and filled again, for a guest that is invited does not move before he is ready. Sometimes they sing, and sometimes they do not, thanking the host before they return home.

January 4.—Two savages came, inviting us to come and see how they used to drive away the devil. I told them that I had seen it before; but they did not move off, and I had to go; and because I did not choose to go alone I took Jeronimus along. I saw a dozen men together who wanted to take

[1] The Onondagas and Oneidas still occasionally use large wooden spoons.

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a hand in it. After we arrived the floor of the house was thickly covered with the bark of trees to walk upon. They were mostly old men, and they had their faces all painted with red paint—which they always do when there is something going on. Three men among them had a wreath on their heads, on which stuck five white crosses. These wreaths are made of deer hair that they had braided with the roots of a sort of green herb. In the middle of the house they then put the man who was very sick, and who was treated without success during a considerable time. Close by sat an old woman with a turtle shell in her hands. In the turtle shell were a good many beads.[1] She kept chinking all the while, and all of them sang under the bark; they wanted to catch the devil and trample him to death, and they trampled the bark to atoms. If they only saw a little cloud of dust rising from the bark, they became very excited, and kept blowing that it might not touch them. They were so afraid that they ran like fools, as if they really saw the devil; and after long shouting, stamping, and running one of them went to the sick man and took away an otter that he had in his hands; and he sucked the sick man for awhile in his neck and on the back, and after that he spat in the otter's mouth and threw it down; at the same time he ran off like mad through fear. Other men then went to the otter, and committed such foolery that it was quite a wonder to see, and I nearly burst from laughing. Yes; they commenced to throw fire and eat fire, and kept scattering hot ashes and red-hot coal in such a way that it grew much too unpleasant for me, and I ran off like a shot. To-day another beaver skin was presented to me.

January 5.—I bought four dried salmon and two pieces of bear bacon that was about nine duym (centimeter) thick; and we saw thicker, even. They gave us bear and venison to eat to-day, and further nothing particular happened.

January 6.—Nothing particular than that I was shown a parcel of flint stones[2] wherewith they make fire when they are in the forest. Those stones would do very well for firelock guns.

January 7.—We received a letter from Martin Gerritsen, dated from the last of December; it was brought by a Sinneken that arrived from our fort. He told us that our people grew very uneasy about our not coming home, and that they thought we had been killed. We ate fresh salmon only two days caught, and we were robbed to-day of six and a half hands of seawan that we never saw again.

January 8.—Arenias came to me to say that he wanted to go with me to the fort and take all his skins to trade. Jeronimus tried to sell his coat here, but he could not get rid of it.

January 9.—During the evening the Onondagas[3] came. There were six old men and four women. They were very tired from the march, and brought with them some bear skins. I came to meet them, and thanked them that they came to visit us; and they welcomed me, and because it was very late I went home.

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[1] Turtle-shell rattles are still used by the Iroquois.

[2] Hornstone is abundant in the corniferous limestone of that region of country.

[3] This is the first mention in American history of anyone seeing the Onondagas as such. Champlain's attack was probably on an Oneida fort.

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January 10.—Jeronimus burned the greater part of his pantaloons, that dropped in the fire during the night, and the chief's mother gave him cloth to repair it, and Willem Tomassen had it repaired.

January 11.—At 10 o'clock in the morning the savages came to me and invited me to come to the house where the Onondagans sat in council. "They will give you presents;" and I went there with Jeronimus; took our pistols with us and sat alongside of them, near an old man of the name of Canastogecora, about 55 years of age; and he said: "Friends, I have come here to see you and to talk to you;" wherefore we thanked him, and after they had sat in council for a long time an interpreter came to me and gave me five pieces of beaver skin because I came to visit them. I took the beaver skins and thanked them, and they shouted three times "Netho!" And after that another five beaver skins that they laid upon my feet, and they gave them to me because I had come into their council. We should have been given a good many skins as presents if we had come into his land; and they earnestly requested me to visit their land in the summer, and after that gave me another four beaver skins and asked at the same time to be better paid for their skins. They would bring us a great quantity if we did; and if we wanted to come back in the summer they would send us three or four savages to look all around in their land and show us where the Frenchmen came trading with their shallops. And when we gathered our fourteen beavers they again shouted as hard as they could, "Zinae netho!" and we fired away with our pistols and gave the chief two knives, some awls, and needles; and so we took our departure, as they permitted us to leave the council. We had at the time five pieces of salmon and two pieces of bear bacon that we were to take on the march, and here they gave a good many loaves and even flour to take with us.

January 12.—We took our departure; and when we thought everything was ready the savages did not want to carry our goods—twenty beaver skins, five salmon, and some loaves of bread—because they all had already quite enough to carry; but after a good deal of grumbling and nice words they at last consented and carried our goods. Many savages walked along with us and they shouted, "Alle sarondade!" that is, to fire the pistols; and when we came near the chief's grave we fired three shots, and they went back. It was about 9 o'clock when we left this place and walked for upward of 5 miles through 2½ feet of snow. It was a very difficult road, so that some of the savages stopped in the forest and slept in the snow. We went on, however, and reached a little cabin, where we slept.

January 13.—We rose early in the morning, and after going 7 or 8 miles we arrived at another hut, where we rested awhile, cooked our dinner, and slept. Arenias pointed out to me a place on a high mountain, and said that after ten days' marching we could reach a big river there where plenty of people are living, and where plenty of cows and horses are; but we had to cross the river for a whole day. This was the place which we passed on the 29th of December. I rejoiced to hear it.

January 14.—On Sunday we made ready to proceed, but the chief did not want to go, and stopped to go bear hunting, because it was fine weather. I went alone with two savages. Here two Maquas Indians joined us, as they wanted to trade elk skins and satteen (a little velvety skin).

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January 15.—In the morning at 2 o'clock, before daylight, after taking breakfast with the savages, we proceeded on the voyage, and when it was nearly dark again the savages made a fire in the wood, as they did not want to go farther, and I came about 3 o'clock in the evening to a hut where I slept on the 26th of December. It was very cold. I could not make a fire, and was obliged to walk the whole night to keep warm.

January 16.—In the morning at 3 o'clock, as the moon rose, I searched for the path, which I found at last; and because I marched so quickly I arrived about 9 o'clock on very extensive flat land. After having passed over a high hill I came to a very even footpath that had been made through the snow by the savages who passed there with much venison, because they had come home after hunting; and about 10 o'clock I saw the castle and arrived there about 12 o'clock. Upward of one hundred people welcomed me, and showed me a house where I could go. They gave me a white hare to eat that they caught two days ago. They cooked it with walnuts, and they gave me a piece of wheaten bread a savage that was in Fort Orange on the 15th of this month had brought with him. In the evening more than 40 fathoms of seawan were divided among us as the last will of the savages that died of the smallpox. It was divided in the presence of the chief and the best friends. It is their custom to divide among the chiefs and nearest friends. And in the evening the savages gave me two bear skins to cover me, and they brought rushes to lay under my head, and they told us that our kinsmen wanted us very much to come back.

January 17.—Jeronimus and Tomassen, with some savages, joined us in this castle, Tenotogehage, and they still were all right; and in the evening I saw another 100 fathoms of seawan divided among the chiefs and the best friends.

January 18.—We went back from this castle on our route, and received a message to hasten home. In some of the houses we saw more than 40 or 50 deer cut in quarters and dried; but they gave us very little of it. After marching half a mile we passed through the village of Nawaoge, and after another half mile we came to the village of Ohquage. The chief, Ohquahoo, received us well, and we waited here for the chief, Arenias, whom we left in the castle Te Notooge.

January 19.—We went as fast as we could in the morning, proceeding on the march; and after going half a mile we arrived at the third castle, named Rehanadisse, and I looked around for skins in some of the houses. I met nine Onondagas with skins, that I told to go with me to the second castle, where the chief, Taturot, at home usually called Tone werot, was living. He welcomed us at once, and gave us a very fat piece of venison, which we cooked; and when we were sitting at dinner we received a letter from Martin Gerritsen, brought us by a savage that came in search of us, and was dated January 10. We resolved to proceed at once to the first castle, and to reach Fort Orange to-morrow, and three hours before sunset we arrived at the first castle. We had bread baked for us, and packed the three beavers we received from the chief on our way up to the Sinnekens. We slept here comfortably during the night.

January 20.—In the morning, before daylight, Jeronimus sold his coat for four beaver skins to an old man. We parted at one hour before day-

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light, and after marching by guess 2 miles the savages pointed to a high mountain where their castle[1] stood nine years before. They had been driven out by the Mahicans,[2] and after that time they did not want to live there. After marching 7 or 8 miles we found that the hunters' cabins had been burned, so we were obliged to sleep under the blue sky.

January 21.—We proceeded early in the morning, and after a long march we took a wrong path that was the most walked upon; but as the savages knew the paths better than we did they returned with us, and after 11 miles' marching we arrived, the Lord be praised and thanked, at Fort Orange, January 21, anno 1635.

The journal of Van Curler's visit, in 1634, to the Indians of the Five Nations concludes with the following early and important vocabulary of their language, which well deserves the study of American philologists. It is given to complete that very important document, although this portion is of interest only to the specialist, and not, like the first part, to all who are students of American history. The Maquas, or Mohawk, column is followed by an English translation of the old Dutch of the manuscript:

Maquas.	English.	Maquas.	English.
Assire or oggaha	Cloth.	Canagoecfat	Scraper.
Atoga	Axes.	Caris	Stockings.
Atsochta	Adze.	Achta	Shoes.
Assere	Knives.	Aque (Gario?)	Deer.
Assaghe	Papier	Aquesados	Horses.
Attochwat	Spoons.	Adiron	Cats.
Ondach	Kettles.	Aquidagon	Oxen.
Endat hatste	Looking-glass.	Senoto wanne	Elk.
Sasaskarisat	Scissors.	Ochquari	Bear.
Kareenari (Garonare?).	Awls.	Sinite	Beaver.
		Tawÿne	Otter.
Onekoera	Seawan.	Eyo	Mice.
Tiggeretait	Combs.	Senadondo	Foxes.
Catse (Garistate?)	Bell.	Ochquoha	Wolves.
Dedaia witha	Shirts.	Seranda	Male cat.
Nonewarory	Bonnets.	Ichar or sateeni	Dogs.
Eyt roghe	Beads.	Tali	Cranes.

[1] The abandoned castle pointed out by the Mohawks seems to have marked their farthest eastern extension. Their early villages were in a radius of a dozen miles from Canajoharie, but they moved eastward until checked by the Mohicans. Later, European pressure forced them back until the western castle was at Danube. Dr. Beauchamp writes: "There are more named villages in the Journal than are on record elsewhere, but I will not risk locating them all. Curler places them all within 6 of his Dutch miles, which will not exceed 12 to 15 English miles. When the party reached the western castle, as the course up the Mohawk turned northwesterly, they left the river, as was customary, taking the much shorter route overland. The Canajoharie Creek was then the only formidable creek that they encountered."

[2] It will be remembered that this is the tribe to which Uncas belonged, who is the hero of Cooper's charming story entitled The Last of the Mohicans, frequently written Mahicans.

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Maquas.	English.	Maquas.	English.
Uragegua	Swans.	Careyago	The sky.
Kahanct	Geese.	Karaekwero	The sun.
Schawariwane	Turkeys.	Asistock	The stars.
Schakcari	Eagles.	Sintho	To sew.
Tantanege wanasi	Hares.	Deserentekar	Meadow.
Onckwe	Men.	Sorsar	To raise.
Etsi (Eightjen?)	A man.	Cana	The seed.
Coenhechti (Gahetien?).	A woman.	Onea	Stone.
		Canadack or cany	Sack or basket.
Ochtaha	An old man.	Canadaghi	A castle.
Odasqueta	An old woman.	Oyoghi	A kill (small river).
Sine gechtera	A wooer.	Canaderage	A river.
Enhechta	A lass.	Johati	A road.
Ragina	Father.	Onstara	To weep.
Distan	Mother.	Aquayesse	To laugh.
Cian	Child.	Ohonte	Grass vegetables.
Rockhongwa (Ronwayè?).	Boy.	Oneggeri	Weeds or reeds or straw.
Canna warori	Prostitute.	Karistaji	Iron, copper, or lead.
Onentar	Woman in labor.	Onegonsera	Red paint.
Ragenonon	Uncle.	Cahonsÿe	Black.
Rackesie	Cousin.	Crage	White.
Anochquis	Hair.	Ossirenda	Blue.
Anonsi	Head.	Endatcondere	To paint.
Ohochta	Ears.	Joddireyo	To fight.
Ohonikwa	Throat.	Aqui nachoo	Ill tempered.
Oneyatsa	Nose.	Jaqhae terreni	Frightened.
Owanisse	Tongue.	Dadenye	To gamble.
Onawÿ	Teeth.	Asserie	Very strong.
Onenta	Arm.	Carente	Artful, crooked.
Osnotsa	Hands.	Odossera	The beacon.
Onataasa	Fingers.	Keye	The fat.
Otich kera	Thumb.	Wistoteera	The grease.
Otsira	Nails.	Ostie	The bone.
Onvare	Shoulder blade.	Aqhidawe	To sleep.
Orochguine	Spine.	Sinekaty	Carnal copulation.
Ossidari	Feet.	Jankurangue	Very tired.
Onera	Pudenda.	Atsochwat	Tobacco.
Oerida	Excrements.	Canonou	Pipe.
Onsaha	Vesicle.	Esteronde	The rain.
Canderes	Phallus.	Waghideria	To sweat.
Awahta	Testicles.	Kayontochke	Flat land.
Casoya	Ship, canoe.	Ononda	Mountains.
Conossade	House.	Cayanoghe	Islands.
Onega	Water.	Nhasohadee	The overside.
Oetseira	Fire.	Caroo	Close by.
Oyente	Wood (firewood).	Cadadiene	To trade.
Oscante	Bark.	Daweyate	To sit in council.
Canadera	Bread.	Agetsioga	A string of beads.
Echeda (Osaheta?)	Beans.	Aguayanderen	A chief.
Oneote	Maize.	Seronquatse	A scoundrel.
Cinsie	Fish.	Sari wacksi	A chatterer.
Ghekeront	Salmon.	Onewachten	A liar.
Oware	Meat.	Tenon connengon	What do you want!
Athesera	Flour.	Sinachkoo	To drive the devil away.
Satsori	To eat.		
Onighira	To drink.	Adenocquat	To give medicine.
Katten kerrey	Very hungry.	Coengarareu	To cure.
Augustuske ager	Very cold.	Sategat	To light the fire, make fire.
Oyendere	Very good.		
Rockste	Friends.	Judichaga	It burns.
Yachte yendere	'Tis no good.	Catteges in sewe	When do you return!
Quane (Kewanea?)	Great.	Tosenochte	I don't know.
Canyewa	Small.	Tegenhondi	In the spring.
Wotstaha	Broad.	Otteyage	In the summer.
Cates	Thick.	Augustuske	In the winter.
Satewa	Alone.	Katkaste	To cook dinner.
Sagat	Doubly.	Jori	It is ready.
Awaheya	Death.	Dequoguoha	To go hunting.
Aghihi	Sick.	Osqucha	I'll get it.
Sasnoron	Hurry up.	Seyendere ü	I know him well.
Archoo	At once.	Kristoni asseroni	Netherlanders, Germans.
Owaetsei	At present.		
The derri	Yesterday.	Aderondacke	Frenchmen and Englishmen.
Jorhani	To-morrow.		

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Maquas.	English.	Maquas.	English.
Anesagghena	Mahicans, or Mohigans.	Wisch	Five.
Toraas	To the north.	Jayack	Six.
Kanon newage	Manhattan Island.	Tsadack	Seven.
Onscat	One.	Sategon	Eight.
Tiggeni	Two.	Tyochte	Nine.
Asse	Three.	Oyere	Ten.
Cayere	Four.	Tawasse	Forty.
		Onscat teneyawe	Hundred.

NOTE.—The writer desires to acknowledge his indebtedness for valuable aid in deciphering and correcting Van Curler's Journal and Indian Vocabulary to the Rev. William M. Beauchamp, S. T. D., author of "Antiquities of Onondaga."—W.

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VII.—POLITICAL ACTIVITY OF MASSACHUSETTS TOWNS DURING THE REVOLUTION.

By HARRY A. CUSHING,
OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

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POLITICAL ACTIVITY OF MASSACHUSETTS TOWNS DURING THE REVOLUTION.

By HARRY A. CUSHING.

From the day of Samuel Adams's coup d'état at the Salem court-house to the inauguration of Governor Hancock in 1780 the center of gravity in the politics of Massachusetts was the town. Already for thirty years the town system had been the subject of an important political contest; this, incidentally, had served to emphasize the antitheses, both of theory and of interest, imposed upon Massachusetts with its provincial charter. Willing to allow the expansion of the town system merely for purposes of local administration, the home government with practical uniformity for three decades refused to allow a coincident extension of the rights of representation. The colonists thus were striving for what they considered the unquestioned right of every incorporated town, the right of independent representation in the general court. The long contest formed a significant prelude to the events of 1774, when still more critical prominence was given to the town system by the action of Parliament. This, as is known, while abolishing the elective jury and radically altering the legislature, aimed as well at restricting the freedom and independence of town action. It was from these local bodies, thus threatened with permanent subordination to the interests of the executive, that came upon practically every point the earliest and most explicit reply.

One of the statutes in question rendered the calling of all town meetings, except the annual meetings on stated dates, dependent upon the consent of the governor. By a technicality the necessity of asking such consent was avoided; and soon the protection even of a technicality was scorned; soon could Samuel Adams read of "many town meetings which will all be called without asking his excellency's leave." Plainly and uniformly the towns sanctioned the blunt resolve "to pay no regard to the late act of Parliament, respecting the calling

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town meetings, but to proceed in the usual way;" and referring to these meetings Gage soon wrote to Lord Dartmouth, that "at a distance they go on as usual, but worse transactions make that of little consequence in the present moment." Thus passively did the executive countenance a situation which he himself should have made impossible; thus did he unconsciously recognize as an accomplished fact the first step in the local revolution; and the ill bodings which accompanied the useful prophecies of Gage were given indorsement unwittingly by the men of Massachusetts in the unusual frequency of town meetings during these months of August and September.

Having secured the continuance of their existence as political, if not as constitutional, bodies, the towns proceeded further to neutralize the effect of the Parliamentary policy. In the reasoning and tradition of the colonists it was essential to civil liberty that the elective element in the jury system should be maintained inviolate; if that were to be removed the whole judicial system must be destroyed with it; and the latter, in fact, resulted. For such result ample preparation had been made in the recent contest over the salaries of the judiciary and in the development, by that and other events, of those ill-concealed antipathies which now were given definite expression. Uniform public opinion early secured almost an end of litigation; and while one element of the population made courts unnecessary another element made their work ineffective. Friends of Gage wrote: "The fences of law are broken down." A pamphlet of similar partisanship stated: "So strangely have we been infatuated we have resumed the power into our own hands, and every man is become a judge and a ruler among us. The whole system of government is overturned, and all order and subordination lost." Quite so, indeed, it was; even constables refused to recognize those sheriffs who tried to act in accordance with the new statutes; then was seen the force of George Cabot's remarks that "All governments rest on opinion. Free governments, especially, depend on popular opinion for their existence, and on popular approbation for their force * * *."

No organs existed for the expression of this "popular opinion" and "popular approbation" except the town meetings and those groups of town representatives termed county conventions. By such now the needs of the situation were stated and the programme of action was dictated, as when, in Wor-

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cester, it was "voted, as the opinion of this convention, that the court should not sit on any terms." Similar votes were in many places, as indeed in Worcester, followed by vigorous and unwarranted expressions of the popular sentiment; the deliberation of the town meeting was made tangible by the action of the mob; and in an unfortunate manner it was made certain that the end of royal courts was near. Significantly, in this connection, did the Essex Journal say that the votes of the delegates of a few towns had "all the good effect on the minds of the people" that legislative acts could have; and truly had Thomas Young written, even in the middle of August: "The whole current of Mr. Gage's administration seems to have its course uphill." The situation was concisely stated when "Amicus," in the first week in September, wrote to Samuel Adams: "The judges have informed the governor that the execution of their office is at an end."

Likewise, on the initiative of the towns, was the contest with Parliament begun upon a third point, the substitution of a council appointed by the King for a council elected by the general court. Here, more plainly even than on the preceding question, is developed a contest over the relative validity of a statute of Parliament and a charter of government. On the one hand was the authority of the King in Parliament; on the other was the nature of the colonial charter, defined on the one side as by Leicester when the town declared that "the basis of the civil constitution of government in this Province" was "sacred, and that no power on earth whatsoever hath right or authority to disannul or revoke said charter or any part of it, or abridge the inhabitants of the Province of any of the powers, privileges, or immunities therein stipulated or agreed to be holden by every person inhabiting said Province;" tangibly the contest was one of official legitimacy between the council elected in May, in accordance with the charter of 1691, and the mandamus council appointed by the King. This new creation of royalty was to be accorded no recognition, and its destruction became the object of the party of "movement."

Thus, the town of Worcester instructed its representative to be sworn only by those whom they termed "constitutional officers," and, more particularly, "That every one of those incorrigible enemies to this country who have lately been appointed by mandamus from His Majesty as councilors, and have accepted a seat at the council board of this Province, and shall not resign

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their said office before the second Tuesday of this instant, be impeached as traitors to the constitution of this Province, and that they be taken into custody and secured for trial." Following the same line of theory, no obedience was to be rendered to anyone taking the oaths as recently prescribed. All questions of legality were to be determined, and all problems of action were to be solved, solely with reference to the maintenance of the charter and of the institutions therein established. Here, again, the will of the towns was accomplished in an unfortunate manner. In June, Lord Dartmouth had written to Gage: "There is little room to hope that every one of the persons whom His Majesty has appointed to be of his council will be induced to accept that honor, for there can be no doubt that every art will be practiced to intimidate and prejudice." The official prophecy was true; but even thus warned Gage showed no greater command of the situation than did any of the royal executives. By threat and force, so many resignations were secured that the council became a nullity; Gage had no authority to fill vacancies: and on another point the towns attained their end.

The attainment of their end in this instance, however, involved much more. Elections for a new house were in progress; Gage could not consistently act with the May council; a complete general court was an impossibility, and the gathering of the warring claimants to membership therein could only precipitate a contest. Such probability was increased by the instructions given by the towns to their representatives. The governor by proclamation annulled the writs of election. On a question of phraseology, the colonists denied his right to do this. They had already mapped out clearly the course for the coming weeks; they consciously anticipated a break with the executive, and they made definite provision for such a crisis. Their representatives were, with remarkable uniformity, instructed to meet, and if necessity and occasion directed, to resolve themselves into a provincial congress, and thus put themselves in a position, as was later said, "to organize the revolution."

Such was the course of action; and by its completion a new phase of development appears. The governor's authority now embraced little more than Boston; the royal treasurer soon failed to receive payments or recognition from the towns; by the towns had been brought about the end of the royal legis-

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lature; at their instance the royal courts had been abolished; and it is significant that in this general collapse the town system, and that alone, had maintained an existence and an activity that were practically continuous. By this element the government of the King had been destroyed; by it the reconstruction was to be effected.

During the strictly provisional administration the Provincial Congress, by voluntary dissolutions, thrice recognized that the ultimate source of power was in the towns; the acts of the successive congresses make it evident that they considered the sphere of town action neither slight nor of accidental origin. The continued existence of the towns and of town rights is shown in the resumption of the charter of 1691; and the general court, acting under that "resumed" charter, many times, both distinctly and by implication, reaffirms the sovereign position of the people acting in town meetings.

The renewed use of the charter was understood to be provisional, and the five years before its abandonment were filled with activity relative to constituent matters. Even at the close of 1775 town action is seen directed toward a reconstruction; such steps are repeated in the next year, and the general court recognizes that the people acting in town meetings are the possessors of constituent powers. Twice they are asked to delegate the exercise of such powers to the general court; the second appeal succeeds, but only on the plainly and repeatedly demanded condition that the work of the constituent body should be submitted to the towns for approval or rejection. In this case a rejection follows, but the grounds of objection are such as to be readily avoided. Then, on similar conditions recognizing the towns as possessors of a power of final sanction, provision is made for conferring constituent powers upon a special convention called for an explicit purpose and with strictly defined powers. The constitution, thus formed by what was then known as the Massachusetts method, was ratified by more than two-thirds of those voting in the town meetings, and thus sanctioned was promulgated as the constitution of the Commonwealth. The establishment of a newly organized Commonwealth was in 1780 effected by the towns which six years before had destroyed the Royal Government.

The activity of the towns in 1778 and 1780, even more than in 1774, included much more than mere routine. The submission of constitutions in the two later years offered occasions

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widely seized. The political philosophy of the time was fully recorded. On the location of sovereignty, on the suffrage, on the triple division of government, on the bicameral legislature, there were many distinct expressions. On the basis of representation there was a multitude of mathematical arrangements; on the size of the legislature numerous opinions were offered; on the relation of civil to ecclesiastical affairs there was a contest well-nigh bitter. In fact, upon almost every point of practical politics or political theory there appeared some opinion or suggestion. Yet the very variety entails confusion, and the many different combinations of various views in the several localities, while attesting the vigor and intelligence of political activity in Massachusetts, render quite futile any attempt at a classification of views on any basis that will prove useful or permanent.

Nevertheless, one type of expression is to be noted as of especial significance when viewed in connection with the position of the towns during the transitional period. In practice we have seen indicated the vital continuance of local organisms and of local rights; in theory, there appears a firm and repeated assertion of the inviolate character of such rights. The position taken by the towns in the six years of transition is emphasized by their own recognition and reiteration of their so-called natural rights. Such expression is seen in the demand for independence of local action, and even more strikingly in the vigorous maintenance of the theory that each incorporated town, by virtue of such incorporation, possesses, regardless of any external power, a right of representation. Still more numerous are the demands for the recognition of the towns as administrative units by granting to each a registry of deeds; the same tendency to assert the importance of the towns is indicated further by the many demands for a probate court in each. We find, as well, single towns refusing to be bound even by a county convention; while it is no uncommon thought that the qualifications of representatives should be determined by the towns themselves. Further illustration might be drawn from the various arguments of the time; thus on the religious question one party is strenuous in upholding the competency of the town to control all matters of religion. The extreme position is seen in those few towns which establish local courts of justice with appeals only to the town meeting; and the radical position is exploited when a town threatens that unless its

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demands are granted it will declare its independence of the State.

In the action of the towns throughout the period in review no undercurrent of thought is more prominent than the one outlined. Then, as earlier, the chief care of the towns was to secure the utmost scope and freedom to local action. Local rights receive a vigorous theoretical maintenance similar to that which in practice they had been given for the preceding six years. Fact and theory coincide, and the coincidence is more than superficial.

The line of thought and action upon which some stress has been laid can serve as a basis of classification of those elements of the revolution which may be termed purely local or provincial. Such classification will be based on the relative influence, activity, and effectiveness on the one hand of the central revolutionary body in each colony, and on the other hand of the remnants of the earlier and strictly local administrative organizations in each. Briefly, there will appear two types of transitional movement; in one the effective activity of local organisms will be at a minimum and that of the central revolutionary body will be at a maximum; in the other type the central revolutionary body in each colony will, in all its course, be strictly and consciously subordinated to the strongly asserted rights of the local political bodies.

As examples of one type I would name Massachusetts and what was then considered that Commonwealth's political imitator, the neighboring New Hampshire, together with Rhode Island and Connecticut. A qualification in regard to the last two may seem essential. The fact that they possessed an elective governor rendered their general assemblies able to perform the functions elsewhere assumed by revolutionary bodies; and yet even in such procedure and in the unbroken use of their charters clear recognition was given to the position and authority of the towns. If digression were possible, it might be shown that these were strong, if not even extreme, examples of the type; and in this connection it may be recalled simply that in these two colonies, and in these alone, the representatives were chosen by the towns every six months.

The second type has as examples the remaining colonies, illustrating in various degrees the negation of local rights and authority and the accumulation, in a central revolutionary body, of practically unlimited powers. To characterize the

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distinction more tangibly, let us consider the normal development of revolutionary procedure in the latter type. We find outside of New England similar processes with variations of detail so slight as to render a single case representative of all. The position of Boston in the early summer of 1774 is in all the immediate occasion for definite expression. Such expression may be made by towns, counties, or districts, but none such can represent a body of any intercolonial standing. The various steps in the creation of such a provincial representation are not pertinent to our present purpose, except in so far as the local organisms are frequently disregarded in an emphatic manner. By the Provincial Congress once organized is begun the gradual assumption of powers, culminating often in the exercise of those of a constituent body. Supremacy in legislation, in administration, in executive matters, and in judicial affairs is recognized by the controlling elements of the population as vested in this Congress; the remainder of the population, whether mathematically a majority or not, are perforce silent.

In a people of such high political intelligence few cases in history can be found of a single revolutionary body exercising such arbitrary and even despotic power and such wide authority as was commonly assumed by the Provincial Congress of the American Revolution. From granting audience to a saddler and subsidizing a powder factory, to action on a death sentence and the imposition of a constitution of government, their conduct was marked with equal facility and self-confidence, and was accorded uniform recognition and support. Their action was final and supreme; in the exercise of constituent powers, no voice even of formal sanction, far less one of approval or rejection, was granted to the people. The only connection of the people with provincial affairs appeared in rarely conferring special powers upon the convention, or in an infrequent reelection of that body; and even in such cases the course of action seems to have resulted from the convention's regard for expediency rather than from any recognition by them of rights vested in their nominal constituencies. Local activity and authority were at the lowest ebb.

The opposite type has already been developed in the treatment of Massachusetts, the most important as well as the best example of the class. The fact that the colonies of one type occupy the territory of the New England town system is sug-

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gestive to the political philosopher and the historian of the town; elaboration upon any thesis in that connection is here impossible, as is also any more detailed development of the distinction, which it is the purpose of this paper merely to suggest. At all events, the suggestion is tenable that along the lines of characterization indicated may be traced two distinct phases of our revolutionary procedure and revolutionary theory.

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VIII.—THE LAND SYSTEM OF PROVINCIAL PENNSYLVANIA.

By WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD, Ph. D.,
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THE LAND SYSTEM OF PROVINCIAL PENNSYLVANIA.

By WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD, Ph. D.

With the provisions of the charter of Pennsylvania, granted to William Penn by Charles II, March 4, 1681, you are doubtless well acquainted; hence I shall allude to it no further than to say that under and in accordance with its provisions both the territorial and governmental administration of the province must be organized and managed.

Purchasers of the soil held immediately of Penn, not of the king, and that by socage tenure. As the title of the proprietor to the soil was in point of law feudal and not allodial, he did not believe himself authorized to make grants upon allodial principles. The estate possessed by the grantee would thus be a tenement, not an allod. It was subject to quitrents and to forfeiture for lack of heirs, or because of corruption of blood. Pennsylvania, then, may be viewed as a seigniory divested of the heaviest burdens imposed by feudal law, and endowed with such powers of territorial control as distance from the realm of the lord paramount required.

Penn and his sons divided the land, roughly speaking, into three parts. The first comprised the millions of acres called the common land, which was sold generally at uniform rates, and to which, unless otherwise stated, the following discussion of the land system will refer. The second included the proprietary tenths, or manors, reserved and held by the proprietors jointly, and consisting usually of one-tenth of the choicest lands in a given tract. The third was the private estates of the individual proprietors, either purchased by one of them from the others, or from persons in the province who had previously bought the property in question.[1]

[1] Penn MSS. Penn Letter Books—X, Thomas Penn to John Penn, August 13, 1771; to R. Hockley, August 22, 1771.

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Having secured his title to the province, Penn soon after issued his proposals and account of Pennsylvania, together with a statement of the powers necessary for the proper management of the land when granted, and of the rights and privileges that settlers might reasonably expect. The conditions of sale were the following: Each share sold was to be called a propriety, and to include 5,000 acres free of Indian incumbrances. The price of each share was fixed at £100, and after 1684 it was liable to a quitrent of one shilling for every 100 acres. To those who desired to rent land, it would be let in estates not exceeding 200 acres each, at a quitrent of one penny per acre.[1] While yet in England, he sold large tracts of land in Pennsylvania to persons who were later technically known as "first purchasers." In agreement with them he published certain "Conditions and Concessions."

Among the numerous provisions it was stated that everyone who purchased or leased 500 acres in the province at large should receive 10 acres in a city (Philadelphia) which it was proposed to lay out "on the river side in the most convenient place for health and navigation." Within three years after his land had been surveyed every man must appropriate and settle it, or on complaint to the proprietor that the rules of settlement had not been obeyed newcomers might be given possession. In this case, when the complainant had paid the purchase money, interest, and fees for surveying, the proprietor should make him an actual grant of the lands not rightfully settled. The proprietor, on his own part, from every 100,000 acres reserved 10,000 acres for himself on the condition that in each instance they should lie compactly together.[2]

These "Conditions and Concessions" related exclusively to the first purchasers,[3] but when the lands—particularly those in the city—were allotted, extraordinary claims based on real and supposed grants from Penn were set up and continued to be urged with considerable vigor throughout the entire history of the province.[4]

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[1] "A Brief Account of the Province of Pennsylvania," 1681; "Some Account of the Province of Pennsylvania," 1681.

[2] Hazard, Annals of Pennsylvania, pp. 516–520.

[3] 2 Binneys' Reports, pp. 476–486; Hazard, Register of Pennsylvania, X, pp. 113–115.

[4] Reed, Explanation of the City and Liberties, Philadelphia, 1774; Franklin, Works, III (Sparks' Ed.), p. 556.

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These so called "old rights" of the first purchasers were granted by deeds of lease and re-lease. The lands were not located or surveyed at the time of the grant, but it was presumed that the surveys might be made at a later time. As the deeds were not always recorded, and as the purchases were often made for speculative purposes by persons who never visited the province, titles were frequently defective from the outset.

It must be remembered also that, for many years after the settlement of Pennsylvania began, territorial affairs were in great confusion. If the proprietor formed any definite plan for the granting of land, it was found on experience to be impracticable. To the loose way in which grants were made may be traced the origin of many of the later disputes, while it opened the way to the commission of great frauds against the proprietor and his sons. Moreover, for many years no pains was taken in the office of record to keep the enrollment of land grants distinct from other public matters, or even from private contracts and business of every description. Indeed the territorial administration was the object of complaint through almost the entire proprietary period. After the arrival of Thomas Penn in the province in 1732, however, at which time the sons of the first proprietor assumed control, an effort was made to banish confusion from the land office. But irregularity and carelessness had so long prevailed that improvement came slowly.

The administration of territorial affairs was regularly intrusted to the officials of the land office, which was located at Philadelphia. They were the special agents of the proprietor, and consisted of a secretary, a surveyor-general, and from three to five commissioners of property. The duties of the commissioners of property were to grant land and guarantee titles. Associated with the commissioners were the keeper of the great seal and the master of rolls. The former, as the name implies, was in charge of the great seal of the province, and affixed it to patents and other important public documents. The latter's duties were mainly to enroll the provincial laws, and to preserve public records. In 1689 the office of receiver-general of the proprietary revenue was formally instituted, and, after 1746, that officer was also the keeper of the great seal.[1]

[1] Annual Report of the Secretary of Internal Affairs, Harrisburg, 1890.

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After John, Thomas, and Richard Penn had entered upon their proprietorship, the duties of the commissioners were intrusted to John and Thomas. But in 1741, upon the return of Thomas Penn to England, the governor, George Thomas, was empowered by warrants issued by the secretary under the seal of the land office to grant lands. After having received certificates of survey from the surveyor-general, and of payment from the receiver-general, he was authorized to grant patents under the great seal. These were to be recorded in the office of the recorder of deeds at Philadelphia. He was also empowered to appoint new officials of the land office, and to exercise a general supervision over territorial affairs.[1] A similar commission was issued to all succeeding governors.[2]

In 1765 a board of property was constituted, and to it was intrusted the administration of territorial matters. It consisted of the governor, who was given the power of decision when projects injurious to the proprietors were broached, the secretary, the surveyor-general, the receiver-general, and, in 1769, the auditor-general.[3]

Taking up now the consideration of warrants and patents, as near as can be ascertained the procedure of the land office in issuing them may be stated as follows:

First, there was an official, usually the secretary, authorized under certain restrictions and regulations to issue warrants of survey. Second in order were claims, directions, or other legal causes shown to this officer for the issue of such warrants. Then came the warrant itself, which was an order issued under the lesser seal of the province to the surveyor-general, and by him transmitted to his deputy, directing him to lay out and survey for the party therein named a certain quantity of land and to return a certificate of his survey to the secretary's office. Fourth in order was the certificate so returned, and lastly the patent or grant. This was a public deed from the proprietors issued under the great seal, and conveying to the grantee their rights in the land, describing its bounds, and giving the complete legal title, but reserving, of course, the

[1] Pennsylvania Archives, first series, I, p. 625.

[2] MSS. Commission Book B, in the office of the secretary of internal affairs.

[3] Penn MSS. Penn Letter Books—VIII, Thomas Penn to W. Peters, September 20, 1765; IX, to E. Physick, February 6, 1768; X, to R Hockley, July 4, 1769, and February 26, 1770.

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usual quit rent. When it had been engrossed, the governor, signed a warrant directed to the keeper of the great seal to affix the seal, enter the patent on the public records, and register his warrant.[1]

Passing now to the consideration of quitrents, we find that they were collected from the common and manorial lands, and from lots in Philadelphia. Payable annually, they ranged in value from a peppercorn, a red rose, an Indian arrow, a buck's foot, a beaver skin, or a bushel of wheat to several shillings per 100 acres, according to the period of time, the quality of the land, and the person to whom the grant was made. When the conviction became prevalent that an annual render by way of feudal acknowledgment was necessary for the perfection of title, the basis of the objections that were urged against its payment was charged to the assertion that the quitrents were intended for the support of government. At any rate, they formed a constituent part of the conditions of sale, and were expressly mentioned in the patents. From the very beginning, difficulties arose in the collection of the quitrents. At a comparatively early date the proprietor appointed deputy receivers to collect them, but various causes soon rendered their services almost useless. They were laughed at, refused payment, and even personally maltreated.[2] Indeed, associations secretly upheld by the provincial assembly were formed expressly to induce the people not to pay their quitrents. The proprietors retaliated by issuing frequent orders to their officers to enforce collection, even to the extent of distress and sale.

In this connection it may be said that the failure to provide for a methodical statement of accounts in the rent rolls was another reason for the uncertain and spasmodic collection of this form of revenue. Not until an act of assembly passed in 1705[3] expressly provided therefor, did anything like a rent roll

[1] Penn MSS. Penn Letter Books—III, Thomas Penn to R. Peters, July 17, 1752, and January 9, 1753; IX, to J. Tilghman, November 7, 1766.

[2] Colonial Records, I, p. 82.

[3] Confirmed and extended by an act passed in May, 1739. Only five acts were passed by the assembly which directly concerned the land system. The first, called "An act for the effectual establishment and confirmation of the freeholders," and passed in 1700, was repealed by the queen in council February 7, 1705. The second, called "An act for the more easy and effectual collection of the quitrents," was passed in 1705. The third, called "An act confirming patents and grants," and passed in 1712, was

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exist in the province. Even this was only a rough collection of names, estates, and payments improperly and confusedly arranged. In 1758 the proprietors suggested an imitation of the plan followed by Lord Baltimore in Maryland; but the peculiar provisions of the act just mentioned, as well as the carelessness and apathy of the receivers, rendered it impossible to complete a systematic rent roll for the entire province. That used in Philadelphia County may serve to give some idea of the one proposed. In the first column was a description of each tract of land as originally purchased. In the second was a record of the patent for each tract. In the third were the name and quantity of the first alienations within the tract, if any had been made. In the fourth were the names of the present possessors and the amount held by each. Then followed the various quitrents, to one or more of which the tract and its subdivisions were liable. In the last column was the total annual quitrent in sterling.[1]

As far as manors were concerned, in the full and strict sense of the term there were no manors in Pennsylvania, whatever the proprietary tenths and other large surveys may have been denominated. The difficulties with which the proprietors were beset may have prevented it; but had manors and manorial courts been established in the province, the experience of other colonies proves that they would have possessed little vitality, while in Pennsylvania the spirit of the people was particularly opposed to the institution. Though the tenure expressed in the patents was nominally, "as of the manor or reputed manor of ——," or "as of the seigniory of Windsor in free and common socage by fealty only," yet really it only implied rent service. Not infrequently the lands granted within a county were held as of the principal manor of that county, whether the particular tract was actually within the surveyed limits of the manor or not.[2]

Considering, now, a common usage of the land office known

repealed by the queen in council February 20, 1713. The fourth is the one mentioned at the beginning of the note. The fifth, called "An act for recording warrants and surveys," and passed in 1759, was repealed by the king in council September 2, 1760.

[1] Penn MSS. Philadelphia Land Grants.

[2] Penn MSS. Penn Letter Books—X, Thomas Penn to J. Tilghman, March 1, 1770; patents in the office of the secretary of internal affairs; Smith, Laws of Pennsylvania, II, p. 142; Huston, Original Titles to Land in the province and state of Pennsylvania, p. 80 et seq.

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as the "law of improvements," we find that a title by improvement was a right acquired by persons who had built, cleared, and resided on land not sold or appropriated by the proprietors. The Penns endeavored to discourage the practice, but they soon realized the necessity of concession, for they allowed under certain circumstances a species of title—known as inchoate—to be developed. By settlement and improvement a right of preemption was established. When the lands were so settled and improved, the occupant would apply for a warrant for a certain amount, including his improvements. On payment of two-thirds of the purchase money a warrant was made out by the secretary and signed by the governor. This being recorded in the surveyor-general's office, a copy was sent to the deputy surveyor with an order to make the survey. Then a draft was returned into the surveyor-general's office, and, as usual, a certificate entered with the secretary. Upon payment of the remainder with interest and arrears of quitrent, the patent was issued. Absolute title, however, was not regarded as secured till the patent was delivered.[1]

With regard to frontier settlements, it may be said that the immigration of Scotch, Irish, and Germans caused the frontiers of the province to be pushed steadily westward. By 1726 it was estimated that 100,000 had settled without a shadow of right;[2] and in spite of the inducements offered by the proprietors and the attempts of the land officers to eject them, the squatters frequently held their ground and bade defiance to either force or persuasion. On the other hand, during Indian wars it was often necessary for the accommodation of the armies on the line of march that settlements in the wilderness should be encouraged, and persons who would thus settle were given the preference in event of the sale of the land. As an inducement to protect the frontiers, Governor Morris, in 1755, was allowed by the proprietors to make an offer to grant lands west of the Alleghanies free of purchase money, and with exemption from quitrent for thirty years. This offer was extended to all persons in Pennsylvania or the neighboring provinces who would join an expedition for the expulsion of the French. The governor was ordered, however, to provide for strict regulations against the people evading the conditions

[1] Colonial Records, VIII, p. 539.

[2] Penn MSS. Official Correspondence—I, J. Logan to Mrs. Penn, February 1, 1726; Pennsylvania Archives, second series, VII, p. 96.

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on which the grant should be made. In other words, they were to settle the land and not dispose of it to land speculators.[1]

On these terms the offer of what was known as the "campaign land" was made. The offer was not accepted, because the mere holding of land would not result in the formation of compact settlements or oblige the settlers to observe military discipline.

It has been noticed that the proprietors were unable to prevent the occupation of lands on the frontier by squatters. Moreover, deputy surveyors and land speculators often surveyed lands for themselves and their friends. Sometimes they did this under assumed names, without a warrant from the land office, and on the pretense that the land had already been appropriated. It often happened, however, that other persons had previously found that the land was vacant. Hence these proceedings of the surveyors and speculators rendered it difficult for the settlers to get their lands surveyed till the speculators had been satisfied.

It was to correct such evils that the proprietors directed new regulations for the land office to be issued, June 17, 1765; and what was known as the "application system" was put into operation. Instead of granting a warrant immediately, the name of the applicant for any tract of land, the date of the application, and a description of the land sought was entered first in the daybook, as it was called, and then in the warrant book. Not more than 300 acres should be granted to a single person without a special order from the proprietors. These tracts should be surveyed in each county. Within six months the survey was to be returned to the surveyor-general's office. Then a warrant should be sent from the secretary's office to the surveyor-general, ordering him to accept the survey and file a certificate of its return with the secretary. Within six months after the date of the return, the applicant should make full payment for the land to the receiver-general at the rate of £5 per 100 acres, or its equivalent in currency. Interest should also be paid from a date six months after the application to the time of payment. When these payments had been made, a patent should be granted in the usual form.

[1] Votes of Assembly, IV, p. 418. Penn MSS., Thomas Penn to R. Peters, July 3, October 4, and October 25, 1755; Penn Letter Books, III, to R. H. Morris, October 4, 1755.

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In order to guard against fictitious applications—that is, applications for lands to be held for speculative purposes—a clause was to be inserted in the warrant requiring bona fide settlement as a condition of its validity. All who claimed land on account of settlement or improvement must make application to the land office and bring authentic certificates from some neighboring magistrate of the nature of such improvements; otherwise the land would be regranted. Neither were improvements to be bought and sold without a warrant specially issued for that purpose. The deputy surveyors were also forbidden to buy them, to receive applications for land, to survey any tracts without orders from the surveyor-general, or to continue their irregular practices.[1] In spite of these efforts of the proprietors, land speculation continued, though with somewhat diminished energy.

It was fortunate that many of the land-jobbing enterprises were frustrated. In fact, the retention of control by the proprietors over the land redounded to the advantage of the people, because, owing to the lack of sympathetic assistance from the colonists, they were often incapable of enforcing even their legal rights. A Pennsylvanian might succeed in establishing a monopoly. An Englishman 3,000 miles away, and possessing but little real power, was not greatly to be feared. The state subsequently erected was the gainer by the proprietary policy.

In conclusion it might be said that the estates of the proprietors were confiscated by the commonwealth, November 27, 1779. Their private estates and manors, however, were excepted, and £130,000 was given to them "in remembrance of the enterprising spirit of the founder, and of the expectations and dependence of his descendants."[2]

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[1] Penn MSS. Penn Letter Books—VIII, Thomas Penn to W. Peters, September 20, 1765, and to E. Physick, September 22, 1765; IX, to Tilghman, November 7, 1766, and to John Penn, August 5, 1767. Smith, Laws of Pennsylvania, II, p. 160 et seq. Colonial Records, IX, p. 381.

[2] Smith, Laws of Pennsylvania, II, p. 258 et seq. Dallas, Laws of Pennsylvania, II, pp. 205, 240, 512; III, p. 67.

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IX.—THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE FOR THE SENATE OF MARYLAND AND THE NINETEEN VAN BUREN ELECTORS.

By BERNARD C. STEINER,
OF JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

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THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE FOR THE SENATE OF MARYLAND AND THE NINETEEN VAN BUREN ELECTORS.

By BERNARD C. STEINER.

Every now and then some ardent reformer comes forward with the demand that the Federal electoral college be abolished, and the papers teem with discussions of its history and usefulness or uselessness, whichever may be the view of the writer. Even in these discussions, however, we seldom find reference made to an earlier electoral college, which was established in Maryland in 1776 and lasted for sixty years before it passed away because of a demand for direct election by the people. Almost forgotten though this institution may be, it is surely worth our attention, as an attempt to solve the problem of the best method of applying a bicameral system. Coming into life under the influence of the somewhat aristocratic ideas of Maryland Whigs of the Revolution, it met its death through the democratic ideas brought in with the administration of Jackson, and was superseded by the popular system used in all the other States. The institution has recently been brought afresh to the minds of the people of Maryland from the fact that in December, 1894, Maj. Sprigg Harwood died, the last survivor of those who had been chosen to membership in the electoral college.

We must understand at the beginning of our study that Maryland's system of representation has never been based on population, and is not so based to-day, save in the most imperfect manner. Governmental areas are to a great extent the units of representation and not people. This principle has been modified in the later years of the State's history by establishing a maximum of 6 and a minimum of 2 delegates from each county and by making Baltimore City equal to the largest county, and later to three of the largest counties, but the principle still remains. To-day Baltimore City, with over

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two-fifths of the population, has little over one-ninth of the senate and about one-fifth of the house. The original constitution of 1776 was based entirely on the representation of political divisions of the State. Each county, large or small, sent 4 delegates to the house, while the city of Annapolis and the town of Baltimore had each 2 delegates.

The senate[1] was composed of 15 members, of whom 9 were to be chosen from the western shore of the Chesapeake Bay and 6 from the Eastern Shore. There was no further restriction upon the number to be chosen from any county, and it was quite within the bounds of possibility to have all those representing either shore chosen from one of its counties. These senators, once chosen, were to hold office for five years from the first Monday of November following their election, and were to fill vacancies which might occur in their own number. This of course removed them far from being a popular body, and it is claimed that in one case[2] two-thirds of the senate, or, according to another account,[3] all but one of the members of the senate were self-elected before its term of office expired. The method[4] of election of the senators still further removed them from the people, and was one of the most aristocratic features of the constitution of 1776. This election was made by the Maryland electoral college, which was chosen by the people and convened for this sole purpose. On the first Monday of September, 1781, and "on the same day in every fifth year forever thereafter," the qualified voters chose, viva voce, by majority vote, two persons in each county, and one in the city of Annapolis and in the town of Baltimore.[5] Of these elections the sheriffs were to be judges. Baltimore's right to representation was to be lost whenever its population should so decrease that it should contain for seven years successively less inhabitants entitled to vote "than one-half the number of voters in some one county in this State."[6]

The electors having been chosen, they were to meet in Annapolis on the third Monday in September (two weeks

[1] Constitution, sec. 16.

[2] Niles's Register, XIII, 566.

[3] Ibid., XXI, p. 37.

[4] Constitution, sec. 19.

[5] Ibid., sec. 14. The body was thus a half-size replica of the house of delegates.

[6] Ibid., sec. 5.

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after their election) and there proceed to elect "by ballot, either out of their own body or the people at large, fifteen senators."[1] These latter must be 25 years of age and "have resided in the State above three whole years." They must be "men of the most wisdom, experience, and virtue" and have real and personal property in Maryland above the value of £1,000 current money.[2] In case of a tie between two or more candidates a second ballot should be taken, in which the vote was confined to those previously receiving an equal number of votes. If a second ballot did not decide the matter resort was had to the Aristotelian principle of the lot.[3]

A quorum[4] of the electoral college was no flexible fraction of the body, increasing in number with the increase in the number of counties, but the fixed number of 24. However, as but one new county[5] was formed during the existence of the college, this did not prove a great defect. The college had power to judge of the qualifications and elections of members of their body and to decide contested elections thereto.[6] In order to become a member of the electoral college,[7] it was necessary to have resided a year in the county whence chosen, to have in the State real and personal property, in value above £500 currency,[8] and to be of the "most wise, sensible, and discreet of the people." Men possessing such qualifications and taking the oaths of "support and fidelity" to the State and "to elect without favor, affection, partiality, or prejudice, such persons for senator as they, in their judgment and conscience, believe best qualified for the office,"[9] might join in the high and honorable function of choosing the members of the senate of Maryland. Such was the fundamental law of the electoral college of Maryland, as contained in the constitution of the State, adopted by the convention of Maryland on Friday, November 8, 1776. Who was its author, we know not; but

[1] Constitution, sec. 15, McMahon's Maryland, p. 474.

[2] $2,666.66⅔.

[3] Constitution, sec. 16.

[4] Ibid., sec. 15. The provision was designed for the benefit of Eastern Shore men who might be delayed by storms from crossing the bay. (Revolutionary Scheme, pp. 13, 25.)

[5] Allegany.

[6] Constitution, sec. 17.

[7] Ibid., sec. 2.

[8] $1,333.33⅓.

[9] Constitution, sec. 18.

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tradition has it that Samuel Chase declared the institution to be "virgin gold,"[1] so much was he carried away by its excellencies.

That opinion appears to have been general during the early history of the college. The Federalist[2] refers to the Maryland senate as an object lesson of the successful election of a body "indirectly by the people." The Maryland senate, from its power to fill its vacancies, etc., would have objections unknown to the scheme of the Federal Senate and, therefore, if there was really danger from the latter, "some symptoms at least of a like danger ought, by this time,[3] to have been betrayed by the senate of Maryland, but no such symptoms have appeared. On the contrary, the jealousies at first entertained by men of the same description with those who view with terror the correspondent part of the Federal Constitution, have been gradually extinguished by the progress of the experiment, and the Maryland constitution is daily deriving, from the salutary operation of this part of it, a reputation in which it will probably not be rivaled by any State in the Union."[4] To this praise Dr. Ramsay adds his testimony. "Maryland adopted a singular plan for constituting an independent senate,"[5] he writes, and, after describing what that plan was, tells us that "by these regulations the senate of Maryland consisted of men of influence, integrity, and ability, and as such were a real and beneficial check on the hasty proceedings of a more numerous branch of popular representatives. The laws of the State were well digested and its interests steadily pursued with a peculiar unity of system, while elsewhere, it too often happened, in the fluctuation of public assemblies, and where the legislative department was not sufficiently checked, that passion and party predominated over principle and public good." The system was put into execution by a special election for electors, held on Monday, November 25, 1776.[6] The electors then chosen met in Annapolis on Monday, December 9, and chose the senate. On Monday, February 10, 1777, this body met with the house of delegates, elected annually by the people, and thus the first general assembly of Maryland was formed.

[1] McMahon, p. 480.
[2] No. 63.
[3] Twelve years.
[4] Dawson's edition, p. 443.
[5] History of the American Revolution, I, 445.
[6] Constitution of 1776, sec. 61.

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But few constitutional changes were made with reference to the electoral college during the period of its existence. In 1806, the method of voting for electors was changed from viva voce to by ballot.[1] The qualifications for membership in the electoral college were changed, as were those for delegate, and after 1810 there was no property qualification needed in those chosen as senators.[2]

The senators were the most distinguished men of the State, as may easily be ascertained by a glance at the names as recorded in the Maryland Gazette. The senate of 1781 and its electoral college were of course unanimously Whig and patriotic, and those of 1786 were chosen before the rise of great parties. The senate of 1791 and that of 1796 were Federalist in politics, so the electoral college must have had a majority of that party. In 1801 the Republicans carried the senate, polling a vote in the electoral college of from 26 to 23[3] for their candidates, while the Federalist candidates received from 17 to 13 votes. In 1806 the Republicans also carried the day, having from 28 to 21 votes in the electoral college for their candidates, while the Federalists polled from 15 to 11. In 1811 a third Republican[4] senate was chosen.

With the election of 1816 came the first decided opposition to a system[5] which gave Baltimore, with more wealth than and nearly the full population of eight of the smaller counties, only one-fortieth part of the power of legislation, while these counties and more populous had two-fifths. Several of the larger counties joined themselves with Baltimore in the struggle to get increased representation, not indeed proportionate with that of the smaller counties on point of population, but a representation somewhat more equitable than they then had.

In the above year there was a very glaring inequality shown in the senatorial election. The Republicans only elected 12 of the electoral college of 40, but 22 of the 28 Federal electors represented only 93,265, while the other 6 and the 12 Republican electors represented 176,000 people. The Republican candidates had a popular majority, yet were an insignificant minority in the electoral college, to which most of the smaller counties returned Federal candidates. Of course a

[1] Act of 1805, ch. 97.

[2] Act of 1809, ch. 198.

[3] These votes show party organization much less rigid than at a later day.

[4] Niles's Register, I, 48.

[5] Idib., XI, 47, XIII, 147.

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solid Federal senate was elected to hold office for five years. Though the predominant party in the State might be Republican during the greater part of that period, it would have no representative in the upper house. For the time being, however, excitement subsided, and the pendulum having swung to the other side in 1821, an entire Republican Senate[1] was then chosen by an electoral college composed of 28 Republicans and 12 Federalists ("for these terms," Niles tells us, "are yet in ample use in Maryland"). Niles's Register, from time to time, contains articles[2] against "our political institutions * * * bottomed on the British plan, without regard to numbers or wealth, or anything else, save county lines and boundaries." But little was accomplished by these complaints for a long time. The constitution was, it is true, quite out of date in many ways, and had been patched up with amendments to such an extent that, at the death of Chancellor William Kilty in 1821, it was said in him died the only person who exactly knew what is the constitution of the State.[3] Such were the obstacles to be overcome and the natural conservatism of the people that nothing was done. The inequality was continually becoming worse and more glaring. In the decade from 1810 to 1820 the increase of the three great counties, Baltimore, Frederick, and Washington, with Baltimore City, was actually 5,000 more than the whole increase of the State. The smaller counties were retrograding in population, not only relatively, but also absolutely.[4]

In 1826, some of the Republicans determined to give a practical proof of their zeal for reform by pledging themselves, if elected, "to vote for a liberal senate, without reference to political motives."[5] The election resulted in the choice of a majority of Republicans. Twenty-two of these assembled in Annapolis, meeting there with 14 Federalists. Of the majority, 6 were for a mixed senate, and, joining with the Federalists, elected 11 Republicans and 4 Federalists to the senate, against the wishes of the other 16 Republicans.[6]

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[1] Niles's Register, XXI, p. 37.

[2] E. g., XXIX, p. 33, where he calls it "unintelligible, persecuting, and tyrannical."

[3] Niles's Register, XXI, p. 97.

[4] Ibid., p. 201.

[5] Ibid., XXX, p. 449.

[6] Ibid., XXXI, p. 66.

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This self-restraint in electing to the senate some of the minority party in the electoral college was not imitated in 1831, when an electoral college, composed of 28 National Republicans and 12 Jackson men, elected a senate entirely composed of National Republicans.

Fortunately we possess a dispassionate criticism of the senate of Maryland, published at this time, and contained in the judicious McMahon's History of Maryland. He tells us that there is a twofold design in the creation of a representative body for the purposes of legislation. One[1] is "to obviate the inconveniences of a personal discharge of this power by the people, and the other to filtrate it and give it a judicious direction. Every well-organized government is but a system of checks and balances of power.[2] * * * The separation of the legislature into two branches * * * seeks to impart to it a full knowledge of the wants and interests of the people; capacity to discern the measures by which these may be relieved or promoted, and wisdom and moderation in their application; freedom from all partial, temporary, or selfish influences; and an intimate acquaintance with the forms of proceeding. Such designs could not be effected by a mere change of the basis of representation. * * * In adopting[3] the peculiar mode of electing our senate the framers of our constitution appear to have had in view two prominent objects: The equal influence of the counties in its choice, and the selection of senators as the representatives of the State at large and not of particular sections. The present was the only system by which these two objects could have been concurrently accomplished. If the senators were elected for counties or cities, they would, by the very nature of their election, have stood in the relation of representatives to such counties or cities, and no system of election by general ticket could have been devised which would have preserved both these objects.

"By the substitution of an electoral college, in form the mere miniature of the house of delegates, each county was insured an equal influence in selecting senators for the whole State, which was considered tantamount to a specific equal representation in the senate itself, and, at the same time, the persons selected by the college were made, by the very manner of their choice, to regard themselves as the representatives of the whole State,

[1] Page 477. [2] Page 479. [3] Page 482.

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or at least of their respective shores. The system was also recommended by the advantages of an indirect election by representatives, who would discharge this duty under the eye of the whole State, and under a high sense of responsibility to the community, which they dared not disregard."

Having discussed the reasons for such electoral college,[1] the author proceeds to take up the advantages and disadvantages of such an institution. First, as an evidence of the advantages arising from the existence of the electoral college, we are told that "the abolition of the electoral college and the allotment of senators to the several counties and cities, in the ratio of their respective representations in the house of delegates, will of necessity render the constitution of our senate a mere copy of that of the house of delegates, in all but the duration of the office, and thus the efficacy of the two houses, as checks upon each other, will be much impaired. In fact there will remain no checking principle but that derived from their separate existence."

A second disadvantage which would result from the abolition of the electoral college and the direct choice of senators Mr. McMahon finds in the peculiar circumstances of the State "in which local interests have operated to the general prejudice."[2] "Her senate, as at present organized, approaches more nearly to a State representation than any other, yet even here the Shore distinctions predominate. It therefore becomes our people to weigh well the consequences which may result from the destruction of the only check in our government upon these, its unquestionable tendencies. * * * It was the purpose of our constitution that the senator should represent and protect State interests, that he should feel and respect the popular will, but not fear its hasty impulses, and that he should be subject to a responsibility, which, like the kindly influences of the sun, is too remote to inflame and yet near enough to vivify and impart creative power." He next takes up the objections to the electoral college and finds as the first that the senate as constituted is wholly composed of representatives of one or the other political party,[3] and that there was no change in its membership by popular voice for the full term of five years. To obviate this objection, Mr. McMahon suggests a division of the senators into classes,[4] as in the United States Senate,

[1] Page 483. [2] Page 485. [3] Page 487. [4] Page 488.

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and so avoid the possibility of remaining "like an Egyptian mummy, embalmed in the spirit of the college which gave it birth."[1]

A second objection he finds in the power given to senators to fill vacancies in their own number, as greatly weakening "the hold which the people have" upon them. In general, Mr. McMahon seems to approve of mending rather than ending the electoral college, though, if it be ended, he suggests that one house be based on population, the other on county representation; or that the senators be elected by districts, composed of two or more counties, so "as at least to produce a different combination of sectional interests in the two houses."[2]

He admits that "the present constitution of the State is the only apology for a system of representation by which a minority of its people have at all times the power to control the government of Maryland," but points with pride to the historical fact "that, from the adoption of the constitution to the present day, our senate, in the intelligence, experience, and virtue which it has embodied, may be proudly contrasted with any legislative body in the Union."

The senate of 1831 was the last one to be elected peacefully. The air was full of reform. England was just altering the basis of representation in her Parliament. The Democratic movement brought in by the election of Jackson to the Presidency was sweeping over the country. In Maryland the Jacksonians and Van Buren men found their supporters chiefly in Baltimore and the large counties,[3] and so naturally took up the cause of those portions of the State. To amend the constitution it was necessary to have a law pass two consecutive legislatures, there being no submission of the question to the people. This necessitated that the then existing senate should favor the amendment and that the people should indorse it at two successive annual elections of delegates. This made the process a most difficult one. In the winter of 1835 and 1836, however, there were certain reform amendments passed by the legislature, which would become laws if ratified at the following session.[4]

[1] Page 489.

[2] Page 490.

[3] See Niles's Register, XXXVII, p. 428.

[4] In June, 1836, a Union Reform convention, composed of members of both political parties, met at Baltimore. Delegates were present from the

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Before this a new election of the electoral college would occur. To win this the Van Buren men bent their efforts and failed by the narrowest margin. At first they claimed success,[1] but when the returns were all in, it was found that they had elected 19 electors and the Whigs 21. The inequality of the system was well shown at that election, when Baltimore, with a vote of 10,000, and Annapolis, with a vote of 300, each sent 1 elector, while Frederick County, with a vote of 6,000, and Charles County, with a vote of 567, each sent 2. Most of the large counties—Baltimore, Harford, Washington, Frederick, and Baltimore City—sent Van Buren electors. Montgomery county sent 1 elector of each party, and the fight was very close there, as is shown by the fact that the successful candidates received, respectively, 669 and 663 votes. The election caused considerable excitement, and the fact that it was so close in its results did not tend to allay that excitement. It is quite possible that nothing would have occurred, however, had it not been for the action of Governor Francis Thomas and the other citizens of Frederick County who acted with him. The fact that the majority (though the slightest one possible) of the electoral college had been chosen from counties having a population of but 85,179 white men, while the minor-

large counties of Cecil, Harford, Baltimore, Frederick, Montgomery, and Washington, and Baltimore City. Resolutions were then adopted asking the next legislature to submit to the people in May, 1837, the question of calling a convention to amend the constitution of the State. If the vote should be in favor of such a convention, they wished to have its members elected by Congressional districts, and therefore somewhat according to population. This election, they suggested to take place on the first Monday in June. The convention should then meet in Annapolis on July 4 and submit the result of its deliberations to the people at the yearly October election. If the legislature refused to call such convention, which it may be remarked was clearly an unconstitutional mode of amending the constitution, the president of the convention should then reconvene the present convention "for the adoption of such ulterior measures as may then be deemed expedient, just, and proper, and as may be best calculated, without the aid of the legislature, to insure the accomplishment of the desired results." The fact that the Van Buren electors afterwards acted independently and did not await the carrying out of the programme outlined in the resolutions caused no little bitterness on the part of the reforming Whigs, who claimed they had been deserted that the Democrats might gain a partisan advantage, but the programme of the convention was as revolutionary as that of the nineteen electors. (Revolutionary Scheme, p. 9.)

[1] Wednesday, September 7, the Van Buren men claimed 22 electors.—Baltimore Republican.

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ity was chosen from counties and towns with a population of 205,922 white[1] men, roused him to action. Possibly the fact that the judges of the Frederick County court had refused some time previously to appoint as clerk of court the candidate whom Mr. Thomas ardently indorsed had been one of the causes of his turning his attention to the defects in the Maryland constitution.[2]

Frederick had been considerably interested in the struggle for increased representation. In this county the editorial in the Baltimore Republican (the Van Buren organ) of September 9 aroused the greatest excitement. This editorial, written almost as soon as it was definitely known how the election had gone, alluded to a report that the Whig electors had stated early in the canvass of the votes that they would not go into the college, and expressed a hope that the Van Buren electors would now be equally obstinate and would refuse to allow the choice of a senate entirely opposed to the will of the people.

It may, however, be gravely questioned what the Van Buren majority of 3,000 in the State really meant. The Democrats, as we see, claimed that it meant a popular verdict in favor of constitutional change. The Whigs answered[3] them that prior to the election the Democrats had made no reference to reform in the small counties, and in Baltimore their campaign had been fought on the question of internal improvements and the opposition to the passage of an indemnity bill granting damages to those whose property was destroyed by the participants in the bank riot of 1835. The Baltimore Republican of September 8 had no suggestion of contesting the organization of the electoral college, and it has been suggested that the first thought of using the quorum of the electoral college as a weapon against the Whigs came from a consultation, in

[1] Negroes were not counted, for they could not vote. Of course, a part of these white men voted against the prevailing ticket.

[2] Certainly he had recently objected to the reception by the United States House of Representatives, of which he was a member, of certain resolutions of the Maryland legislature, making that objection on the ground that "the legislature of Maryland is not a fair representative of the popular will." For this assertion he was violently attacked on the floor of the House by Mr. Jenifer, another member from Maryland. (Revolutionary Scheme, p. 84.)

[3] Annapolis Republican, quoted in Frederick Examiner, September 24; Baltimore Republican, September 5.

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Frederick, of Hon. Francis Thomas, Judge David Shriver, and ——— Maulsby, who transmitted their idea at once to the Van Buren organ of the State.

The editorial of September 9 above referred to claimed that, if there were no senate organized, the State government would be dissolved and Maryland would pass into a Territorial condition. As the Federal Constitution guarantees a republican form of government to each State, they argued that the President of the United States would then appoint a governor of Maryland and Congress would have to provide for the calling of a convention to frame a State constitution. The minor officers, according to this theory, were to hold over until successors were appointed. This proposition aroused a great deal of bitterness[1] and ridicule, and was dropped by the Van Buren men at an early stage of the controversy. Whig papers in other States spoke of the State (?) of Maryland, and lamented the disappearance of one of the original thirteen, while Eastern Shore Whigs, to avoid anarchy or subjection to the numerical superiority of Baltimore and the larger counties, proposed a union with Delaware.[2]

Pursuant to the advice of the editorial in the Republican, a notice was scattered through Frederick town on September 10 calling for a meeting of the citizens at the court-house "at early candlelight to devise means to carry into effect the will of the people of Maryland in the formation of the State senate."[3] The notice claimed that the people had decided that "no man ought to be placed in the next senate of the State hostile to a radical change in its legislative and fundamental laws;" that "it is the duty of every good citizen to see that the will of the people is carried into full effect," and that there is "good cause to fear that a majority of the senatorial electors * * * will contemptuously disregard the well-known wish of those for whom they are to select lawgivers." This was not reform; it meant revolution, and from this time reform or revolution was the question in Maryland. There were few who clung to the old order of things; there were many who wished reform by constitutional methods; there were also many who wished a new constitution to be brought about by a peaceful revolution.

[1] Easton Gazette, October 29; Frederick Examiner, September 21.

[2] Easton Gazette, October 1.

[3] Niles's Register, LI, pp. 50 et seq.; Revolutionary Scheme, p. 13.

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The Frederick[1] meeting was largely attended and adopted resolutions which were advocated by Francis Thomas and others, and were "responded to most enthusiastically by the assembled multitude." The resolution recited that a crisis existed in the State "demanding the adoption of decisive and energetic measures." They referred to recent mismanagement of the State's affairs by the last senate, and stated that the people have "expressed a fixed and determined purpose that the friends of Martin Van Buren and Republican principles shall have the power to form the next senate of the State," and "to correct and amend all defects in the existing constitution and form of government." In spite of this, because of the "abhorrent inequalities" of representation, the electoral college has a majority who will probably be "deaf to the voice of the people." Now comes the most important thing of all. The constitution provides that 24 members of the electoral college are to be a quorum. The Whig members number but 21. Therefore, the meeting instructed the electors from Frederick County not to enter the college until the Whig electors pledge themselves on the one hand not to elect a single member of the former senate, or any member of the house of delegates who opposed the bill calling a convention of the people, and on the other hand to choose 8 Van Buren men as senators, or a majority of that body, and to select a majority of its members from those "known to be favorable to such a thorough and radical revision of the constitution of the State as will insure to all citizens living under it equal political rights and privileges." The friends of change, in other counties and towns electing Van Buren electors, are invited to join in this effort to throw off the tyranny of a government controlled by a small and aristocratic minority of the people of the State, and it is declared that the instructions upon the Frederick electors are not to bind them, unless they are joined in their refusal to enter the college by electors from other counties and cities having a majority of the white population of the State.

These resolutions were adopted with some expansion[2] by a meeting of citizens of Cecil County, held at Elkton on September 15, and were indorsed by resolutions passed in Baltimore City on September 17. The Baltimore resolutions go further than the Frederick ones in the direction of revolution,

[1] The Frederick Citizen was Thomas's organ; the Examiner was Whig.
[2] Niles's Register, LI, p. 51.

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and state that they believe the people have the right, at any time and in any manner they deem most effectual, to reform and change the government.[1]

These resolutions had their effect, and when Monday, the 19th of September, came the 19 Van Buren electors[2] failed to attend the electoral college, holding a private session at the City Hotel and making propositions to the majority.

The propositions made by the Van Buren men were those outlined in the Frederick resolutions—that the Whigs should concede to the minority the privilege of nominating 8 of the 15 senators to be elected. They refused to allow the choice of a solid Whig senate, even if in favor of a constitutional convention. To force upon the majority of the people an entire senate against their will, they say, would be unjust and unrepublican, and the signers of these propositions can neither vote for such a senate nor passively permit its election by becoming members of the electoral college. "We are aware," they say, "that your rejection of this proposition, and the state of things which may grow out of it, will give some alarm to the timorous;" but the evils resulting from the failure to choose a senate will be less, in their opinion, than those arising from the perpetuation of existing evils for another five years. The governor, they argue, would hold office "long enough to afford time to form a new constitution,"[3] while the judiciary and the officers connected with the courts would not be interrupted in performing their duties, and all officers appointed by the governor would hold office until their successors were appointed.[4] Thus "the laws * * * would be administered, civil rights and private property protected, and the peace of the community preserved by all the means now employed for that purpose." The powers delegated to the electoral college would revert to the people and "before any inconvenience can be experienced, the sovereign power of the people of Maryland will be

[1] Niles's Register, LI, p. 52.

[2] Mr. Thomas was in Annapolis directing the movement.—Easton Gazette, October 1.

[3] A change of view from the territorial idea.

[4] Constitution of 1776, sec. 49. Revolutionary Scheme, p. 28, quotes The State *v.* Wayman (2 Gill & Johnson, 278) against this view. The case states that an "officer of annual appointment can not continue to act after his term expires, except in the single instance of the appointment of a successor, in which case he may act until such successor, commissioned in his stead, is qualified."

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employed, by means of a convention, to reform our constitution." The Whig majority refused to receive this statement of the Van Buren men, and thus felt they had "no alternative left but to adjourn or to submit," and so feeling they chose the former.[1]

On Wednesday the Van Buren electors dispersed to their homes, leaving the Whig electors at Annapolis holding daily meetings in the vain hope of accessions to their number. On Friday the Van Buren electors issued an address to the people of Maryland defining their position. Their conduct had been revolutionary—their manifesto was still more so.[2] The very first sentence of the manifesto shows this, claiming that they are "impelled by a deep and solemn sense of duty to acquiesce in the necessity which imperiously required a surrender into your hands of the high trust committed to us." They recites the old grievances "that the government is based and administered on unjust and antirepublican principles; that the governor and senate are not elected directly by the people as they should be; that many of the officers have life tenures, contrary to sound political principle;" and that, "in the formation of both branches of the legislature political power is apportioned arbitrarily without regard to any principle of moral or political justice." "A minority of one-fourth of the people having the right to elect a majority of the members of the legislature," they argue, "controls all the departments of government," since the governor is chosen by the legislature. "Can a government thus organized be termed republican?"

If it be asked why do they not permit amendments to be made in accordance with the constitutional provisions, they say that all previous petitions and memorials have been rejected and that "the minority who rule have persisted for near half a century to disregard the just demands of the majority who are governed." This being the case, the electors decided that "tame submission was not to be thought of with the least patience" and, as their overtures were rejected by the majority of the electoral college, they appealed to the people. They tell their constituents that they "have declined to participate in the election of a senate, in the full expectation that the people of Maryland, in convention assembled, can and will provide

[1] Revolutionary Scheme, p. 20; Niles's Register, LI, p. 54.
[2] Niles's Register, LI, p. 53; Revolutionary Scheme, p. 15.

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for the election of that branch of the legislature more wisely than we could have done, and, at the same time, organize anew their whole government, subjecting all its functionaries to their sovereign will and laying its foundations on the immutable principles of liberty, equality, and justice." The 19 electors claim that the people have, by the State's bill of rights, the power to reform the old or establish a new form of government whenever the ends of government are perverted, and public liberty manifestly endangered, and all other means of redress are ineffectual. They admit this is a "revolutionary remedy" and say that, "unwilling that inequalities, oppression, and injustice should be piled on the people" till they no longer could endure them, they are now doing all in their power to "insure the permanent peace" and "perpetuate equal laws and equal privileges to the whole of the State." Their refusal to enter the electoral college, in their view, was not unconstitutional; for the constitution gave power to 17 members to prevent the organization of the college, that the minority might be protected. They have prevented such organization and respectfully return to the people the high power reposed in them.

It did not seem to them fitting to prescribe the manner in which the people should exercise the power returned to them; but they "most humbly and respectfully recommend to our fellow-citizens throughout the State to proceed forthwith to elect, on the first Monday in November, 6 delegates from each city and county, to meet in convention[1] at Annapolis on the third Monday of that month, clothed with authority to extend the terms of service of all civil and military officers now in commission, until a convention, hereafter to be chosen, can be convened to amend the old or form an entire new government for the people of Maryland." This movement would be clearly revolutionary, but the electors thought the mind of the people was prepared for it, inasmuch as the idea of a convention had, for some time, been a familiar one with the reform party. The writers of the manifesto acknowledged that they would probably receive censure, but thought it would only come from those with "deep personal interest in the present form of government." It seemed to them that there would be "but few, very few indeed, who are not willing to surrender, upon the holy

[1] This convention, it will be noted, would have been no more representative than the existing legislature.

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altar of disinterested patriotism, power and office with all their allurements, when the public weal demands it," and, outside of the officeholders, "most would appreciate the great and inestimable advantage to be derived from a reorganization of our system and the substitution of wholesome democratic features for its present odious aristocratic ones."[1]

Events showed they were right as to the people's desires, but wrong as to the method in which they thought the people wished those desires to be carried out.

The long manifesto which we have just considered called forth an answer from the majority, who continued to meet from day to day at Annapolis. The response[2] is as long as the other document, and reasons thus: The constitution requires the electors to assemble, take the oath, and elect men of certain character. The oath of an elector stated that he would swear true allegiance to the State, support its constitution and laws, and execute the office of elector in accordance therewith.[3] Thus the electors were "mere agents of the people of Maryland, selected for a specific purpose, the performance of a single and well-defined duty." They were therefore "under the most sacred and solemn obligation to execute a trust faithfully and conscientiously," yet the 19 who were elected and failed to qualify after the majority had qualified, approached them "with a proposition of bargain touching the performance" of their duty. "We never for a moment entertained the idea of trafficking upon such a subject." The Whig electors say: When the minority, actuated by "misguided partizan feeling," found this out, they left the city, "threatening the State with anarchy." The majority state that many of them are in favor of reform by constitutional means, but that "revolution is not reform." They maintain that matters have not gone to the point where revolution is necessary, and that "the moment it is attempted to force upon the people a new constitution in any other mode than that provided by the existing instrument, Maryland ceases to exist."

This alarmist feeling seems to have been felt by a large number of the citizens, as we shall see. The electors then endeavor to prove, at some length, that inequality of representation is not confined to Maryland, but is more or less char-

[1] Niles's Register, LI, p. 53.

[2] Ibid., p. 69; Revolutionary Scheme, p. 30.

[3] Act of 1822, ch. 204; Act of 1823, ch. 116.

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acteristic of the whole national organization; and that, by granting the request of the minority, they would subvert the constitution by substituting "numerical for constitutional majorities." They use the *tu quoque* argument, by objecting that one of the Van Buren electors comes from the tiny city of Annapolis, and that four others come from small counties. If the Van Buren doctrine be a sound one, that they should name electors chosen from the counties they represent, why has any elector—the majority urge—a right to vote for any one but the senator chosen from his county. It is not sound doctrine, for "the whole body of electors represent the people of the whole State" and "are not elected to subserve the views of any political division of the people, of any county or city from which they may, respectively, come; but are bound by the most solemn obligations to their country and their God to be faithful and true allegiance bear to the State of Maryland by supporting her constitution; that is, they are not invested, nor was it designed that they should be invested, with any power to render negative a single one of its provisions."

The Whig electors further state that if the Van Buren ones had gone into the college they would have found many of the majority who had shown already in their political career that they were friends of constitutional reform. With these the Van Buren electors could have acted in securing senators who would be favorable to such reform. The Whig electors further argue that their powers are not legislative and that all they are "selected to accomplish is the choice of as capable and virtuous a senate as we can make." This duty they feel they have no right to decline. Should they do so, "we have no doubt that the laws might be appealed to against us. It is impossible that the mere agents of the people—trustees appointed to do an act necessary to the continuance of their government—can with impunity decline the trust and thereby possibly involve the State in all the horrors of anarchy." With the assurance that they will do all in their power to avoid anarchy, and the call to all good citizens to aid them in so doing, the Whig electors close their address, which they date from Annapolis on September 24, three days after the Van Buren manifesto.

The first county to answer the appeal of the minority was distant Allegany, which held its meeting on the night of Saturday, the 24th of September, before the answer of the Whigs could have reached it. The county had chosen Whig electors,

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and now, at an unusually large meeting held at Cumberland, resolved to support them. The feeling of alarm at the revolutionary measures of the 19 was so strong that the meeting resolved that "it would be wise in the people of the several districts of this county to meet and organize, so as to be ready at the first warning to carry into effect such measures as may be deemed most expedient to protect the rights of property and to preserve the liberties of the people."[1] The president of the meeting was authorized to name and did appoint a vigilance committee of nine for Cumberland district, "whose duty it shall be to communicate information of any revolutionary movements to the several committees appointed in other districts and to advise with them as to the best course to pursue."

Two days later, in Baltimore,[2] that center of reform, a large meeting was held in the afternoon on Monument Square. At this meeting John V. L. McMahon, esq., the historian of Maryland, offered resolutions strongly supporting the conduct of the Whig electors, in behalf of which resolves we are told he spoke "in a strain of unsurpassed eloquence and force."[3] The speech is reported in full in Niles's Register, and is a very able one, showing by its excited tone the alarm which had taken possession of many of the people at these new measures. He speaks of the manifesto as a "bold proposition to overthrow the whole government at one blow and leave us in a state of nature and to the chances of the future for the establishment of a new one," and maintains that the electors acted contrary to the wishes of their constituents. The resolutions adopted proclaim in strong terms that the electors "have disregarded the express command of our constitution, disregarded a high public trust, committed a high misdemeanor, and merit the severest reprobation." They charge them with an attempt "to introduce anarchy and revolution," with warring "against the peace, order, and happiness of society," with sacrificing "the best interest of the people of Maryland," with usurping the "sovereignty of the people of Maryland," and putting in "jeopardy the vital principle of all republican institutions." "They have proved themselves destructives, and forfeited all claim to the title of reformers," is the verdict of the meeting, which resolves

[1] Niles's Register, LI, p. 74.

[2] The call for a meeting, which is given in Revolutionary Scheme, p. 36, was signed by 1,500 "of the most respectable citizens."

[3] Niles's Register, LI, p. 70; Revolutionary Scheme, p. 37.

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it is "for reform and against revolution." The persons present agree to close their stores on election day and devote every energy toward choosing Whig candidates to the assembly at the approaching election.[1]

Toward that event all eyes turned. The more extreme Van Buren men did not wish to put up candidates for election, lest they should seem to countenance the existing government. They said it was useless to elect a house, when there could be no senate, and induced the candidates of their party in Frederick and Worcester counties to withdraw their names. In the former county, the Van Buren central committee urged all good citizens to assemble in the respective districts on election day, the first Monday in October, and choose delegates to a county convention,[2] to be held in Frederick the succeeding Monday, that there might then be chosen 6 delegates to the State convention recommended by the 19 electors. Frederick county was ever foremost in the movement; but in Allegany even the Van Buren men opposed the action of the electors, and refusing to withdraw from the contest, the candidates for the house of delegates issued an address stating that they were "decidedly opposed to any measure tending to revolution by any party."[2]

The tide seemed running against the Van Buren men, and the Democratic general committee of Baltimore deemed it expedient to circulate a handbill denying that Baltimore wished a representation proportioned to its population.[2] "The reformers of Baltimore," they say, "look for nothing more than a representation adequate to their wants, one which will render irresponsible lobby members (the bane of just legislation) unnecessary." This, they think, would be obtained by giving to Baltimore a number of delegates equal to that returned by the largest county. Such a demand was, of course, eminently just and moderate. The nineteen were not, however, without thoroughgoing supporters. Especially was this true in Baltimore, where, on September 29, a very large meeting of workingmen in Monument Square was held. At this meeting[3] resolutions of considerable length were adopted, indorsing the course of

[1] Niles's Register, LI, p. 73. Talbot County, on September 27, held a meeting to condemn the Democratic electors and commend the majority.—Easton Gazette, October 1.

[2] Niles's Register, LI, p. 74.

[3] Ibid., p. 95.

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the Van Buren electors most completely. These resolutions recited the various grievances complained of, the failure of every attempt to remedy them, the fact that "the time has now arrived when the people are no longer to be cajoled by promises and professions made only to deceive," that the people have inherent in them the power to change constitutions at their will, and that "the cry of constitutional reform is a mere catchword intended to delude," there being "not the least prospect that the demands of the people will ever be gratified in that manner." They stigmatize the existing constitution as a "blot upon the principles of republicanism and unworthy the respect of any American citizen," and claim that "the present is a propitious time for annulling or abolishing the existing constitution and providing a new one more consistent with the principles of republicanism and affording a better security of the rights and privileges of the whole people." Reform by a "peaceful revolution" is not anarchy, they tell us, "nor are the friends of such revolution either Jacobins or destructives;" while those who deprecate it are a "power-loving aristocracy and grasping monopolists."

The language is quite heated, and the address adopted at the meeting a few days before is styled a "gross libel upon the workingmen of Baltimore," who are commended, as were the opponents of revolution in the earlier resolves, to "refrain from all business" on election day, and "at the polls to exert themselves to promote the success of the cause of human rights and the reform of the constitution."

The day of election came, and proved to be one of discomfiture to the Van Buren men. It is true that they ran no ticket in two counties, one of which voted for their ticket a month before and the other of which was Whig by only a small majority; but in the other counties, where "the result may be considered a fair criterion of the strength of parties,"[1] they lost heavily. Annapolis City and Anne Arundel and Queen Anne counties, where they had won in the earlier election, now returned Whig candidates, and Washington, Harford, and Caroline counties' delegations were divided instead of being solidly Democratic. Montgomery, which had been divided before, now sent a solid Whig delegation. In all there were 60[2] Whigs elected to 19 Van Buren men. Even where the

[1] Niles's Register, LI, p. 81.

[2] There was one tie.

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Van Buren candidates were returned, the majorities were everywhere reduced, save in Allegany, where they gained half the delegation. Here, it will be remembered, the candidates expressed themselves as opposed to revolution, and here alone was a gain made. In Baltimore City [1] a majority of 1,650 diminished to one of 269.

Immediately upon the election, Mr. John S. Sellman, of Anne Arundel County, one of the nineteen electors, regarding the result of the election there as an instruction from his constituents, entered the college. There were now 22 who had qualified, and 24 were needed for a quorum. The body continued in session,[2] hoping for more recruits. The other elector from Anne Arundel County, Mr. Wesley Linthicum, refused to enter the college, and published a statement to that effect, in which he urged the necessity of a convention. Dr. Washington Duval, the recusant elector from Montgomery County,[3] also came out with a long address, in which he said that he would never enter the college, nor did he consider the last election as a verdict against the Van Buren party, as the delegates then elected by them represented 176,000 of the white inhabitants of the State, while the great majority of the house of delegates only represented 113,000 white inhabitants.[4] He, too, advocates the convention, and asks why can not a constitution be formed now by such a convention, assembling calmly, if it could be done in the midst of the revolution of 1776. It was now felt that if these two gentlemen, whose counties had just elected Whig delegates, would not yield, the others would not, and it was "now pretty certain that a senate will not be elected."[5]

To meet the emergency the revolutionary party, early in October, held meetings in Frederick County and Baltimore City and chose delegates to a State convention[6] "to devise a

[1] Niles's Register, LI, p. 85.

[2] Ibid., pp. 81, 113. Three always in attendance.

[3] On October 4 a great barbecue was held at Rockville, at which there was a joint debate between the Whigs, headed by Hon. R. J. Bowie, and the Democrats, led by Hon. F. Thomas. Finally, resolutions were adopted against the Van Buren electors.—Examiner, October 5.

[4] Niles's Register, LI, p. 105; Revolutionary Scheme, p. 63.

[5] Niles's Register, LI, p. 97. Some suggested that the legislature be called and provide for filling vacancies in electoral college.—Examiner, October 5. Unfortunately I can find no file of the Citizen.

[6] On October 6 Mr. Maulsby, delegate-elect from Harford County, published a card in the Democratic paper at Bel Air advocating a constitutional convention. (Niles's Register, LI, p. 121.)

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temporary government." They claimed that the failure to elect a senate dissolved the present government, and that the present officers should be continued until a new constitution could be framed. The Whigs, on the other hand, claimed that the failure to elect a senate might have been produced by fortuitous circumstances, that no government was ever based on such contingencies, and, as a consequence, it must have been intended that the old senate should hold office until their successors were chosen.[1] Such different views being held, and held so violently, it was even feared there would be open collision. The first county to take action after the election was Frederick, the pioneer of reform. At the court-house in Frederick City, on October 10, the friends of reform gathered, pursuant to the call from the Van Buren county committee. A delegation of six, led by Francis Thomas,[2] was nominated to go to the State convention.[3] An election was to be held to choose the delegates, at which time those nominated and any others might be voted for. The conduct of the nineteen electors was again indorsed in the strongest terms. Harford came next. On the 11th of October its reform party met at the court-house in Bel Air. Like the Frederick convention, it provided for an election of six delegates to the State convention on the first Monday in November. The old county spirit showed itself so strong among the revolutionists that in their proposed convention they made no distinction between the largest and smallest county in the number of representatives. Harford also followed Frederick in indorsing most heartily the conduct of the Van Buren electors.[4]

Washington County[1] also held a revolutionist meeting at Hagerstown on October 11. The resolutions adopted by this convention are much milder than those of the two previous ones. They state their case firmly in the preamble, but then direct the two Van Buren electors from Washington County "to enter the electoral college and aid in forming a reform senate, even if the members thereof be elected from the Whig party," as soon as they receive "satisfactory assurances" that a majority of the senate will be favorable to calling a constitutional convention. The reformers of Washington County do

[1] First suggested, as far as I can learn, by the Baltimore Patriot. See Frederick Examiner, September 24 and October 5.

[2] The Easton Gazette of October 1 calls him "the great modern agitator."

[3] Niles's Register, LI, p. 120.

[4] Ibid., p. 121.

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this because they wish to unite the friends of reform of all parties, regarding the question of reform as paramount. Until such assurances be given, however, the two electors are directed to stand firm in their position and to meet the emergency. If the senate be not chosen, the holding of district meetings on October 29 is recommended. At that time they suggest the election of twenty delegates, to choose, on November 1, six delegates to the State convention.

Allegany County Van Buren men attempted to hold a meeting on October 14,[1] but when they found many of those present wished to hear the Whig side of national politics discussed, they declared the meeting adjourned and put out the lights. The Whigs, however, stood their ground, had the lights relit, and proceeded with their addresses.[2]

The Van Buren men of Allegany were by no means in sympathy with the revolutionary spirit of their party in the other counties. The Van Buren State committee on October 9 wrote to Mr. John M. Buchanan, a Democratic delegate elect to the legislature from that county, asking him to make arrangements for holding district and county conventions to choose delegates to the State convention.[3] He answered them, in the most spirited manner, stating that he believed the carrying into effect of the course recommended by the nineteen electors would "be destructive to the best interests of the State;" that, while he stood as ever for reform, he could not but urge the Democrats to abandon their "present wild and visionary scheme" and to unite with all good citizens to "save the constitution of the State and her laws inviolate from the perfidious hands of ambitious demagogues and the machinations of wicked, corrupt, and abandoned political knaves." Mr. Buchanan told them that he would "step the farthest to remedy the abuses complained of in our present form of government, according to the mode indicated by the sages who framed our constitution. To any other mode, I would object at this time as being dangerous alike to the stability of our institutions, to the interest and honor of the State, and the happiness of her citizens."

Allegany County[4] supported Mr. Buchanan. On October

[1] On October 12 there was a Whig meeting at Uniontown.—Examiner.
[2] Niles's Register, LI, p. 134.
[3] Niles's Register, LI, p. 134; Revolutionary Scheme, p. 53.
[4] Niles's Register, LI, p. 121; Revolutionary Scheme, p. 51.

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17 an unusually large meeting of men of both parties was held at Cumberland. The strongest possible resolutions were there adopted, condemning the conduct of the "recusant electors, who, having solicited and obtained their appointment at the hands of the people, betrayed the trust reposed in them. They considered a "revolution in the State at this crisis the greatest of all conceivable calamities," and solemnly pledged themselves "to sustain the government against any revolution." Mr. Sellman's conduct is approved, and the measures proposed by the Frederick County convention strongly discountenanced. District meetings were indeed recommended, but solely to protest against the revolutionary measures. The next day the Allegany County grand jury, having eleven Van Buren men among its twenty members,[1] unanimously presented the nineteen electors as acting "without excuse or palliation," and as endeavoring, when they failed in securing the triumph of their party, "to subvert the government and endanger the public tranquillity," and hence, "as unfaithful public agents and disturbers of the public peace."

The Frederick County men were not deterred by any such proceedings,[2] and held another convention. This meeting, composed of men of both parties, resolved that it was "fully satisfied that no senate will be formed by a compromise between the conflicting claims of the two branches of the electoral college." Therefore other means must be devised of meeting the emergency; and the only way to provide a substitute for existing institutions and effecting reform "is by a convention elected fresh from the people for that special purpose." They assure the people of the State that there is no danger to the public peace from such proceeding, and direct the chairman to appoint a central committee of one hundred "to make such arrangements as may be necessary to aid the people of Frederick County in the great undertaking which four-fifths of them have at heart—to restore to the majority the right to rule."

In Montgomery County[3] a meeting of the voters of the second election district, on October 22, adopted resolutions condemning the recusant electors, opposing a convention, approving of the

[1] Niles's Register, LI., p. 122; Revolutionary Scheme, p. 51.

[2] Niles's Register, LI, p. 135.

[3] Ibid., p. 151. The Whigs of Anne Arundel County held a meeting on October 25.—Frederick Examiner, November 2.

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conduct of the twenty-one Whig electors and Mr. Sellman, and stating their wish that the Democratic elector from their county enter the electoral college. Allegany County[1] knew well that the Hon. Francis Thomas was the leader of the movement, and the voters of Selbysport, in that county, at a meeting held on October 29, were not content with adopting resolutions condemning the "eighteen recusant electors," and declaring that "any person who shall, in obedience to the recommendation of the aforesaid eighteen electors, proceed to appoint, elect, or cause to be appointed or elected delegates to meet in such convention, deserves all the contempt that is due from an honest and patriotic people toward common disturbers of the peace of the State, and as such we shall look upon them and treat them." They felt that they should also condemn the instigator of the whole movement, and, with but three dissenting voices, resolved that they viewed him "guilty of base ingratitude to the citizens of the State and especially to the people of Allegany County," and called on him to resign his position as Congressman, that they might elect another "who would pay more respect to their interests."[2]

A meeting in Washington County and a series of resolutions sent out by the Frederick County Whig committee proclaimed a fixed purpose to "rebuke the spirit of revolution, and to vindicate the peace, government, and dignity of the State." The Frederick resolutions were prefixed by a long address, claiming that "political ascendency, and not reform, was the mainspring of this desperate movement," and denouncing its authors in unmeasured terms.[3] They accused them of resolving to rule or ruin, and asked why they did not insist on fifteen reform senators instead of eight Van Buren senators, if they really wished reform. In Queen Anne County, which had elected Van Buren electors, the venerable Richard T. Earle, formerly one of the judges of the court of appeals,[4] came forward, and, in a published letter, earnestly opposed "the election by the Van Burenites of a provisional convention, solely because I believe in my conscience it will prove a measure destructive of the peace and happiness of our country." This scheme, he tells his fellow-citizens, is "the incendiary

[1] Revolutionary Scheme, p. 56.
[2] Ibid., pp. 57 et seq.
[3] Ibid., pp. 58 et seq.
[4] Ibid., p. 66.

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work of the Fredericktown dictator," as he calls Mr. Thomas, "and some restless spirits surround him, prostituting party name to aggrandize and elevate themselves to power." He writes, "the late attack upon your constitution * * * has not subverted or overturned the venerable structure," and urges attempts for reform by constitutional means.

It was at this time that Mr. Sellman attempted to bring about a compromise between the Whig electors and his recusant associates. He addressed the Whig electors a letter, on October 29, reciting that he thought it "worse than useless even to anticipate the election of a Senate without a compromise of conflicting interests," and asking "if any compromise will be offered, and if so, what will be its terms." If any be offered, he wishes to communicate its terms to the eighteen who still stood out in opposition.[1] He had conversed on the subject with some of the Whig electors the day previous, and, in their answer, they express regret that he writes to them at this time, instead of seeking another personal interview. They tell him that they expect to choose a senate "favorable to constitutional reform," if a quorum of the college be obtained, and that "such would have been chosen by them at any time since the period fixed by the constitution for the meeting of the college." As proof of this, they refer him to their address to the people of Maryland, and express the "hope and expectation that you will now join us in the meetings of the college and cooperate with us in our efforts to save the State from the dangers which unhappily theaten her." This letter seems to have been received with some acrimony by Mr. Sellman, and in his answer, dated October 31, he complains that the "answer was not tendered in the same spirit in which my communication was worded." He tells the majority that he will not join in the meetings of the college until a quorum can be secured, and this he believes will never be obtained "unless some stronger assurance than that of constitutional reform, unaccompanied with a statement of what is intended to be reform, is made. The term itself is vague and indefinite."

The attempt on the part of Mr. Sellman to bring about a compromise was then given up, though the Whig electors answered his last letter two days after it was written, assuring him that "when we speak of reform we do not mean to 'hold

[1] Niles's Register, LI, p. 185.

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are ready to elect for senators men whose sentiments, high moral worth, and intelligence shall be a guaranty of their entire willingness and ability to gratify the wants of the people of Maryland whenever those wants shall be properly ascertained and made known to the legislature." They show him that any specification of "particular features of reform which would be deemed proper by the senate to be elected by us" would be "assuming to ourselves the authority of forming the constitution of the State according to our views of propriety, * * * a purpose altogether foreign to that for which we were elected and the exercise of which would, in our opinion, involve a direct violation of our official duty." The force of this argument can hardly be denied.

A few days later came the national election, which was a most disastrous overthrow for the Van Buren party in Maryland. In September they had a popular majority in the State of over 3,000, carrying 8 out of 19 counties and both the cities. In November they were in a minority by 3,585 on the popular vote, and carried but 2 counties[1] and Baltimore City, and in these their majority was greatly reduced. National and State issues had been so blended that the overthrow of the Van Buren party was felt to be a rebuke to the revolutionary proceedings of the Van Buren electors.

On November 8 Governor Thomas W. Veazey threw a bombshell into the camp of the revolutionists by issuing an executive proclamation. This was issued on the day after the national election, in order that it might not seem to try to influence the people in that election nor be influenced by the vote therein, for the returns were not received, when the proclamation was sent out.[2]

Governor Veazey took the ground "that the senate elected in September, 1831, continue to be the senate of Maryland, and will so continue until superseded by the election of successors, as constitutionally and lawfully provided for, and, with the house of delegates elected in October last, now constitute the 'general assembly' of this State."[3] This general assembly he summons to meet on November 21, "to take into consideration the present condition of our public affairs and adopt such

[1] Baltimore and Cecil counties.

[2] Revolutionary Scheme of the Nineteen Van Buren Electors, p. 84.

[3] Niles's Register, LI, p. 165; Revolutionary Scheme, p. 67.

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measures as to them may seem meet and expedient in relation thereto, and for the transaction of such other business as the welfare of the State may require." He assigns as reasons for this the failure of eighteen of the electors to "perform the duty enjoined upon them" to elect a senate; their "presumptuous" recommendation of "measures for substituting another constitution and government for that which they seem to have supposed they had destroyed, or at least mortally wounded;" the pursuit and prosecution of "measures in accordance with said recommendation" by "sundry evil-disposed or misguided persons" and the "incalculable evils and mischiefs" which "these unprecedented, unconstitutional, disorderly, and revolutionary occurrences and proceedings" will give rise to if unchecked. Unless something be done, the State may be involved "in all the horrors and unspeakable calamities of anarchy, intestine commotion, and civil war." To prevent these evils and "to curb the spirit of anarchy, disorder, and revolution," Governor Veazey announces he will "exert to the utmost all the powers" vested in him, and he enjoins the civil officers to be vigilant and the military officers and citizens in general to be in readiness to aid the civil authorities if it be necessary. He concludes the document with a solemn declaration "that the constitution of the State must be preserved and the government maintained as they now are until 'altered, changed, or abolished' in the manner constitutionally provided for."

The proclamation was received with great excitement. It was suggested by a zealous revolutionist that the friends of reform meet and issue a counter manifesto, denying the governor's charges; that the convention be held in Baltimore instead of Annapolis, as a proof of their peaceful intentions and to avoid collision with the government, and that "then and there, whether every county is represented or not, let them proceed to write a republican constitution, which shall go abroad to the people."[1] "At the next election," he writes, "let them vote for the old or the new, as they best like." The Baltimore Republican, the leading Van Buren organ, came out with a long editorial headed "Riding on stilts," in which it denounced the governor, whom it called "King Veazey."[2]

[1] Niles's Register, LI, p. 166. The Chronicle was the Baltimore Whig organ.
[2] Ibid., p. 165.

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They warn him that his "hodgepodge legislature will not be recognized," and blame him for imitating "the language of the alarmists." They object to the call for a special session, saying if the old senate hold over, there is no need for it, and if they do not hold over, it is invalid. The issue of the proclamation is ascribed to the recent Whig victory, and he is warned that Marylanders "own no despot's sway."

The constitutional party received the proclamation with joy and prepared to assist the governor. Especially, Maj. John Contee, of Prince George County, manifested zeal. On November 14 he called upon the citizens of the county to assemble at Upper Marlboro court-house five days later, and, organizing as volunteers, "offer our services to the executive in case of necessity."[1] On that date a company was organized, called the Planters' Guards, to support the governor, if there should be need.[2]

Shortly after the appearance of the proclamation, and when the returns of the election clearly showed the seceders from the electoral college were not expressing the wishes of the people, Mr. Wesley Linthicum, of Anne Arundel, who had previously declared he would not enter the college, now addressed a card to the other 17 recusants stating that he would yield and qualify as an elector on the 19th of November.[3]

St. Mary County was as firm in supporting the governor as Prince George. Her citizens, meeting at Leonardtown on the very day of the proclamation and even before they could have heard it, passed resolutions deeply regretting "the course pursued by the 19 recusant electors," respectfully requesting them "to retrace their steps," and approving the conduct of the majority of the electors.[4]

It was felt by the revolutionary party that some measures must be adopted in opposition to Governor Veazey's proclamation. So on Wednesday, November 11, a meeting was held at Baltimore of five persons selected as delegates to the State convention, and they sent out a circular, stating that they think

[1] Niles's Register, LI, p. 177.

[2] Revolutionary Scheme, p. 70.

[3] Niles's Register, LI, p. 185. Revolutionary Scheme.

[4] Ibid., p. 186. On November 15 a meeting was held at Easton, Talbot County, presided over by John Leeds Kerr, which passed resolutions commending Governor Veazey and appointing vigilance committees for the various election districts of the county.—Easton Gazette, November 19.

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"the convention, under present circumstances, would have no power to act as a convention of the people, but that they recommend that a meeting of the friends of reform" be held in Baltimore on the 19th instant, just before the opening of the special session of the legislature.[1] This action was a clear confession of weakness. The end of the struggle was near.

On November 17, Mr. Sellman again addressed the Whig electors, asking them whether he was to understand by their previous statement that they were in favor of "constitutional reform," that they would elect a senate willing to submit the question of a convention, to the people, and to promote the call of such convention if the majority of the people voted to have one.[2] He received cold comfort. The Whigs answered that they favored "constitutional reform," not in a "restricted," but in a "full and most comprehensive sense," and intended, if a quorum could be secured, to choose a senate which would "endeavor to effect all such amendments of the constitution as the interests and happiness of the people of the State might require, in doing which they would, of course, select any mode, by convention or otherwise, consistent with the principles and provisions of that instrument."

The Van Buren men had to surrender unconditionally; and they surrendered on the afternoon of Saturday, November 19. The college then assembled; and, in addition to the 22 who had already qualified, there appeared Wesley Linthicum, of Anne Arundel; Dr. Enoch George and John B. Thomas, of Queen Anne, and Marcy Fountain, of Caroline. This made the college to consist of 25, and gave it a quorum. They then proceeded to elect a senate, the 21 Whig electors voting for 15 Whig senators, and the 5 Democratic electors casting blank ballots.[3] The struggle was over; the Democrats had completely failed. Niles's Weekly Register, which had striven to remain nonpartisan during the contest, congratulated the State on "the peaceable issue of this vexed question," and stated that no question had occurred for a long time "which created so much acerbity of feeling among those holding opposite opinions, or caused so much distrust among the friends of

[1] Niles's Register, LI, p. 186.

[2] Ibid., p. 199.

[3] Ibid., p. 199. Three of those elected declined to serve, and early in January the senate filled the vacancies.—Niles's Register, LI, p. 289.

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our civil institutions." The Register[1] had long fought against the constitution, and now likened it to a "leper whose plague spots were daily becoming more apparent to the people." "None would have dared," says the Register, "to have resisted its purification if it had not been seized by the hand of violence. That act changed the current of the public feeling and produced a result which will be hailed as another triumph of the principles of free government and our love for constitutional law." "In free States the law of force is not the instrument of reform," and the success of the recusant electors "would have established a precedent dangerous to enlightened republicanism."

The reform, or "humbug," convention, as its adversaries called it,[2] had come together on Wednesday, November 16, in Baltimore and adjourned on the 19th, the day the electoral college was formed. Delegates were present during the session from all counties save Allegany, Queen Anne, and Somerset. They claimed that at the election for President subsidiary elections held in nine counties and the city of Baltimore showed that a majority of the voters, who cast votes for President, voted for the delegates to the convention.

These divisions had a free white population of 203,000 out of 291,000 in the State, and so the convention claimed[3] to represent the people of the State. It was a poor pretense, and the failure of the movement could also be seen in the resolutions adopted. These stated that, owing to the unexpected call for an extra session of the legislature, it is "expedient to postpone the meeting of the reform convention to a day when ample opportunity shall have been afforded to understand fully the reasons which have induced the executive to adopt this extraordinary procedure and to ascertain the results of their deliberation."

Further resolves repel, proudly and indignantly, the aspersions cast upon the members and those whom they represent by the governor's proclamation which is severely censured, and claim the inalienable right of the people of Maryland to

[1] Niles's Register, LI, p. 193.

[2] Revolutionary Scheme, p. 81, quotes an article from the New York Courier and Enquirer, ridiculing "this poor abortion" which "had elected itself for the august purpose of framing a new constitution for the State of Maryland."

[3] Niles's Register, LI, p. 215; Revolutionary Scheme, p. 78.

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change the form of government "whenever it may appear to them expedient to do so;" insist that though this "right should be exercised cautiously, temperately, and with great deliberation," yet if a "majority of the people should determine, by solemn vote, to establish a new government," such government would be the only rightful one. They maintain that the majority of the people wish to have a convention frame a constitution and submit it to popular vote, as they are unwilling "to await the slow and uncertain action of the legislature." They complain that they are "under the government of associated counties having a confederacy instead of a republican government," and that they have no confidence in the opinion that the legislature, if a new senate had been chosen,[1] would have gratified the known wishes of conventional reformers. They profess to be much encouraged by the votes given for delegates to the convention in some of the less populous counties, as indicating a "magnanimous sense of injustice." They then adjourn to meet again in Annapolis on the first Monday of January, unless otherwise notified by Hon. Charles S. Sewall, of Harford County, president of the convention, and present a list of the reforms they demand, practically all of which were contained in the amendments to the constitution then pending in the legislature.

The legislature[2] should have met on November 21, but when the members of the house of delegates arrived in Annapolis on that day, they found several technical points to be decided before anything could be done. A new senate had just been elected, and, according to any interpretation of the constitution, the term of the old senate had expired. To call a special session of the legislature, "at least ten days' notice" was required by the constitution. The new senate had not had such notice. Could a session be legal under the circumstances? It was discussed, whether the "executive might countermand their own proclamation." This, it was felt, would not be exactly proroguing the legislature, but would be so close thereto, that it would be dangerous as a precedent. It had been suggested safer for the house of delegates not to organize, but the suggestion was objected to by a majority of that body on the ground that, as they were summoned by the

[1] As it was that very day.

[2] Niles's Register, LI, p. 214.

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executive, they were bound to obey. Having organized, however, could they adjourn without the consent of the other house, which the constitution required should be obtained? If, however, taking the risks of their conduct being legal, they should adjourn, on the ground that the constitution was silent as to the case of a legislature in which but one house was organized, what would be the fortune of the pending amendments to the constitution? That document said that an amendment passed by one legislature must be confirmed "by the next succeeding general assembly and at the first session thereof." If this session adjourned without acting on amendments, would they not have to be introduced anew? Others said that the next annual session was that meant by the constitution, and there was grave doubt as to the power of an extra session to confirm amendments.

To obviate these difficulties, it was suggested that the extra session be adjourned until the day before the regular one was to meet, and thus let one session run into the other. The opponents of this showed that Jefferson's Manual of Parliamentary Practice laid down the rule that "a session, convened by executive authority, can by no means supersede the constitutional requisition," and that special sessions must cease ere regular ones begin.

A quorum of the new senate did not appear, and after receiving a message from Governor Veazey, thanking him for his firm stand, and remaining in session six days, the house of delegates determined to adjourn the special session sine die and take the risks of that course. The special session had accomplished the governor's purpose of breaking up the revolutionary projects, even though it was never fully organized.

The governor's message[1] was dated on November 25, and is quite a lengthy document, chiefly reviewing the course of events and defending the proclamation. This, he tells them, was issued "after the last of the exciting elections of the season was over, and after waiting in vain, with painful anxiety and deep solicitude, in hopes that a returning sense of duty, moral and political, would cause at least a sufficient number of the recusant electors to attend the college." Then he could "no longer forbear" to "take a firm and determined stand in support of the constitution and authority of the government." While condemning the revolutionists in strongest terms, Governor

[1] Niles's Register, LI, p. 213; Revolutionary Scheme, p. 71.

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Veazey tried to avoid making it a party question by commending the Van Buren men, especially those in Allegany County, who "reprobated" the conduct of the recusant electors.

The governor rested his contention as to the continued existence of the old senate on the constitutional provisions for "periodical elections of each branch, without otherwise limiting the term of service of either." The forefathers, he tells us, "had the forecast so to frame the provisions in relation to the elections of members of the senate and house of delegates as to guard against the effects of improper conduct or omissions of unfaithful agents, willing to leave the State without a general assembly by leaving the term of service of the members of each house unlimited, otherwise than by the election of successors; yet it is manifest that they intended the people should have the power and means, and expected they would be exercised, of terminating the service of the members of the senate every fifth year and of the members of the house of delegates every year. It was in this view, undoubtedly, that they provided for elections to fill vacancies in the senate for the residue of the said term [1] of five years."

However true the governor's course of reasoning might be, he acted upon it and, waiting until after the national election, he called together the general assembly that they might make provision for the election of other electors in the "place of those who had refused and neglected to attend the college and perform their duty." He held that the legislature had power to do this, since all matters concerning judges, time, place, and manner of holding elections were left to the legislature to be regulated by law.

A quorum appeared in the electoral college and the election of a new senate changed the aspect of affairs, as the governor frankly admitted, and he recommended that the legislature provide against such contingencies in the future by fitting amendments to the election and criminal laws. He also recommended to their attention the passage of laws "for suppressing all revolutionary designs and proceedings, for the better support of the constitution, and for bringing to justice and deserved punishment their future violators. He also recommended that the pending amendments to the constitution be considered, and acknowledged that the "establishment of a different basis and apportionment of representatives is

[1] There is no other reference to "said term" in the constitution.

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required by a just regard to the rights, interests, and wishes of the people of the more populous sections of the State." The last assembly, before the rise of the revolutionary party, had passed amendments increasing representation to the more populous sections, and the governor felt sure "that such a change in this respect as ought to satisfy the large and populous sections, and can be safely conceded by the smaller and less populous, can and will be obtained in the constitutional manner and with general consent." Since measures of reform have been pending throughout the contest, the governor insisted that the "real and main object of the recusant electors and their abettors in the course they have pursued" was not reform in the constitution.

In closing, Governor Veazey suggested to the house of delegates that they consider the advisability of exerting their constitutional powers "as the grand inquest of the State to inquire into the complaints, grievances, and offenses" which occasioned his call of the legislature.

The regular session of the legislature began on the last Monday of December, and Governor Veazey in his message was able to congratulate them "upon the restoration of peace and quiet within our borders." The excitement had gone down and the revolutionists had given up the fight. The governor merely referred[1] to the recommendations of his message to the special session, and then went on to discuss other matters of importance to the State.

The legislature[2] appointed a select committee "to inquire into the expediency of reporting a bill making it a high crime and misdemeanor for citizens to conspire against the constitution of the State;" but the committee reported that the existing laws were sufficiently stringent and no further ones were necessary.

The legislature also set itself to work to amend the constitution, and by the amendments passed at that and the succeeding annual session the electoral college was done away with and the senate was to consist for the future of one member from each county and the city of Baltimore, elected by popular vote for a term of six years, one-third of the body going out of office

[1] Niles's Register, LI, p. 291.

[2] Niles's Register, LII, p. 73. Revolutionary Scheme, p. 82, quotes from the Fredericktown Herald (Whig) a communication of some length written by a lawyer to prove that "the conduct of the 18 recusant electors" is "cognizable by the criminal law." He maintains with considerable ability that it is a crime to "refuse to put the supreme law in operation."

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every two years. Vacancies in the body were to be filled by popular election, the executive council was abolished, the governor made elective by the people, and the basis of representation somewhat readjusted so as to give greater representation to the more populous counties of the State.[1] The passage of these amendments left no excuse for the reassembling of the reform convention which had met in Baltimore,[2] under the presidency of Mr. Horsey, in June, 1836, nor of that of November, 1836, of which[3] Mr. Sewell was president. The cause of the advocates of a convention as the only practical method of amendment was lost and Mr. Horsey[4] regretfully gave up all hope of a convention. Mr. Sewell postponed the meeting of his convention to a later date, which came and passed, but saw no convention.

When the first election[5] under the reformed constitution occurred, on October 2, 1838, the Van Buren candidate for governor won by a very narrow margin, while the legislature was Whig by small majorities in each house. In January, 1839, the newly constituted senate was organized.[6] The electoral college was a thing of the past. Its origin was doubtless in the attempt to replace the aristocratic council of provincial days with an equally aristocratic body. Its fall was caused by the democratic thought of the day and the inequality of representation in Maryland. The so-called "glorious nineteen" electors and their friends always claimed for themselves great credit for the change of the constitution, but it seems much more true that the change would have come without their existence, and that their struggle jeoparded rather than helped the cause of reform. Many in the State were ready for reform, not for revolution. The injection of national politics into the question by the nineteen Van Buren electors drove off their Whig allies in the larger counties and imperiled the success of the whole movement. It was, however, a noteworthy thing that a new constitution, when it came in 1851, was drawn up by a convention and ratified by the people—unconstitutional measures it is true, but such as were advocated by the Van Buren electors.

[1] Niles's Register, LII, p. 73.
[2] Union reform convention.
[3] Democratic reform convention.
[4] Niles's Register, LII, p. 124.
[5] Ibid., LV, p. 81.
[6] Ibid., p. 289.

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Election returns in Maryland in 1836.

County.	September.		October.		November.	
	Whig.	Democrat.	Whig.	Democrat.	Whig.	Democrat.
Allegany:						
1	845	744	903	888	.....	.....
2	805	736	904	887	.....	.....
3	.....	.....	842	870	.....	.....
4	.....	.....	776	797	926	705
Annapolis:						
1	143	162	159	140	.....	.....
2	.....	.....	154	137	156	128
Anne Arundel:						
1	855	1,017	1,131	1,011	.....	.....
2	885	1,015	1,128	988	.....	.....
3	.....	.....	1,109	987	.....	.....
4	.....	.....	1,104	877	1,092	882
Baltimore City:						
1	4,169	5,810	5,502	5,793	.....	.....
2	.....	.....	5,428	5,736	5,630	5,740
Baltimore County:						
1	1,132	1,924	1,814	2,566	.....	.....
2	1,112	1,930	1,773	2,328	.....	.....
3	.....	.....	0	2,187	2,069	2,482
4	.....	.....	0	2,172	.....	.....
Calvert:						
1	403	324	376	379	.....	.....
2	393	318	375	364	363	284
3	.....	.....	373	342	.....	.....
4	.....	.....	361	327	.....	.....
Caroline:						
1	545	598	610	590	.....	.....
2	539	570	602	590	.....	.....
3	.....	.....	596	583	576	492
4	.....	.....	588	573	.....	.....
Cecil:						
1	550	896	1,174	1,258	.....	.....
2	549	894	1,121	1,234	1,020	1,092
3	.....	.....	1,119	1,232	.....	.....
4	.....	.....	1,104	1,211	.....	.....
Charles:						
1	409	267	827	566	.....	.....
2	401	264	550	0	514	256
3	.....	.....	476	0	.....	.....
4	.....	.....	471	0	.....	.....
Dorchester:						
1	927	798	1,085	842	.....	.....
2	925	798	1,055	829	966	694
3	.....	.....	1,071	834	.....	.....
4	.....	.....	1,142	823	.....	.....
Frederick:						
1	2,658	3,168	3,082	0	.....	.....
2	2,647	3,144	3,093	0	3,130½	3,015
3	.....	.....	3,103	0	.....	.....
4	.....	.....	2,821	0	.....	.....
Harford:						
1	880	1,066	1,181	1,243	.....	.....
2	874	1,059	1,154	1,196	1,080	920
3	.....	.....	1,148	1,146	.....	.....
4	.....	.....	0	986	.....	.....
Kent:						
1	565	458	601	447	.....	.....
2	545	455	589	447	.....	.....
3	.....	.....	594	442	589	367
4	.....	.....	592	430	.....	.....
Montgomery:						
1	669	663	933	725	.....	.....
2	640	569	922	699	936	515
3	.....	.....	884	745	.....	.....
4	.....	.....	810	677	.....	.....
Prince George:						
1	720	589	778	631	728	450
2	716	567	776	625	.....	.....
3	.....	.....	773	589	.....	.....
4	.....	.....	750	549	.....	.....

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Election returns in Maryland in 1836—Continued.

County.	September.		October.		November.	
	Whig.	Democrat.	Whig.	Democrat.	Whig.	Democrat.
Queen Anne:						
1	.....	(a)	670	597	637	517
2	.....	.....	636	585	.....	.....
3	.....	.....	650	544	.....	.....
4	.....	.....	603	578	.....	.....
St. Mary's:						
1	566	515	(b)	.....	643	190
2	529	0	.....	.....	.....	.....
3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Somerset:						
1	1,022	701	1,003	324	1,030	523
2	1,012	683	990	264	.....	.....
3	.....	.....	954	0	.....	.....
4	.....	.....	926	0	.....	.....
Talbot:						
1	593	568	684	580	656	479
2	591	567	666	567	.....	.....
3	.....	.....	664	567	.....	.....
4	.....	.....	662	561	.....	.....
Washington:						
1	1,147	1,536	1,956	2,239	2,079	1,895
2	1,136	1,519	1,899	2,229	.....	.....
3	.....	.....	1,892	2,211	.....	.....
4	.....	.....	1,664	1,898	.....	.....
Worcester:						
1	1,107	1,041	1,015	0	1,032	541
2	1,103	1,041	1,011	0	.....	.....
3	.....	.....	1,000	0	.....	.....
4	.....	.....	980	0	.....	.....

a Sixty majority. *b* Whig.

NOTE.—It will be remembered each county chose two electors and four representatives, and that the November vote is the Presidential one.

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X.—LIBRARIES AND LITERATURE IN NORTH CAROLINA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

A COMPLEMENT AND SUPPLEMENT TO "THE PRESS OF NORTH CAROLINA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY."

By STEPHEN B. WEEKS, Ph. D.,
OF U. S. BUREAU OF EDUCATION.

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LIBRARIES AND LITERATURE IN NORTH CAROLINA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

By Stephen B. Weeks, Ph. D.

Part I.—Libraries.

I.—INTRODUCTION.

The purpose of this paper is to reconstruct, as clearly and fully as possible, one phase of the intellectual history of early North Carolina. In a former paper on "The press of North Carolina in the eighteenth century" the writer undertook to tell the history of the establishment and growth of "the art preservative of all arts." That paper dealt with the business of printing, and with the issues of the early press. The present paper is intended to be complementary and supplementary to the earlier one. I shall undertake, so far as fragmentary materials will allow me, (1) to give an account of the libraries, both public and private, in North Carolina in the eighteenth century, and (2) to write the history of her domestic literature, so far as she had one, during the same time. I shall first discuss briefly the character and circumstances under which settlements were made, the lack of schools and cities, and the inevitable result on the social and intellectual life of the colony.

When we examine the conditions under which North Carolina was settled, the comparative lateness at which she began to show any degree of intellectual development is easily explained. The first settlers in North Carolina—1650 to 1675—came mainly from Virginia by the overland route. Their motives were almost entirely economic. There were no religious refugees among them. The period of immigration from political reasons began after the suppression of Bacon's

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"rebellion" in Virginia in 1676. Then North Carolina became the "common subterfuge and lurking place" for such "rogues, runaways, and rebels" as could not and would not endure the intolerant and personal government of Sir William Berkeley.

They found the lands in Carolina very fertile. They settled on the water courses, for these furnished the best and only means of transportation and communication. They took up large tracts of land and were soon practically segregated from all the world. Some of the immigrants had slaves, others had white servants, and the tendency among them was to reproduce the rural gentry of England, not her village communities and folkmote assemblies—the types seen in New England. Oldmixon says that in 1663 there were 300 families, or some 1,500 souls in the settlement. In 1675 Chalmers says there were 4,000 inhabitants. In 1677 there were 1,400 tithables, or working hands, of which at least one-third were Indians, negroes, and women. Calculating on one inhabitant in four as a tithable, it will be seen that the estimate of Chalmers is nearly correct. When Drummond was made governor of the colony of Albemarle in 1664, his commission extended over a space of territory 40 miles square, or over 1,600 square miles. The surveyor-general writes, in 1665, that this would not even then include all the settled parts, and urges that the commission be extended. According to the estimate of Oldmixon, then, there was less than one settler to the square mile, and if we were to suppose that the additional settlers between 1663 and 1675 did not extend the bounds of the settled districts, which was not the case, there would still be less than four persons, or less than one family, to each square mile of territory.[1]

North Carolina is thinly settled to-day. There are only 31 persons to the square mile against 127 in New York, 157 in Connecticut, and 287 in Massachusetts. It is likewise the most distinctively rural State in the Union. With a population in 1890 of 1,617,947 North Carolina had only one city of more than 20,000 inhabitants, only four of more than 10,000, and seven with 5,000 or more. These seven cities contain 70,387 inhabitants. Ninety-five per cent of her population live in the country or in country towns of less than 5,000 people. This lack of centralization is the result of historical causes and of physical disadvantages.

[1] Colonial Records of North Carolina, I, p. 260.

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After the first planting, the growth of the colony was exceedingly slow. To encourage immigration, the legislature of 1670 exempted all newcomers from taxation for a year, and for five years they were protected from suits for debts contracted before coming into the colony. This law brought some bad immigrants, but could have had little effect on the growth of population, for it is estimated that there were not more than 10,000 souls in North Carolina at the close of the proprietary régime in 1728. If these figures are taken as correct, we can see that the immigration between 1675 and 1728 must have been almost nothing.

But with the beginning of royal rule the tide of immigration turned toward North Carolina. The Scotch and Scotch-Irish poured into the middle section and swelled the population to 50,000 in 1750. This influx continued until the Revolution, and in 1790 North Carolina, with her 393,751 inhabitants, stood third in the Union. Col. William L. Saunders has well said that the birthday of the State is much nearer 1753 than 1653.[1]

There were no towns in early North Carolina. The province had been settled for forty, perhaps fifty, years before a town was laid out. The first town to be incorporated was Bath, in 1704, and five years later it had "about 12 houses." Newbern was laid off in 1710–11 and a settlement had existed on the site of Edenton prior to its being called by that name in 1714. Beaufort was founded in 1723, Brunswick in 1725, and Wilmington in 1734. No town west of the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad was settled prior to 1750,[2] and no town then had a population of 1,000 inhabitants. The country population was as scattered as in the earlier days. In 1742 Rev. James Moir tells us[3] that the settlements in the Cape Fear section extended for 150 miles along the coast and in places penetrated inland 150 miles. In this large extent of territory there were only 3,000 people, of whom two-thirds were negroes.

The chief reasons for the slow growth of the province are to be found in the bad government and neglect of the proprietors, who devoted themselves to building up the colony on Ashley River and allowed that of Albemarle to get along the best it could; to the persistent hostility of the Crown and its agents and of the British merchants to the proprietary government,

[1] North Carolina, its Settlement and Growth, p. 10.
[2] Ibid., p. 2.
[3] Colonial Records, IV, 605.

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for the Carolinas were "private property that the British Crown had heedlessly parted with and was constantly seeking to regain possession of by purchase, quo warranto or otherwise;" to the difficulty of access because of the lack of good harbors, the dangers of the coast, and the consequent loss of trade; to the lack of mills and other manufactures, and to the persistent hostility and jealously of Virginia.[1] On the other hand, the mildness of the climate, the fertility of the soil, the abundance of game, the presence of slaves, and the comparative peaceableness of the Indians all invited to a country life, while the lack of harbors, then as now, caused many products to be sent out of the colony to markets with better facilities, and thus took support from the home towns.

II.—THE FIRST ATTEMPTS AT EDUCATION.

All of these things worked directly against the development of the intellectual life, and the people of North Carolina might have been justified by the circumstances had they abandoned all hope of educating their children. There were no professional teachers, and had there been there were not enough children within an accessible radius to support a school. There were antagonisms of race and religion, and dissensions, turning largely on religious differences, weakened the colony. But as early as 1695 we find an effort to foster education, when, in that year, William Pead, an orphan boy, was bound to the governor to serve him until he was 21 years of age, a requirement was made by the general court that he be taught to read.[2] In 1698 we have a similar instance. Elizabeth Gardner appeared before the precinct court of Perquimans and bound her son William to the governor, he or his heirs "Ingagen to Learn him to Reed."[3] Were the court records more complete, it might appear that this was a regular requirement.

With the eighteenth century there came improvement. The established church, despite the ecclesiastical evils that followed in its train, was a great help to the intellectual life. Its missionaries brought with them the first parish or public libraries and its lay readers were the first teachers.[4] Perhaps the first

[1] Prefatory notes to Colonial Records, II, xii–xiv.
[2] Colonial Records, I, 448.
[3] Ibid., I, 495.
[4] Brickell, Natural History of North Carolina, p. 35.

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professional teacher in North Carolina was Charles Griffin, who came from some part of the West Indies about 1705 and settled in Pasquotank. He was appointed reader by the vestry, and opened a school. By his "diligent and devout example" he so far improved the people of Pasquotank "beyond their neighbors" that Missionary Gordon "was surprised to see with what order, decency, and seriousness, they performed the public worship;" by his "discreet behavior" he "gained such a good character and esteem, that the Quakers themselves send their children to his school."[1] Griffin taught in Pasquotank about three years; but in 1708 Rev. James Adams was directed by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to settle in that precinct,[2] and the school was transferred to him. Griffin, on the recommendation of Gordon, was elected reader and clerk of the vestry of Chowan at £20 per annum,[3] and he, "notwithstanding the large offers they made him if he would continue," consented to go to Chowan. He opened school in that precinct, and Gordon "gave some books for the use of scholars,"[4] but his success in Chowan seems to have been small, and the next year we find that he had fallen into sin and turned Quaker.[5] Of the success of Mr. Adams's school in Pasquotank we know nothing.

In 1712 there was a school kept at Sarum "on the frontiers of Virginia between the two governments," by a Mr. Mashburn. Rev. Giles Rainsford wrote that his work was highly deserving of encouragement and that he should be allowed a salary by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. "What children he has under his care can both write and read very distinctly, and gave before me such an account of the grounds and principles of the Christian religion that strangely surprised me to hear it."[6]

This is all the information we have regarding schools under the proprietors. This side of colonial life was shamefully neg-

[1] Colonial Records, I, 714.

[2] Ibid., I, 681.

[3] Ibid., I, 684.

[4] Ibid., I, 712.

[5] Ibid., I, 721. From this sin and apostacy Griffin has been recently rescued by Dr. Battle, who thinks him the same as a Rev. Charles Griffin, who about ten years after this was teaching an Indian school at Christina, Va., a little north of Chowan Precinct, and who later became a professor in William and Mary College. (Church History in North Carolina, p. 125, and Spotswood Letters, I, xii.)

[6] Colonial Records, I, 859.

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lected by them. They cared neither for the spiritual nor the intellectual man. They reckoned the lives of the colonists only in quitrents and taxes. With the neglect of education went the higher intellectual elements depending upon it.

There was little change during the first twenty years of royal rule. In 1736 Governor Johnston made an effort to arouse interest in education but failed,[1] and when appropriations were made at later dates for education they were borrowed to pay expenses of the Indian war and to build Tryon's palace in Newbern.

Little seems to have been accomplished by the feeble attempts of the province toward school legislation, which began in 1745, when the commissioners of education were empowered "to erect and build a schoolhouse in the said town."[2] In 1749 a bill "for an act for founding, erecting, governing, ordering, and visiting a free school at ——— for the inhabitants of this province," was reported to the assembly. It failed to pass, and we hear no more of school legislation until 1776.[3] In that year the school in Newbern was incorporated, and the master was required to be of the Church of England, in accordance with the provisions of the schism act, which was enforced in North Carolina[4] from 1730 to 1773, so far as the government was able. Under this act no one could teach without a license from the Bishop of London or his representative, the governor. This handicapped the dissenters by throttling their schools, and consequently did great harm to learning.

There were a few private schools at the time of the Revolution, but the more wealthy planters were in the habit of employing tutors. Wheeler quotes a will in his Reminiscences (p. 257), dated in 1735, which provides for the education of the children of the testator, and says they are to be taught French, "perhaps some Frenchman on the Pee Dee might be engaged." Wheeler states further that from 1740 it seems to have been the custom of the people of the Cape Fear section to send their sons to Harvard, while those in the northeastern counties sent theirs to England.

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[1] Colonial Records, IV, 227, 228, 231.

[2] Swann's Revisal, 1752, p. 203.

[3] Colonial Records, IV, 977. Dr. Smith states on page 22 of his Education in North Carolina that this bill was passed; this is incorrect, for it appears in none of the revisals.

[4] On the provisions of the schism act, cf. my paper on Church and State in North Carolina, ch. 3.

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III.—THE FIRST LIBRARIES IN NORTH CAROLINA.

The first settlers in North Carolina were not ignorant men, nor were they unappreciative of the benefits of literature. They had come to the province for economic and political reasons; they were men who toiled for their daily bread—but there were libraries among the first colonists. As early as 1676 and 1680 we find "books" given a prominent place in inventories and wills. This indicates that they were not considered of little value or importance; nor is it probable that men who had no love for learning would have carried with them, on a long overland journey or sea voyage, what was to them idle and useless trumpery, from which they expected to derive no solace and help, no comfort and information. Books must be valued for their contents—they have no other value—and so they were esteemed by the colonists. It is also worthy of note that George Durant, one of the earliest known settlers, brought with him a copy of the Geneva Bible printed in 1599, indicating that it was an heirloom, and that his family was accustomed to some of the refinements of English life.[1] Durant was an educated man, perhaps; he became a member of the council and a judge of the general court. The Bible was his best text-book, and with it there came probably other volumes of good and wholesome lore. Could we get at all the inventories and wills of the time, we should doubtless find many more books than those of which mention has come to us through the few records that remain of the life of our ancestors in the seventeenth century.

The first parish or public library of which we have any account dated from 1700. This library was due to the loving zeal of Rev. Thomas Bray, the founder and secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Dr. Bray is one of the few figures in the religious history of the early colony that command our unqualified admiration. In a study of Southern culture he deserves a conspicuous niche. In 1695 the colony of Maryland requested the Bishop of London to appoint some minister to act as his commissary in that prov-

[1] See account of this Bible in North Carolina University Magazine, 1857-58, VII, 100. It was exhibited by the Historical Society of the University at the centennial celebration of the Episcopal Church in Tarboro, N. C., in 1890.

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ince. The choice fell on Dr. Bray. "It would be difficult to point to anyone who has done more real and enduring service to the church than Thomas Bray," says his biographer. He was born in Shropshire in 1656, and died in 1730. He took the degree of M. A. at Oxford in 1693, and D. D. in 1696. He was a man of great energy and devotion, and spent all of his private fortune in the furtherance of his philanthropic plans. After receiving the appointment as commissary in Maryland, he found that it was undesirable to sail to America at once and was employed by Bishop Compton in the meantime in seeking out good and suitable men to act as missionaries in the colonies. He found that he could secure only poor men for this service, who were unable to buy themselves books; and he seems to have made the help of the bishops toward purchasing parochial libraries a provision of his going to Maryland. His library scheme soon became part of a larger scheme which took shape in the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The first sketch of this society included his libraries at home and abroad, charity schools, and missions both to colonists and the heathen. He sailed for Maryland on December 16, 1699.[1] No allowance had been been made for his passage, and he was obliged to dispose of his small effects and raise money on credit. He arrived in America in March, 1700; he remained for some time, but did not visit North Carolina, although such had been his purpose.[2] He collected much information, and on his return reported that at least forty missionaries were needed in the provinces, of whom five were to come to Carolina. He recommended that each be supplied with a small but well-selected library.

But Dr. Bray did not confine his good work to recommendations, "of his own particular pious gift" he sent to North Carolina some books "of explanation of the church catechism, with some other small books, to be disposed of and lent as we thought fit;" and about a year after this date he "did send to us a library of books for the benefit of this place, given by the honorable the Corporation for the Establishing the Christian

[1] Stephen, Dictionary of National Biography, article on Bray. I have followed this account of Dr. Bray rather than that given in Hawks's North Carolina, Vol. II.

[2] Colonial Records, I, 520.

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Religion."[1] This collection was worth £100,[2] and here is the origin of the first public library ever established in North Carolina. Nor is North Carolina the only province which has reason to be grateful to Dr. Bray; for no less than thirty-nine libraries, some of them with more than 1,000 volumes, were established by him in the North American provinces.[3] He also undertook to provide libraries for the poorer clergy in England, and before his death saw eighty of these established.

The library given to North Carolina by Dr. Bray seems to have led a kind of peripatetic existence at first. It was finally established in Bath, which was "incorporated and made a township" in March, 1705.[4] By this establishment in Bath the gift of Dr. Bray was rendered useless to the clergy, for whose benefit it was chiefly intended.[5] Bath was not the seat of government nor the center of population, and after the Indian war ceased to be important. The library should have been at Queen Anne's Creek, now called Edenton. Efforts were made to secure its removal thither, but without success. It seems to have suffered somewhat from neglect and the hands of vandals, who neither knew its value nor cared for its contents. In 1712 Rainsford tells us that it had been "all dispersed and lost by those wretches that do not consider the benefit of so valuable a gift."[6]

In 1714 Urmstone writes that "the famous library sent in by Dr. Bray's directions is, in a great measure, destroyed. I am told the books are all unbound and have served for some time as waste paper."[7]

But these statements were not entirely true, for an act was passed in 1715 for the preservation of the library.

This was the only act passed during the proprietary period encouraging literature, and the only one relating to libraries

[1] H. Walker to Bishop of London, Colonial Records, I, 572.

[2] Colonial Records, II, 130.

[3] Neill, Founders of Maryland, 173, gives a list of thirty parish libraries sent to Maryland alone by Dr. Bray. They contained from 2 to 1,085 books each; in all, 2,545 books.

[4] Swann's Revisal, 1752, p. 31. We do not know whether it contained a provision for the library or not, or whether the library was even in Bath at that time. I should judge that the law of 1715 was the first on this subject, from its preamble.

[5] Colonial Records, II, 119.

[6] Ibid., I, 860.

[7] Ibid., II, 128, 130, 144.

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passed in North Carolina before the Revolution. It may be well to give the sections relating to the library entire:

SECTION XIX.[1] And whereas, at the promotion of the Reverend Doctor Thomas Bray, a Library hath been sent over to Bath-Town, for the use of the inhabitants of the Parish of St. Thomas, in Pamptico; and it is justly feared that the books belonging to the same will quickly be embezzled, damaged, or lost, except a law be provided for the more effectual preservation of the same:

XX. Be it therefore enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That the said Library shall be, continue, and remain in the hands, custody, and possession of a Library-keeper, to be elected, nominated, and appointed by the Commissioners hereafter by this Act appointed, or the major part of them; which said Library-keeper is, and shall be hereby bound and obliged, to keep and preserve the several and respective books therein, from waste, damage, imbezzlement, and all other destruction, (fire, and all other unavoidable accidents, only excepted,) and is and shall be hereby accountable for the same, and every book thereof, to the Commissioners hereafter nominated; and to that end and purpose, the said Library-keeper shall pass two receipts for the Library aforesaid, one to the Commissioners hereafter named, and the other to the Churchwardens of the said Parish for the time being, in which receipts the title of each book shall be inserted: And in case all or any of the books is or shall be found to be wasted, damaged, or embezzled, or otherwise destroyed, (except as before excepted,) the said Library-keeper, his heirs, executors, and administrators, are and shall be hereby bound and obliged to answer double the value of the same; and the said Commissioners are hereby impowered to sue for the same, in any court of record in this Province, by bill, plaint, or information, or other action; wherein no essoign, protection, injunction, or wager of law, shall be allowed; and that what thereby shall be recovered, (reasonable charges and expenses deducted,) to employ and dispose of towards the compleating and perfecting the aforesaid Library so wasted, endamaged, embezzled, or otherwise destroyed, within the space of twelve months after such recovery.

XXI. An be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That in case of the death or removal of the said Library-keeper, the Churchwardens of St. Thomas's Parish shall immediately take into their custody, possession, and safe keeping, all the books belonging to the said Library, and shall

[1] Sections 19–32, inclusive, of chapter 52, of the Revision of the Laws of North Carolina, made in 1715. The act was printed in Swann's Revisal of the Laws of North Carolina (Newbern, 1752), but does not seem to have been reprinted since. The fact that this law is the fifty-second out of the sixty-six of the Revisal of 1715 would indicate a rather late enactment. But in Cooper's Statutes at Large of South Carolina, VII, 13, is an act passed by the South Carolina assembly, in 1700, for the preservation of the library which Dr. Bray had recently sent them. This act is strikingly like the North Carolina act. Is it not possible that a draft of the act was sent over with the books, filled out in the province, and passed in each near the same time? I am inclined to think that the North Carolina act was several years old in 1715.

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be answerable for the same to the Commissioners hereafter in this act nominated

XXII. And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That the Churchwardens of St. Thomas's Parish, in Pamptico, upon the receiving the books belonging to the said Library, shall compare the same with the catalogue and receipt for the same in their custody; and if any of the books are wanting or damaged, they shall give an account thereof, in twenty days at farthest, to the Commissioners hereafter mentioned, who are impowered to sue the said Library-keeper, or in case of his death, his executors or administrators, for the same: And in case the said Churchwardens refuse or neglect to give such account, then the said Churchwardens, their heirs, executors, or administrators, and every of them, are hereby made accountable to the Commissioners hereafter named for all the books belonging to the said Library, and contained in the catalogue thereof.

XXIII. And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That the said Commissioners, or any five of them, within twenty days after such notice given, shall forthwith proceed to the election of another Library-keeper, to whose custody and safe keeping the said Library, and every book therein contained, shall be forthwith delivered by the said Churchwardens, by order of the said Commissioners; which said Library-keeper so elected, shall continue in the same office, unless removed by the said Commissioners, or the major part of them, (which they are, upon a just occasion, hereby impowered to do,) or until the settlement of a minister in the said Parish; which said minister or incumbent shall, *ex officio*, be Library-keeper, and shall be answerable for the same to the Commissioners aforesaid, in manner as is by this Act directed.

XXIV. Provided always, That the said Library shall not be removed out of Bath-Town, other than to the incumbent's house; and not thither, without liberty first had and obtained from the said Commissioners, or the major part of them.

XXV. And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That the inhabitants of Beaufort Precinct shall have Liberty to borrow any book out of the said Library, giving a receipt for the same to the Library-keeper for the time being, with a promise to return the said book or books, if a folio, in four months time; if a quarto, in two months time; if an octavo, or under, in one months time; upon penalty of paying three times the value of the said book or books so borrowed, in case of failure in returning the same; And the said Library-keeper is hereby obliged to enter such receipt in a book, to be fairly kept for that purpose, and upon the return of any book or books so lent, shall note it returned on the opposite side or column of the said book, and not cross or blot the same: and in case the person that borrows any book or books out of the said Library, doth refuse to return the same, or doth damnify the said book, upon complaint thereof given by the said Library-keeper, his executors or administrators, to two or more of the Commissioners, and by them, or any five of them, to the Chief Justice of the Province for the time being, or any two Justices of the Peace, it shall be lawful, and the said Chief Justice, or any two Justices, are hereby impowered and required, by warrant of distress, directed to any of the constables of the said Precinct, to levy three times the value of such book or books, on the goods and chattels

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of the person so refusing to deliver, or damnifying the same; and for want of such distress, to commit the person to prison till satisfaction be made to the said Library-keeper.

XXVI. And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That the Commissioners hereafter named, shall make, or cause to be made, several catalogues of all and singular the books in the said Library, and the same being fairly written, and signed by the said Commissioners, or some five of them, one to be entered upon record in the Secretary's office of this Province, one to be in the custody and for the use of the Commissioners hereafter named, under which the Library-keeper shall sign a receipt for the respective books, one to be in the custody of the Churchwardens of St. Thomas's Parish for the time being, under which the Library-keeper shall also sign a receipt for the respective books, and one to be fairly entered in a book for that purpose to be kept by the Library-keeper in the said Library; that so any person may know what books are contained therein.

XXVII. And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That the Commissioners, or any five of them, hereafter named, after making one exact catalogue of all and singular the respective books in the said Library, shall, and are hereby directed, to appraise and rate each book, at a price certain in the current money of this Province; which appraisement shall be an established rule to determine the value of the said books, in case any suit is brought by the said Commissioners against any person who shall retain or damnify any of the said books, or against the Library-keeper, his executors or administrators.

XXVIII. And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That the Commissioners hereafter named, or any five of them, shall, every year, on Easter Monday yearly, resort to the House where the said Library shall be kept, and there examine the books thereof by the catalogue, and see that there be the full number, and that they are not damaged or spoiled; and therefore the Library-keeper is hereby required, in lending any of the said books out of the said Library, notwithstanding the time usually allowed by this Act, to oblige the said person to return such books as they borrow to the said Library-keeper ten days before the said Easter Monday, yearly, that so all and singular the books belonging to the Library aforesaid, may be exposed to the view of the said Commissioners, the better to enable them to judge if they be any ways damaged or spoiled, and give their order accordingly.

XXIX. And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That the Honorable Charles Eden, Esq; present Governor, and the Governor or Commander in Chief for the time being, the members of the Council for the time being, Christopher Gale, Esq; Chief Justice, and the Chief Justice for the time being, Tobias Knight, Esq; Secretary, and the Secretary for the time being, Col. Edward Moseley, Speaker of this present Assembly, and the Speaker for the time being, Daniel Richardson, Esq; Attorney-General, and the Attorney-General for the time being, the members of the Precinct Court for the time being, Capt. Frederick Jones, Mr. John Porter, Mr. Joel Martin, Capt. John Drinkwater, Mr. John Clark, Mr. Patrick Maule, Mr. Thomas Worseley, Mr. Lionel Reading, Mr. James Leigh, and Mr. Thomas Harding, or any five of them, are hereby nominated to be Commissioners and Trustees, for the due inspection and pres-

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ervation of the Library aforesaid, and all and singular the respective books to the same belonging; and they, or any five of them, shall have power to commence or bring any suit or action given by this Act.

XXX. And in case of the death or absence of any of the Commissioners who are by this Act particularly by name before appointed, then the surviving Commissioners, or any five of them, at their next meeting after such vacancy, are hereby fully authorized and impowered to make choice of another, in the place and stead of him or them who shall be dead or absented; which said Commissioners so elected shall be invested with the same authority, as if he had been before in this Act particularly named and appointed.

XXXI. And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That the Commissioners above named, or any five of them, after having examined the catalogue of books, and discovered what are wanting, shall summons such persons as have the said books in their custody, to deliver the same, within twenty days after such notice in writing left with the person, or at his usual place of abode; and in case any person shall fail or refuse to deliver the said respective books to the said Commissioners, then the said Commissioners, or any five of them, are hereby required, directed, and impowered, to take such measure for the recovery of the same, or treble the value thereof, as is before by this Act prescribed.

XXXII. And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That all persons that have borrowed, or have in their custody, any of the books belonging to the Library aforesaid, shall, on or before the next Easter Monday, return the same to the present Library-keeper, under the penalty of the forfeiture of treble the value of each book not returned as aforesaid; the better to enable the Commissioners before named to make a perfect catalogue of the books belonging to the said Library.

There are no other references to the Bath library in the records or in the laws. Who the librarians were we do not know. To what extent it was used by the people we can not say. There is room to fear that these books were not respected and used as they should have been. Of its fortunes and fate we are utterly ignorant. Right Rev. Joseph Blount Cheshire, jr., bishop of the diocese of North Carolina, has suggested that it came into the hands of Edward Moseley, and was the same as the library which he presented to the town of Edenton in 1723. This view will be discussed later.[1]

IV.—OTHER PARISH LIBRARIES.

The library at Bath was not the only one established in North Carolina through the munificent patronage of Dr. Bray. It seems that all the missionaries of the Society for the Propa-

[1] As far as known, the only book from this library which has survived the wreck of time is Gabriel Towerson's An Application of the Church Catechism (London, 1685), which is now the property of the diocese of East Carolina.

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gation of the Gospel had supplies of books. These collections were to serve in their studies and in the public worship. There were also Bibles, prayer books, tracts on doctrine, baptism, discipline, and similar works for the education of the people in the orthodox faith. It was the custom of Rainsford and Gordon to make such distributions as they felt the necessity of the case required, and the latter tells us that he furnished "some books for the use of schollars" in Chowan.[1]

When Rev. James Adams departed from North Carolina, about September, 1710,[2] he left his library, which was valued at £10,[3] in the care of Mr. Richard Sanderson, of Currituck.[4] Two years later Rainsford demanded the books; but Sanderson refused to surrender them unless the minister would settle in that precinct. This he could not do, and writes to the secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for others: "The choice I leave to your better judgment, though I could wish for some of Physick, with Dr. Cave's two volumes of the Lives of the Fathers, and all Collier's Essays and Norris's work; Dr. Leak's single volume would be of use."[5] Urmstone had also attempted to secure Adams's library. He found the books "safe and entire," but "was denied them, and so will everyone that is not musket proof." "The precinct where the deceased last dwelt," he adds, "pretending the books belonged to them, would not part with them, except I would live with them."[6] We learn from this statement that not merely the interest of one individual, but that of the whole precinct was fixed on this little collection of books. Mr. Sanderson held them as a sort of trustee for the community and church, for this view is implied in the power claimed by the vestry to dispose of them. They were used by the old planter and his neighbors as their only source of learning, perhaps, for we are told that no books had been sent to this precinct from England.[7]

[1] Colonial Records, I, 712.
[2] Ibid., I, 733.
[3] Ibid., II, 75.
[4] Ibid., I, 858.
[5] Ibid., II, 55.
[6] Ibid., I, 884; II, 123, 128, 130.
[7] Ibid., I, 714. The inventory of Sanderson's estate in 1719 amounted to £1216: 14: ¾. Among other items we find, 10 cows & calves valued at £1: 15 each; "20 old bound books & 10 do." at £1: 15; a parcel of old prayer books, at 2s: 6d; "a large Serm[n] book a prayer a Herberis[n] Dictionary" at £3. There was also a parcel of "old books" in Tobias Knight's estate in 1719.

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Urmstone had a library of his own, for he was a man of university education and the wealthiest of the missionaries. He writes in 1714 that he brought £50 worth of books with him, but that they had been destroyed through want of safe custody. Urmstone, however, is so untrustworthy that we can put but little dependence in anything he says.

He tells us also that Gordon brought books when he came out to North Carolina in 1708. Urmstone had given bond for this library.[1] For some reason these books were left with Mr. Wallace, minister at Keketan (Hampton), in Virginia, who refused to deliver them to Urmstone or anyone else without an order from Mr. Gordon or the society. "I have desired an order more than once from the society or Mr. Gordon to demand them, but have no answer from that or a thousand other things very material relating to my mission; surely paper and ink must be dear in England."[2] The library seems never to have come to North Carolina. In 1714 Wallace was dead; some of the books were already missing, and it was feared the "like ill fate may attend the rest."[3] As these books were kept in Virginia without a shadow of right, we are inclined to believe that the Virginians were little better supplied with literature than their Southern neighbors, but being more appreciative of literature than their neighbors, took occasions such as this to help themselves.

We know it was usual for these missionaries to receive new supplies of books from time to time. In 1712 Rainsford, in his letter to John Chamberlaine, says: "I desire, sir, you'll think of me the next general meeting that I may have an order for my £10 worth of books."[4] The next year he complains that he has received no books for his own use; and in 1714 he writes that Madame Hyde, the wife of the governor, "sold me all the society's books committed to her care for eggs, butter, etc., when they were to be disposed of gratis according to the interest of the society."[5] He intimates that Urmstone had been doing this also.[6] He seems to have been more interested in the use of books than any other one of the missionaries He asked for tracts, together with Bibles and prayer books.

[1] Colonial Records, I, 884; II, 130.
[2] Ibid., II, 128.
[3] Ibid., II, 120, 128.
[4] Ibid., I, 860.
[5] Ibid., II, 123.
[6] Ibid., II, 153.

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He wanted Bennett's Confutation of Quakerism, with the rest of his works, "Jones's translation of Lunibarck, to lend about," some good discourses on the passion, with the sermons preached at the Boyle lectures, "these if stopt out of my salary."[1]

This is all we know of the earliest libraries in the province. As we have seen, they were parochial libraries, sent out by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. They were intended primarily for the use and benefit of the clergy, but met the wants of the whole people, became public property, and were protected by public statute. There were three of these libraries at least: (1) Bray's library at Bath (1700); (2) Adams's library in Currituck (1708); Urmstone's library (circa 1708), which doubtless followed him in his peregrinations, and, possibly, one belonging to Rainsford (1712). Newman also brought a library with him in 1721, but we know little of it.[2] Gordon's library did not get to North Carolina at all, but was seized in Virginia; while the Virginians atoned for this tariff on learning by sending Bibles, tracts, prayer books, etc., to the benighted heathen in North Carolina, hoping in this way to "pilot them a decenter way to heaven" than was afforded by Quakers and similar sectaries.

During the closing years of the proprietors it seems that few books were sent over, nor were many sent in the first years of royal rule. In 1735 Rev. Richard Marsden writes that he had no library and that there were few religious books in the province. "Indeed, my Lord, it would be a great act of charity without delay to supply this part of the province [Cape Fear] at least with good books." The reasons for this desire are then given. It was to combat the growth of dissent. "There are also some persons very industrious to furnish many families with the independent rigg, Jubb and Walstone on our Saviour's miracles and several others of the same pernicious kind."[3] It seems that the cry of Marsden did not go entirely unheeded, for about 1755 the parish of St. James received from the society a particular gift of Bibles, prayer books, and other religious publications, and in 1770 an additional gift. Among the first sent were two volumes from the Prince of Wales, afterwards George III. These books were

[1] Colonial Records., II, 153.
[2] Ibid., IV, 7.
[3] Ibid., IV, 13.

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for distribution and for the parish library. Some few of them have come down to our day.[1]

We also learn from the report of "Dr. Bray's associates" that 26 books were deposited at Brunswick in 1765, and soon after, probably the next year, 42 others. Of this library of 68 volumes we know nothing further. It is possible that they were added later to the library of St. James' Parish, but I have no evidence to that effect.

There is much evidence to support the view that after the beginning of the royal régime the earlier custom of the society was renewed with reference to the whole province. In 1748 Clement Hall returned thanks for a "box with books." They were distributed "among the poor and most proper and deserving of the people, who with me render hearty thanks to all the benefactors."[2] Other missionaries write to the same effect.[3]

Of their number we know but little. Since they were the gift of the society we may conclude that they were mostly religious books and were, we may presume, fitted to the wants of the people they were to instruct. Some of them were volumes of sermons intended for the readers; others were controversial, being intended to combat the numerous sects and heresies that were springing up in the province.[4] They seem to have been pretty evenly distributed throughout the province, and no doubt were of the greatest service to the ministers as well as to the natives.

With the coming of the Revolution, and with the fall of the establishment, the work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel came to an end. It is difficult for us to make any accurate estimate of the extent of the donations of the society. Humphreys, who brings his history of the society down to 1728, says that between 1701 and 1728 they had dispersed 300 bound volumes and about £100 worth of small tracts of devotion and instruction.[5] It is probably accurate to say that this did not represent more than one-half of the contributions made up to the Revolution.

The work of the society was not free from evil; it sought

[1] Burr, Sketch of St. James' Parish, Wilmington, pp. 18, 22.

[2] Colonial Records, IV, 875.

[3] Ibid., IV, 609, 752, 753, 1315; VI, 231, 235, 261, 315, 729, 730, 991, 1047; VII, 98, 192, 786; VIII, 229.

[4] Ibid., IV, 609; VI, 315, 565, 595; VII, 192.

[5] Church History in North Carolina, 166.

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to continue an establishment to which many of the people were extremely hostile, and thus fostered strife between Christians; some of its missionaries were bad men and showed themselves totally unfit for the sacred duties they assumed, and whose principal business seems to have been to complain of the country in general and to abuse the dissenters in particular. But in their efforts toward popular education its missionaries have earned the lasting gratitude of the State. The schools planted by them doubtless had a permanent effect on their pupils, showing the importance, the need, and the pleasures of education; and as the first colporteurs, as the men who gave the first generations of native North Carolinians an opportunity to cultivate a taste for books, and who furnished the children with text-books in the schools, these missionaries can not be too highly praised.

V.—THE MOSELEY PUBLIC LIBRARY.

The founding of great public libraries is a phase of modern philanthropy. Libraries had been founded at Harvard and Yale along with the institutions. There was one at William and Mary soon after the college began operations, and we have reference to one in Boston as early as 1686. We know of one, possibly of two, in Annapolis, Md., in 1696–97, and in 1700 Rev. John Sharp laid the foundation of a public library in New York. But public libraries in the colonies, other than parish libraries, were few. The circumstances of settlement made this natural. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries our fathers were engaged in fighting the battles of civilization against savagery. Their work was to break the untamed wilderness and reduce it to order. They had little time for the intellectual life, nor did they have a spur to intellectual activity in their neighbors. The colonies had grown up as separate and isolated democracies. Only by degrees did they come to feel that they had anything in common; communication between them at the beginning of the Revolution was still difficult and unfrequent, and the postal system was poorly organized. These things prevented a great publishing business. Franklin says that his resources in youth were limited even in Boston. There was not a good bookstore south of Boston when he established himself in Philadelphia, and it was not till 1732 that he, with a number of companions, laid the foundation of the library of

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the American Philosophical Society, "the mother of all the North American subscription libraries;" nor was the Loganian Library, of Philadelphia, founded until 1745. The Winyaw Indigo Society, of Georgetown, S. C., began its existence about 1740, and a library soon followed. The Charleston, S. C., Library Society was organized in 1748.[1]

Under these circumstances the generous action of Edward Moseley recorded below throws a stream of golden light on the background of darkness so universal in the North American colonies.

The first phase of this generosity was seen in 1720, when he sent £10 to the secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, with the direction that it be expended for 12 books of Common Prayer, 12 copies each of the Whole Duty of Man, Dr. Nicholl's paraphrase on the Common Prayer, and Dr. Horneck's Great Law of Consideration, together with Bishop Beveridge's Sermons on the Usefulness of Common Prayer, "and such like help." These were to be loaned to the northeast parish of Chowan, but, as he heard nothing from the secretary, in 1723 he wrote again, desiring that those books should be bought, "or such as should be judged most useful." It is painful for us to chronicle the fact that the society took no notice of his order and that the books never came to hand.[2]

Along with this second letter Moseley sent "a catalogue of such books as he had purchased, desiring the honorable society would be pleased to accept them toward a provincial library for the government of North Carolina, to be kept at Edenton." The catalogue gives 76 volumes. They were worth, perhaps, £100. The list has come down to us woefully corrupted by the carelessness and ignorance of copyists, and is printed in its corrupted form in the Colonial Records, II, 583–584. Right Rev. Jos. Blount Cheshire, jr., with the assistance of Rev. John Humphrey Barbour, formerly librarian of Trinity College, Hartford, has corrected and annotated the list. It is given below in its corrected form:

FOLIOS.

Pool, Matthew. Synopsis Criticorum.	5 volumes.
Augustinus, S. Opera. Col. Agrip. 1616.	10 volumes.

[1] Horace E. Scudder, on "Public libraries a hundred years ago," and A. Mazyck, on "Libraries in Charleston and the Southern States," in Public Libraries in the United States, Washington, 1876.

[2] Colonial Records, II, 584–585.

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Sanchez (or Sanctius), Caspar. In quartuor libros Regum. Lugd., 1623.
——— In Jeremiam. Lugd., 1618.
——— In Ezechielem. Lugd., 1619.
[Polanus, Amandus?] Syntagma theologiæ Christianæ. [Hanoviæ, 1615?]
Leigh, Edward. Body of Divinity, in 10 books. 1654 or 1662.
Deodatus, Giovanni. Annotations on the Holy Bible. Lond., 1648.
Eusebius, Socrates, Evagrius; Ecclesiastical Histories of. [Camb., 1683 or 1692?]
Simson, Patrick. History of the Church. [Third edition, London, 1634?]
Cartwright, Thomas. Harmonia Evangelica. [About 1630.]
Notationes in totam Scripturam Sacram.
[Fuller, Thos.?] Church History of Britain. [Lond., 1655.]

26 folio volumes.

QUARTOS.

Bilson, Bp. Thomas. True difference between Christian Subjection and unchristian rebellion. Oxon., 1585.
Ball, John. Answer to two treatises of Mr. John Carr, the first * * * Necessity of seperation [sic] from the Church of England. * * * the other, a stay against straying; * * * unlawfulness of hearing the ministers of the Church of England. Lond., 1642.
Birkbeck, Simon. Protestant's Evidence. Lond., 1634.
Rainolds, John. De Romanæ Ecclesiæ Idolatria. Oxon., 1596.
Pierce, Thomas. The Sinner impleaded in his own Court. Lond., 1679.
Heinsius, Daniel. Exercitationes sacræ ad Novum Testamentum. Lugd. Bat., 1639; Camb., 1640.
Cartwright, Thomas. Commentarii in Proverbia Solomonis. Amst., 1638.
Usher, Achbp. James. Britanicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates. Dubl., 1639.
——— Answer to a challenge made by a Jesuite. Dublin.
Buridan, John. Questiones super viii libros Politicarum Aristotelis. Oxon., 1640.
Prideaux, John. Fasciculus controversiarum Theologicarum. Oxon., 1652.
Ball, John. Friendly Trial of the grounds tending to Seperation [sic]. Camb., 1640.

12 quarto volumes.

OCTAVOS.

Francisco Le Rees. Cursus Philosophicus, 2 p.
Tertia Pars Sum. Philos & quarta.
Piccolominæus. Universa Philos. de Moribus.
Davidis Parei Exercitationes Philosophicæ.
Buxtorf's Lexicon.
Dialogue in answer to a Popish Catechism.
Augustinus (S.). De Civitate Dei, 2 vols.
Greek Grammar.
Hunnius; De Scripto Dei Verbo. &c.
——— Comment. in Evang. secundum S. Matt.
Eustachii a Sancto Paulo Summa Philosophiæ quadripartita.
Scheibleri Liber Comment. Topicorum.

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Schickard's Horologium Hebraicum.
Melancthonis Chronicon Carionis.
Calvin's Institutiones Christianæ Religionis.
Davidis Parei Corpus Doctrinæ Christianæ.
Aristotelis Organon.
Heckerman's Systema S. S. Theologica.
——— Systema Logica.
Leusden's Clavis Græca Novi Testamenti.
Baronii Metaphysica Generalis.
Dounam's Comment. in Jet. Rami Dialect [?].
Joh. Regii Commentarii ac Disputationes Logicæ.
Sallii Ethica.
Buxtorf's Epitome Gramatices Hebraæ.
Heyselbein's Theoria Logica.
Amesius de Divina Predestinatione.
Baronis. Annales Ecclesiasticæ.
Hugo Grotius. Defensio Fidei Catholicæ.
Augustini (S.) Confessiones.
Amesii Medulla Theologica.
——— Rescriptio Scolastica ad Grevinchovium de Redemptione Generali.
——— Technometria.
Wendelini Christiana Theologia.
Lactantii Divinæ Institutiones.
Petri Cunæi de Republica Hebræorum.
Hebrew Psalter. 38 octavo volumes.

In all, 76 volumes.

It will be seen that these books are largely theological and scholastic in character; nearly all were in Latin, Greek, or Hebrew, and truly required, as Dr. Hawks tells us, that those "who would find interest in their perusal must possess cultivated minds." If this library was purchased by Moseley directly for the use of the colony, it is but reasonable to suppose that adaptation to the capacity and taste of readers was not overlooked. Moseley, Gale, Little, and Swann were, doubtless, all highly cultivated and "fit associates for the most intelligent men to be found in any of the English colonies of their day;"[1] but we can not think that this library was suited to the wants and needs of Carolina.

When and where did Moseley secure this library? The bare entry in the records quoted above gives us little clue as to the time and place of purchase. Bishop Cheshire[2] thinks that this was the library established by Dr. Bray at Bath. The record, he says, seems to indicate that the purchase had been

[1] Hawks's North Carolina, II, 369.
[2] Fragments of North Carolina Church History, 1886.

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made recently, and in America, for had it been made abroad it would have been done, in all probability, through the society, and the £10 order would have been added to the larger one. There was no American book market in which this library could have been purchased, therefore Dr. Cheshire thinks that, inasmuch as the Bray library was of less service in Bath, the commissioners winked at its sale to Moseley in order to get it into the metropolis. In a former paper I accepted this view;[1] but this is probably correct only in part. Had anyone sold Moseley the Bath library while Urmstone was in the province, he would certainly have told us of it, and had he sold it his enemies would have been equally as kind.

Further, that these books were not thus disposed of becomes more evident when we remember that much of our knowledge of the Bath library comes from the law for its preservation, which is included in the new revised code published in 1751 and 1752. The law regulating the administration of the library was carefully included in this revisal, which was largely the work of Edward Moseley himself. Had there been no public library in Bath in 1751, it is probable that this section of the act would have been returned as "obsolete" and dropped from the statutes, and such was done in the revisal of 1765. It seems certain that something of the library existed in 1751, but that fourteen years later it had succumbed to carelessness and neglect, for a note in that revision says: "The books are mostly scattered and no library keeper appointed for many years." This is conclusive proof to my mind that Moseley did not get all of the Bath library, at least. Besides, any other one of the libraries brought in by the missionaries would have answered the conditions of his, which is distinctively theological, as well as the Bath library, with possibly the exception of price.

From the evidence I think we may conclude that (1) the books had been gotten together since 1720; (2) that they had been purchased in America; (3) that the collection was not intended primarily as a public library. Since the library is theological in character, and since there are some duplicates in it, I conclude that it was gotten from several sources: (1) From the books which Moseley brought with him to the colony; (2) perhaps the Adams library left in Currituck; (3) the £50 worth of books brought out by Urmstone and sold him by that

[1] The First Libraries in North Carolina, Trinity Archive, October, 1891.

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worthy; (4) perhaps a part of the Bath library coming through Urmstone. We have seen that Urmstone made repeated efforts to get this into his clutches. He was thwarted in his purpose from time to time, once by the governor; but it is possible that his persistent efforts were partly crowned with success. He left North Carolina suddenly in 1721, and no doubt sold such books as he had to the highest bidder. Moseley may have purchased these and with the others on hand now made arrangements for a public library in Edenton, the capital and the seat of literary culture of the province.

We have, unfortunately, no evidence that the generous gift of Moseley was ever accepted by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in behalf of the town, nor have we any act of assembly for the protection and government of a public library in Edenton. This absence of a law leads us to conclude either (1) that no provision was made for it in Edenton, and that it, like so many other things in the history of North Carolina, was unappreciated, neglected, and finally destroyed, or (2), and this seems more reasonable, that the library, from the carelessness of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, was never opened as a public library, and the books remained in the private collection of Moseley. The latter view is confirmed by the statement of the letter-book of the society, which says that Moseley had had no intelligence from the secretary of the society in 1725, two years after his offer was made, "although they have had the Rev. Mr. Newman, their missionary, come amongst them since his first letter, and their governor since his last."

But, whatever the fortune or fate of the library, the honor of Edward Moseley is not diminished. The size of the library, the cost of the books, the value of money at that time, all show that he was a broad-minded and liberal man.[1]

Edward Moseley was the foremost man in North Carolina for nearly half a century. He first appears in Albemarle in 1705 as a member of the council and of the vestry. He became prominent at once. As his name does not appear earlier, we may assume that he had just migrated to the province—perhaps from England or Barbados. Dr. Battle thinks he was connected with the noble family of Mosely of Lancashire.

[1] There is but one other instance in the history of the colony where a citizen thus dedicated his private library to public uses. This was James Innis.

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In 1709, along with John Lawson, he was appointed a commissioner to survey the boundary line between North Carolina and Virginia. They met for business in 1710. Little was accomplished. The charter of 1665 fixed the boundary line between the two colonies at 36° 30′, to be run due west from Currituck Inlet to Weyanoke Creek. The contention was concerning the stream intended by the latter. Moseley claimed that Nottoway River was intended. The Virginia commissioners said that this stream was in latitude 37°. But Moseley had the courage of his convictions and refused to proceed on any other basis than Nottoway River.

The Virginia gentlemen went home in high dudgeon, abusing roundly the stupidity and stubbornness of the North Carolina representatives, and accusing them of personal motives. The latter waited in patient silence for twenty years. In 1728 Moseley was again a commissioner, and although this survey was made between natural objects and not to find the true line, it was discovered that Nottoway River was in 36° 30′ 30″. When the line was again surveyed in 1887 it was removed 515 feet farther south.[1]

That Moseley had received a good education, perhaps even a university one, is evident. He was warmly and thoroughly attached to the cause of liberty and opposed oppression and tyranny whether in church or state. He was speaker of the assembly in 1708 when that body was called on to stand for religious freedom against the efforts to found an establishment. He was a warm churchman, but under his lead the assembly declared for Cary and religious liberty. He suffered persecution from the assembly of 1711 because of this interest in the popular cause, but he did not follow into the later extremes of the Cary party. Governor Eden was hostile to him for like reasons. Under this administration he was heavily fined and for the time disqualified for office and forbidden to plead. This only strengthened the democratic temper already exhibited in his struggle against the custom of arbitrary impressment which had grown up after the Indian war. In 1715 the assembly under his guidance passed a resolution

[1] Colonial Records, I, 735 et seq. For the Virginia side, see Westover MSS., 94, et seq., ed. 1841. We may also remark that in the survey of 1729 young Samuel Swann proved himself as a mathematician fully the equal of Alexander Irwin, the professor of mathematics in William and Mary College. (Hawks. II, 369.)

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against this custom, which, as Dr. Battle remarks, sounds like an echo of Magna Charta:

Resolved, That the impressing the inhabitants of this government or their effects under pretence of its being for the public service without authority of assembly is unwarrantable, a great infringement of the liberty of the subjects. (Colonial Records, II, 243.)

Says Colonel Saunders:

The man who, at that early day, in the wild woods of America, could formulate that resolution, and the people whose assembly could fling it in the face of the government, were worthy of each other.

Moseley first settled in Chowan County; about 1735 he removed to the Cape Fear section and died there July 11, 1749. During his long life he filled almost every office within the gift of his people. Besides being a justice of the peace for many years he was twice on the Virginia boundary commission; was also a commissioner to settle the boundary line between North and South Carolina and to bound Lord Granville's lands on the south. He was frequently a member of the assembly. The speakership was the highest gift in the hands of the people, and he filled it in 1708, 1715, 1722, 1723, and 1731, and this probably was not all, for our records are incomplete. He was a member of the council in 1705 which was the upper house of the legislative body; he became a member by royal appointment in 1734. He was acting governor for a short while during the absence of Burrington in 1724 and was judge of the court of admiralty the next year. He was public treasurer for many years; he was chief baron of the exchequer in 1743 and in 1744 was chief justice. His last public service was as chairman of the committee on revision of the laws. The revisal was the work of Moseley and Samuel Swann. Moseley reported the completed work to the assembly in April, 1749, but did not live to see it carried through the newly imported press.

Colonel Moseley had a large law practice and was a man of wealth and culture. He had 25,000 acres of land, nearly 100 negroes, "kept a family chaise and a span of horses. He owned valuable plate. The weight of his silver teakettle, lamp, and stand was estimated at 170 ounces. To match these he had a silver coffeepot, teapot, tankard, a pair of square and another of round servers, besides 'cases of knives, forks, spoons, salts, castors, and other plate.'"[1]

[1] For summaries and estimates of the work of Moseley, see Davis, A Study in Colonial History; Bishop Cheshire's Fragments of Colonial

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The private library of Moseley was one of the largest in the province. It was doubtless swelled by the presence of the books that he desired to present to the town of Edenton. From his will we estimate that he had about 400 volumes; most of them treated of law, many were folios and were bound in sheep. He left his law books to the son who should choose the law as his profession. The collection grew from the extension of his family relations. His first wife was Ann Walker, widow of Governor Henderson Walker (died 1704) and daughter of Alexander Lillington, who is said to have been deputy governor of North Carolina about 1693.[1] By this wife he had two sons, Col. Sampson Moseley and Edward Moseley. His second wife was Ann Hasell, sister of James Hasell, who was president of the provincial council in 1759–1762, 1765–1774, and hence ex officio acting governor during the absence of the royal appointee.

Hasell had no sons and his books passed to the Moseleys and Lillingtons in 1792.[2] Col. Sampson Moseley married his cousin, the daughter of John Lillington (son to Governor Alexander) and Sarah Porter (daughter of John Porter, of Cary rebellion fame). Her brother was Alexander Lillington, who became a colonel in the American Revolutionary army. This Alexander Lillington was reared by Edward Moseley and came into possession of such of his books as escaped the burning of Moseley Hall, which occurred some years after Moseley's death. In Alexander Lillington's hands the library included volumes from the libraries of Edward Moseley, Sampson Moseley, and James Hasell, and his own collections. It was kept until 1854 at Lillington Hall, a few miles from Wilmington. It suffered much from neglect and from the ruthless plundering of travelers and neighbors. In 1854 Daniel Shaw sent the remnant to the Lillington heirs in Wilmington, and these, some 400 in number, most of them coming down from the eighteenth century, are in possession of Mrs. Mary C. Anderson, of Wilming-

Church History in North Carolina; Dr. Battle in Church History in North Carolina, pp. 128–131; and Colonel Saunders in Prefatory Notes to Colonial Records, IV, xi–xiii, and my own paper on The Religious Development in the Province of North Carolina, p. 52. The fullest and most accurate sketch of Moseley's career is that by Mr. J. F. Shinn, prepared under my direction, but still in manuscript.

[1] Davis, 31, and others.

[2] Shinn; see also North Carolina University Magazine, 1857–58, VII, 264.

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ton. They include travels, geography, biography, history, and general literature. Few theological books remain.

Of Moseley's own library Hon. George Davis, of Wilmington, who examined it before it had gone to pieces, says:

> Many years ago I had the opportunity to examine the wreck of his library after more than 100 years of accident, neglect, and plunder had preyed upon it. Its mutilation was painfully apparent; but enough was left to excite my wonder and my admiration for the man, who, in the wilds of a new country, not shunning the activity incident to its life, but always and everywhere a leader among men, had yet the generous taste to gather around him a library which would do credit to any gentleman of our day; and every volume of which had to be brought from England with great expense and trouble.[1]

Such was the life and the work of Edward Moseley. Colonel Saunders, looking away from the intellectual to the political and civil side of his life, has emphasized that phase of Moseley's career. "The great debt of gratitude North Carolina will ever owe to him is due," he says, "to his undying love of free government, and his indomitable maintenance of the rights of the people. Doubtless no man ever more fully realized than he 'that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty,' nor was there ever upon any watchtower a more faithful sentinel than he. And to him, above all others, should North Carolina erect her first statue, for to him, above all others, is she indebted for stimulating that love of liberty regulated by law, and that hatred of arbitrary government that has ever characterized her people."[2] But civil liberty is of small value without religious liberty and intellectual activity. No man did so much in colonial North Carolina toward advancing education and culture. Had Moseley done no other service his enlightened and philanthropic interest in the intellectual upbuilding of the Commonwealth would entitle him to the high encomiums passed on his character by the Hon. George Davis:

> Of all the men who watched over and guided the tottering footsteps of our infant State there was not one who, in intellectual ability, in solid and polite learning, in scholarly cultivation and refinement, in courage and endurance, in high Christian morality, in generous consideration for the welfare of others, in all the true merit, in fine, which makes a man among men, could equal Edward Moseley.

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[1] A Study in Colonial History, 21, 32. The only volumes of Moseley's own library that have come down to us are R. Bradley's General Treatise of Husbandry and Gardening, Vol. II, London, 1726, with his autograph and book plate, a treatise on law, and one other.

[2] Prefatory Notes Colonial Records, IV, xii.

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VI.—THE JOHNSTON LIBRARY.

Most of the evidences of colonial culture in North Carolina have perished; but, fortunately for us, another colonial library has come down to us in a much more perfect state than the Moseley library of which I have just written. This is what is known as the Johnston library. While this library can not serve as an average, it proves that there were men in the colony not only the equals of any of the American colonists, but also of the better class of Englishmen of the day. This library, as it now is, comes from three sources—(1) from the library of Governor Eden (1673–1722), of which a single volume of Montaigne's Essays is all that remains; (2) Governor Gabriel Johnston married Penelope, the daughter of Governor Eden, and in this way came into possession of the books of Eden. The library passed, after his death in 1752, to his nephew, Governor Samuel Johnston (1733–1816). In his hands it was much augmented. After the death of Governor Johnston in 1816 it passed to his son, Mr. James Cathcart Johnston (1782–1865), and increased in size and value. It is now the property of Mr. John G. Wood, and is located at his country seat, "Hayes," about half a mile from Edenton.[1]

The eighteenth century part of the library is easily distinguished from the later additions, for it has grown mostly by additions of contemporary literature. It has always been a library for profit and use, not the collection of a mere biblio-

[1] A partial catalogue of the library was made before the war by Rev. Philip W. Alston. This catalogue enumerates 1,527 volumes, but the whole library contains some 4,500. The catalogue was sent some years ago to Edmund M. Barton, of the American Antiquarian Society, of Worcester, Mass. He says: "The catalogue is a wonderfully quaint thing in itself and the collection of books a very fine one, worthy of careful investigation and preservation, and would make an excellent foundation for the public libraries which must and are gradually coming up through the South." Mr. Wood finds it very difficult to protect the books from damage and decay by reason of the dampness of the room. He has tried to obviate the difficulty by airing the books, but this is only a partial relief. In some cases as much as the whole of the lower half of the volume has rotted away. It would be a very handsome thing if Mr. Wood would turn over to the University of the State the files of early newspapers, the correspondence and contemporaneous pamphlets relating to the civil and political history of the State. These are of no particular value save to a student of the history of the State. They are very rare; the newspaper files, I think, are unique, and should be at the seat of the head of the educational system of the State.

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maniac. We can distinguish the eighteenth century books also by the dates of publication, by the autographs of the owners and dates attached, and by the book plates, which are numerous. Under the care of Governor Samuel Johnston it became what was probably the most complete in the province.[1]

It will be noticed that these books are distinctly European. Most of them were brought direct from England. I have found almost no American eighteenth century books in North Carolina libraries outside of law books. Our connections were with Old, not New, England and the middle colonies; our culture was, and remained until the civil war, English, not American. Southern planters loved to reproduce the English gentry, and nature assisted them. They had ports of entry at their doors. As in Virginia, so in North Carolina to a less extent, the colonial planters had their factors or commission merchants in England, and the produce of their large plantations was shipped direct to England from North Carolina ports. There was during the colonial period quite a large export trade carried on direct. These exports went not only to England but also to the ports of southern Europe, to Africa, and to the West Indies. The records of the Edenton custom-house, which have been preserved in part, give us some idea of the size of this trade. The shipments from this port alone between January 5, 1774, and January 5, 1775, amounted to 1,209 hogsheads and 4,463 pounds of tobacco; 26,300 barrels of tar, pitch, and turpentine; 1,707,838 staves and headings; 3,473,264 shingles; 3,271,268 pounds, 1 tierce, and 4 hogsheads of raw deer skins; 5,660 pounds of bacon; 2,033 barrels of beef and pork; 130,704 bushels of corn, besides pine, oak, and cedar timber, bread and flour, pease, beans and wheat, fish, flaxseed, wax, lard, tallow, rice, potatoes, honey, snake-root, hoops, and 1 bag of cotton. The first export of cotton had been made in 1772 when 2 bags had been shipped. The number of vessels entered and cleared in 1772 was 95, carrying 458 men, with a burden of 3,203 tons.[2]

These exports represented the output of the section. It is safe to assume that a part went to England. The owners and exporters were in part Englishmen themselves. The feelings and sympathies of all—in the intellectual life certainly—were distinctively English, not American, and as such it was but

[1] McRee's Iredell, I, 151, note.
[2] Ibid., I, 565.

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natural for them to keep pretty well up with the English literature of the day. Their factors sent them regularly, as a part of the proceeds of their shipments, both the standard works of English literature and the "new books" of the day. I think it accurate to say that the political leaders of the colony of North Carolina at the time of the Revolution were better acquainted with the literature of their time than the leaders of political North Carolina are to-day with either contemporary English or American literature.

We have contemporary evidence that there was such an acquaintance as this with literature among the educated men of the province at that day in the Life and Correspondence of James Iredell,[1] which is, beyond doubt, the most valuable existing source for the social history of North Carolina during the second half of the eighteenth century.

Some passages in Iredell's diary give us a vivid idea of the literary tendency of the class of people among whom he moved and of whom he was a leader. In 1772 he writes that he was then reading "Millot's History, a pretty little compact one, comprising a detail of the great facts, interspersed with many just observations, and delivered in elegant, perspicuous language."[2] A month later he was reading Tristram Shandy. "For some time we were all reading Shandy, the production of an author whose sensibility of heart and brilliancy of understanding are uncommonly entertaining and instructive. His Sentimental Journey I am delighted with, and know perfectly. His Shandy I must take some opportunity of reading, for the specimen I had of it gave me the most agreeable idea of it," and a week later was reading Campbell's Lives of the Admirals.[3] Of Fordyce's Sermons he says, "I admire and love above all things."[4] In 1773 he speaks of reading the Annual Register, and of a visit to Mrs. Brownrigg's he remarks, "During some part of which I fear I was a little rude, for happening to take up Clarissa Harlowe, I could not quit it; I read a little of the third volume and a great deal of the seventh, which often

[1] Edited by Griffith John McRee, 2 vols., New York, 1857–58.

[2] Page 161. Claude François Xavier Millot published a history of France in 1767–1769 and a history of England in 1769, both in French.

[3] Page 144. This was the work of John Campbell (1708–1775) and was first published 1742–1744.

[4] Page 448. Rev. James Fordyce (1720–1796) published the Temple of Virtue, 1757; The Folly * * * of Unlawful Pleasures, 1760; Sermons to Young Women, 1765; and others at a later date.

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obliged me to shed tears." Two days later he buys the eight volumes of Clarissa at 50 shillings.[1] To some of his lady friends he read Fielding's Journey from this World to the Next, but was displeased because the author "casts a sneer at Mr. Addison and Sir Richard Steele, both confessedly his superiors, even in his own talent humor. * * * At the same time, I have a great regard for Mr. Fielding's character, and some of his writings; but I can not bear his presumption in censuring two gentlemen deserving so much praise and gratitude from all. * * * In the afternoon went early to my office, and could not resist the temptation of reading a little in Clarissa." In the thick of the Revolution he could turn from war's alarms to the pleasures of French history, and when convalescing read Gil Blas.

These extracts are simply side issues, notes, incidental references, which we find in the life of Iredell. In no case was it his purpose to make known through these the extensiveness of his reading or of his library, but they give us an insight into both. They show us a man who in the midst of war and many professional duties found time for pure literature, and that a gentleman in North Carolina should have been reading the latest English books within a year or two of their first publication shows that the intellectual connection of the two was close. Nor is this a digression from the history of the Johnston library, which is under consideration, for Iredell married Hannah, the sister of Governor Samuel Johnston, the two men lived in the same town, were intimate friends and workers, and were often associated in public duties.

But to return to the library itself. The foundation was laid, as we have seen, by Governor Eden. Of the extent of his accumulations we know little. The next owner was Governor Gabriel Johnston. There are still existing quite a number of books that were his. In history, biography, and travels he had Plutarch's Lives, in 8 volumes (London, 1727); Ockley's Saracens (London, 1718); History of the Revolution in Spain (London, 1724, volumes 3 and 4 only have been preserved); History of the Buccaneers (London, 1704); Peter Kolbein's Present State of Good Hope (2 volumes, London, 1731); Beekman's Voyage to Borneo (London, 1718); Remarks on Several Parts of Italy (London, 1718), and Rollin's Ancient

[1] Page 130. Clarissa Harlowe was first published in eight volumes in 1768 and again in 1770.

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History, in 10 volumes (London, 1740). In politics he had the Turkish Spy, in 8 volumes (London, 1723); Essays, Moral and Political (2 volumes, Edinburgh, 1742), and 3 volumes of Memorials of Affairs of State. There were books on business, on economics, physics, medicine, and morals. He had Geddes's Composition on the Manner of Writing of the Ancients (Glasgow, 1748), and the Opera of Cicero in 4 volumes (edition of Verburgius, Amstelædami, 1724). He had Prior's Poems (London, 1718), and Ben Jonson's works in 6 volumes (London, 1716). In all, there are now 63 volumes in the library which we know to have been his. There were perhaps more. The dates of publication lead us to think that most of these were brought with him when he came out as governor in 1734. He had studied medicine and had been professor of Oriental languages in the University of St. Andrews. He did not lose his literary tastes after assuming the government of the province, and this library in the amount of standard English literature contained will put to shame many Carolinians whose advantages are superior to his.

The library also contains various books that were once the property of other men who were then more or less prominent in North Carolina history. In a majority of cases those volumes still contain the bookplates of their first owners. It is not reasonable to suppose that men would have bookplates without books. These bookplates therefore afford us evidence of the existence of some libraries in the colony of which no other record now exists. Among these it will be well to mention the names of Francis Corbin, who was agent for Lord Granville; Thomas Child, who was also an agent for Lord Granville, and in whose honor Hillsboro was first called Childsburg; Joseph Hewes, the signer; John Thompson; John Swann, the son-in-law of Governor Samuel Johnston; Dr. William Cathcart (died 1773), father-in-law to Governor Samuel Johnston, and whom Waightstill Avery, a graduate of Princeton, characterized in 1760 as a gentleman "of extraordinary fine sense and great reading;" James Milner; James Iredell; Henry Montfort; Frederick Nicolay, jr.; A. C. Bayley, and William Allen, the grandfather of Allen Granbery Thurman.

The following list may be taken as a substantially correct summary of the books which were added to the library by Governor Samuel Johnston. As his death occurred at the age of 83, in 1816, it is but reasonable to suppose that most of them

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were purchased in the last century, or in the very early years of the present.

The library may be roughly divided into 11 divisions. I estimate that there had been gathered into this library from all sources, by the end of the eighteenth century, some 535 volumes.

In the following list I shall undertake to give an enumeration of the principal volumes. This will not include those that have been already mentioned as the property of Gabriel Johnston, but it will include sundry volumes from the libraries of other men.

1. Law. All of the early owners were lawyers, and there are in all some 34 volumes of law books. Besides books devoted to the theory and practice of law there are various collections of colonial laws. The list includes acts and revisals of New York for 1752 and 1768; New Jersey (Burlington, 1776); Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1762, 1775); Virginia (Williamsburg, 1733, 1759, 1769); North Carolina (1764, 1791).

2. Science and medicine, 20 volumes.

3. Domestic affairs and agriculture, 7 volumes.

4. Theology and sermons, 6 volumes.

5. Social matters and novels, 27 volumes. This includes Arabian Nights, 2 volumes (1706; also another edition in 4 volumes); Humphrey Clinker, in 3 volumes (London, 1771); Pamela (London, 1767); and Sterne's Sentimental Journey through France and Italy (London, 1770).

6. Essays, letters, general and miscellaneous literature, 129 volumes, including Bolingbroke's Works, in 5 volumes (Dublin, 1793); The Craftsman (London, 1731), to which Gabriel Johnston had been a contributor before coming to America; The Guardian (1745, and Edinburgh, 1772); The Idler, in 2 volumes (London, 1761); The Rambler (1772, also 1761, in 4 volumes); The Spectator, in 8 volumes (London, 1771, also Glasgow, 1791, in 8 volumes); The Tatler (Glasgow, 1749); The World (London, 1763); Hume's Essays and Treatises (London, 1758); Locke's Works; Montesquieu (Glasgow, 1760); Rousseau's Works, in 10 volumes (Edinburgh, 1774); the Marchioness de Sévigné's Letters to her daughter, in 9 volumes (Dublin, 1768); The Sorrows of Werther (London, 1785); Sterne's Works, 10 volumes (1793); Swift's Works, 12 volumes (London, 1765–1768); Voltaire's Works, 36 volumes (London, 1770); Walpole's Works, 5 volumes (London, 1798); Noah Webster's Collection of Fugitive Writings (Boston, 1790).

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7. Encyclopædias, grammars, and language, 30 volumes, including Chalmers's Cyclopædia, or Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, 2 volumes (London, 1751); Encyclopædia, or a Dictionary of Arts, Science, and Miscellaneous Literature, 18 volumes, first American edition (Philadelphia, 1798).

8. Biography and travels, 37 volumes, including the Memoirs of Anne of Austria (1725); Coxe's Life of Sir Robert Walpole in 3 volumes (London, 1798); Select Views of the Life, Reign, and Character of Frederick the Great (Dublin, 1792, volume 1 only); Mallet's Life of Francis Bacon (London, 1740), and Shaw's Francis Bacon, 3 volumes (London, 1733), both from the library of Francis Corbin; Life of Pope, 2 volumes (Dublin, 1769); Coxe's Travels in Switzerland, 2 volumes (Dublin, 1789), and his Travels in Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, 5 volumes (London, 1792); Moore's Journal of a Residence in France, 2 volumes (London, 1794); Shaw's Travels or Observations of Barbary and the Levant (Oxford, 1738).

9. History and politics, 153 volumes, including Burnett's History of his own times, 6 volumes (1725), from the library of James Iredell; Bodin, De Republica (1641); Memoirs of Philip de Comines (1596); Junius (Philadelphia, 1791); Hooke's Roman History, 8 volumes (Dublin, 1768); Historia Universalia (1663); Historical Register, 1714–1728, in 15 volumes; Hume's England, 8 volumes (London, 1770); Les Histoires de Polybe, avec les Fragmens (à Paris, 1655); Grotius on the Truth of the Christian Religion (1700), and De Jure Belli et Pacis (edition Gronovio, 1689); Lyttleton's History of Henry II, 3 volumes (London, 1767); Histoire de la Conquête du Mexique (à Paris, 1730); Robertson's Scotland, 2 volumes (London, 1760), and his Charles V, 2 volumes (London, 1762); Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations, 3 volumes (Philadelphia, 1796); Sir James Stewart's Political Œconomie, 2 volumes (London, 1767); Knolles's History of the Turks (16—); Salmon's Modern History, or the Present State of All Nations, with cuts and maps by Herman Moll, 3 volumes (London, 1744), from the library of Francis Corbin; Smollett's England (1758); Hobbes on Government (1651), probably the first edition. Of books relating to American political history there are few. The list includes Ramsey's Revolution in South Carolina (Trenton, 1785); Raynal's Revolution in America (Edinburgh, 1782); 18 volumes of the Journals of Congress; Neal's New England (1720); Smith's New York (1757); Beverly's Virginia (1722);

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The Federalist, in 2 volumes (1788); with various pamphlets and newspapers relating to North Carolina affairs.

10. Classics, 36 volumes, including Casaubon's translation of the Philosophical Productions of Marcus Aurelius (1692); Æsopi Fabulæ (1708); Aristotelis Ethica, Græce et Latine (1696); Cicero (1771); Cæsaris Commentarii (1716 and 1763); Woodhall's Euripides, 4 volumes, (London, 1782); Cornelii Nepotis Vitæ (1675); Rowe's edition of Lucian's Pharsalia, 2 volumes (London, 1722); Horatii Opera, Bentley's edition (1728); Lucretius de Rerum Natura (1675); Garth's Ovid, 2 volumes (London, 1751); Persii Satyræ (1620); Seneca's Morals (London, 1762); 3 editions of Virgil, Wharton's (London, 1753) in 4 volumes, Davidson's (1770), and Dryden's (London, 1709–1712, 3 volumes); and Simpson's Xenophon (Oxonii, 1749).

11. Poetry and the drama, 56 volumes. This is perhaps the most noteworthy section of all. Besides the Ben Jonson in 6 volumes already mentioned, we find Beaumont and Fletcher in 6 volumes (London, 1711); Behn's Plays; Bell's British Theatre (1791); Colley Cibber's Apology for his Life (London, 1740), from Dr. Cathcart's library; Cowley's Works (London, 1684); Congreve's Works (London, 1730); Drayton's Heroic Epistles (1711); Dryden's Works in 6 volumes (London, Tonson, 1735); Plays of Massinger and others (1640); Otway's Works (1712); Pope's Iliad, second edition (London, 1720), and the Odyssey (London, 1778, 2 volumes); Samuel Johnson's edition of Shakespeare, in 8 volumes (London, 1765); Shadwell's Works; 2 editions of Young (1755 in 3 volumes and 1757 in 4 volumes), and Edmund Spenser in 6 volumes (1715).

This enumeration needs no comment. There was certainly culture where such a collection as this could be made, read, and appreciated.

VII.—OTHER PRIVATE LIBRARIES IN THE EAST.

There were other private libraries in the eastern half of the colony, of which we have less definite information. They have either perished entirely or have come down to us only in miserable fragments, wrecks of their former selves, but still speaking witnesses of a refinement and culture which in the lapse of years has been well-nigh forgotten by descendants engaged in solving the problem presented them by changes in civilization and relations of race.

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In its intellectual life North Carolina may be divided into two pretty distinct halves. The eastern half contained the towns of Edenton, Newbern, and Wilmington, and extended as far west as Hillsboro. This section was the older and represented English life and culture. The other half lay to the west, had Salisbury, Charlotte, and Fayetteville as its centers, and here the Scotch and Scotch-Irish elements predominated.

Col. James Innes in 1759 bequeathed his plantation, Point Pleasant, near Wilmington, a considerable personal estate, including slaves, all his books, and £100 sterling for the use of a free school for the benefit of the youth of North Carolina. This was the first private bequest to education in the history of the province. Because of war and other neglects the school thus generously provided for was not chartered until 1783. It was opened about the beginning of the present century. I do not know the extent, the value, or the fortune of the library bequeathed to the school.[1]

John Hodgson, speaker of the house of commons in 1739 and of the two sessions of 1741, appointed in 1738[2] as one of a committee to prepare a revisal of the laws of the province, which was not done, had a library. He was a man of culture and of influence during the first part of the century. He was a lawyer, but eighteenth century editions of books in general literature—Young (London, 1765), Congreve (Glasgow, 1761), Sterne, Gil Blas, Rambler, Don Quixote, Spectator, Pope, Swift, Molière—have come down to us from his library.

Of the library of James Iredell we know much less than we could desire. He was a lawyer and we have evidence that he had a good law library—the result of steady accumulations in England and America. That he had books on general literature we know. His letters and the letters of his friends and colaborers, as given in his Life and Correspondence, indicate clearly enough that he and they were men of learning and culture. It was impossible to purchase books in the southern colonies. He had correspondents in England who sent him books, pamphlets, and papers relating to literature as well as politics and law. In 1773 he writes for Blackstone's Commentaries and for religious books. The next year he received

[1] See Waddell's A Colonial Officer and His Times, pp. 25–54, for an extended sketch of Innes; also Wheeler's Reminiscences, pp. 308, 309, and Martin's Private Acts.

[2] Colonial Records, IV, 407.

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Commons Debates in 9 volumes at £2 14s.; Ainsworth's Dictionary, £1; Livy, £1; Horace and Virgil, 8s.; and in 1783 he sends 3 guineas for the last four volumes of the Annual Register. "I have a great desire to see a good collection of the late Parliamentary debates, provided there be any honester account of them than is contained in that partial trash, the Political Magazine. You must know I am a great admirer of Mr. Burke, and I wish you could include in my little packet everything of his that has been published, which he has wrote or spoke, since his two celebrated speeches of April, 1774, and March, 1775, which I have in good manuscripts of my own. Let me have, if you please, a Court Calender, a Bibliotheca Legum, a Peerage, and a general catalogue of books with their prices."[1] He had correspondents in the State of North Carolina who loaned or presented him with books[2] and who received similar favors from him, while the members of the Continental and of the Federal Congress sent newspapers and public documents to their constituents in North Carolina or acted as agents for them in the purchase of books.[3]

William Hooper (1742–1790), the signer, who lived in Wilmington, had a library, but this, like Dr. Caldwell's, commanded no respect in the eyes of British and Tories. In February, 1782, he writes to Iredell:

> My library, except as to law books, is shamefully injured and above 100 valuable volumes taken away. What vexes me most of all is that they have broken several sets of books, where the volumes were so necessarily dependent on each other as to make what remains useless lumber. You know my partiality to my books—of course my chagrin at the abuse of them.[4]

Hooper was the son of a Boston clergyman and had been educated at Harvard. This extract expresses the feeling of a book lover and we may conclude that he possessed a library of considerable size and value.

Of the library of Archibald Maclaine we know almost nothing. His law books were stolen by the British during 1781.[5] As he was a man of much culture, there were, no doubt, many volumes of general interest in his possession.

[1] See his Life and Correspondence, I, 173–175, 187, 283; II, 12, 56, 57, 74.
[2] Ibid., I, 203. 204, 367; II, 39, 70, 129.
[3] Ibid., II, 35, 74, 326.
[4] Ibid., II, 5.
[5] Ibid., I, 562.

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Joseph R. Gautier, who was a lawyer in Bladen and a member of the house of commons from that county in 1791, had a valuable library which he left by will to the university.[1]

Willie Jones (died 1801), of Halifax County, was educated at Eton, England. He was president of the committee of safety for the whole State, a member of the Continental Congress in 1780, of the Hillsboro Convention in 1788, and a rabid Anti-Federalist. He had a large and valuable collection of books, of which a few have survived to our day.

There was a fine library at the Hermitage, the seat of John Burgwin (died 1803), near Wilmington, collected, no doubt, in England. Miss Sallie Burgwin, the granddaughter of the founder writes me under date of April 13, 1894, of this library:

> I can see it now as it was built in the wall of the old place. The busts of two Roman emperors—Marcus Aurelius and Caracalla—and Faustina, the mother of M. Aurelius, were placed in a niche just above the library. These busts seemed to guard the old books, placed there ages ago. * * * I think these books must have been placed there by my grandfather. His name was in many of them, with the crest and coat of arms of the family.

The Hermitage was for years the site of unbounded hospitality; English manners and English culture prevailed, and the life of the English country gentry was here reproduced The library, after suffering the wreck of time and the plundering of Federal soldiery, perished in a fire which destroyed the building in 1881.[2]

These are all the private libraries in the east of which I have been able to find distinct mention. We can rest assured that they were not all.

We know from the manuscript records of the Friends that it was customary for them to receive presents of books and pamphlets for distribution from time to time from other branches of the society. In 1755 and 1761 a quantity of printed epistles were received and distributed among the monthly meetings. In 1768 we find a complaint that Friends had been "careless and negligent" in disposing of the books sent from England. The quarterly meeting was to stir up the monthly meeting hereafter to put these books into places where "they will be likely to answer the good ends intended in sending them." In 1744 it had been proposed to send to England for copies of Barclay's Apology, but the times were inauspi-

[1] Battle's Centennial Address on the History of Raleigh, p. 17.

[2] J. G. Burr in Magazine of American History, November, 1886, 433–442, and private correspondence.

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cious. In 1743 Friends in Perquimans and Pasquotank, "for the benefit of teaching young children and others," wished to send to Boston to have Fox's Primmers [sic] reprinted. A committee of three was appointed to edit the books—"to collect out of those primmers such a part of them as shall be suitable for young persons that are just entering upon learning." A committee was also appointed to attend to the business side of the matter, and it was resolved that each monthly meeting "raize a sum of money according to each man's lyberallity for y^{t} purpose." In 1764 an order for 38 copies of a new edition of Fox's Journal was given, and a few years later a number subscribed to a new edition of Penn's Works.[1]

There were in the early period of colonial North Carolina three centers of intellectual and literary culture. These centers were Edenton, Newbern, and Wilmington. In Edenton in the years preceding the Revolution dwelt a galaxy of men who were to make the town famous for its culture and refinement. The men who lived in these towns were neither refugees from justice nor men of desperate fortunes. They were bold and intelligent, patriotic and cultivated. Some of their letters have come down to us in the Life and Correspondence of James Iredell, and these letters are not the work of uncultivated men. They show a strength of character, a tenacity of purpose, ability, and patriotism equal to any of their compatriots in the Revolution.

In Edenton and its vicinity lived Col. Edward Buncombe, a native of St. Kitts, who was educated in England and possessed a large fortune; Pearson, a lawyer and Englishman; Col. John Dawson, a lawyer from Virginia who married Governor Gabriel Johnston's daughter, and whose home, Eden House, was noted for its "splendid hospitality" and the "refined society" that gathered there; William Cathcart, a physician (died 1773), the father-in-law of Governor Samuel Johnston, from whose library some volumes have come down to us; Col. Thomas Pollock (1654–1722), who had been acting governor in 1712 and 1722; Col. John Harvey (died June 3, 1775), who was speaker of the house of commons 1766–1768, 1773, 1774, and at the time of his death leader of the Whigs; Joseph Hewes, the signer, a lawyer and a man of accomplishments; Jasper Charlton and William Cumming, lawyers and deists,

[1] See the chapter on "Social life" in my work on Southern Quakers and Slavery.

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men of ability and scholarship; Thomas Jones, a lawyer and Englishman, who drafted the constitution, and whose library was large and valuable enough to demand a catalogue;[1] Robert Smith (died 1782), another lawyer, and also a merchant, who showed his devotion to the intellectual life by leaving a large part of his fortune to found an academy and whose papers the British destroyed in 1781;[2] Charles Johnson and Sir Nathaniel Dukenfield, of Dukenfield, in the county of Chester, and Stephen Cabarrus, a native of France, now a merchant of Edenton, and destined to attain high honors under the State, were all living in or near Edenton.[3] To this list we must add Francis Corbin, from whose library numerous books, all having his bookplate and coat of arms, have come down to us; and Thomas Child, agent of Earl Granville, who was interested in books enough to have a bookplate. We must add, also, after the Revolution, Dr. Hugh Williamson, the first man to undertake a history of the State, and Abraham Hodge, the printer.

Of Newbern we know less than of the other towns. It was here that James Davis set up the first printing press in the colony in 1749, and this business was steadily followed for the next thirty years. Here lived Governor Abner Nash; ex-Chief Justice Martin Howard lived in Jones County; Governor Richard Caswell was in Lenoir; and the town, because of the general politeness and culture of its people, was long called the Athens of North Carolina.[4] Here lived John Penn, the signer; here was Francis Xavier Martin, the author and publisher, and who began before the close of the century to collect materials for a history of the State.

In the case of Wilmington our information is a little more definite. A. M. Hooper, who was a younger contemporary of the men of the last century, and knew, perhaps, more than anyone else of the literary resources of the men of this section, says that "every family possessed a collection of the best English authors,"[5] and this seems to have been reasonably true. In Wilmington lived John Ashe, who became a general in the patriot army; Samuel Ashe, who became a judge and governor; Cornelius Harnett, "who could boast a genius for music and

[1] McRee's Iredell, I, 131, 132.
[2] Ibid., I, 516; II, 8, 68, 303.
[3] Ibid., I, 31-35.
[4] Ibid., I, 392.
[5] Wheeler's History, II, 284.

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taste for letters;" Dr. John Eustace, a correspondent of Sterne, and "who united wit and genius, and learning and science;" Col. Thomas Lloyd, "gifted with talents and adorned with classical literature;" Gen. Robert Howe; Dr. John Fergus, a graduate of Edinburgh, and an excellent Latin and Greek scholar; William Pennington, "an elegant writer, admired for his wit and his highly polished urbanity;" Judge Maurice Moore, of "versatile talents and possessed of extensive information," an orator, a wit, and a political writer; Archibald Maclaine, who had made "rigorous forays into the fields of science and polite learning," and "whose criticisms on Shakespeare would, if they were published, give him fame and rank in the republic of letters;" William Hill, a graduate of Harvard; Alexander Lillington, whose library has come down to us in part; Gen. James Moore; Lewis Henry De Rossett; Adam Boyd, the editor and later preacher, who also wrote elegiac verse; Alfred Moore, a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States; and Timothy Bloodworth.[1]

These men were among the leaders of the intellectual thought of the eastern half of the State. But of their book collections we know little. They were the compeers and fellow-workers with Hooper, Johnston, Iredell, Hodgson, and others of whose libraries we know something. It seems but reasonable to conclude that these men were not less prepared for the intellectual life than the others, although all trace of the extent of this preparation is lost.[2]

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[1] McRee's Iredell, I, 194–195, 371, quoting Hooper, in Wheeler, II, 285 et seq.

[2] Mr. Thomas M. Owen, A. M., of Jefferson County, Ala., now in the Post-Office Department, Washington, D. C., is preparing an historical and genealogical account of Granville County, N. C., up to 1800, based entirely on the manuscript records of the county, and has kindly furnished me the following items in regard to the state of culture in that county, 1750–1772. This county was formed in 1746, and was therefore for the whole of this period a frontier county. This fact should be kept in mind. Besides the books enumerated below, there were other matters which will tend to show the state of education. One of these was the "Test." In 1754–55 the officials of Granville County, including the sheriff and his deputies, justices, clerks, colonels, captains, lieutenants, and ensigns, surveyor, coroner, and attorneys, were required to subscribe the following test: "I do Declare that I do believe that there is not any Transubstantiation in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, or in the Elements of Bread and Wine at or after the Consecration thereof by any person whatever." The original test, with the autographs, has been preserved. There are 38 sep-

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VIII.—PRIVATE LIBRARIES IN THE WESTERN SECTION AND THE SCOTCH-IRISH.

In the previous pages I have enumerated all the libraries of which I have been able to find traces in the east. These represent the intellectual activity of the English settlers. In the western section we come into contact with a different element of population—the Scotch and the Scotch-Irish. The immigration of these races began about 1736, when Henry McCulloch led 4,000 Scotch-Irish from Ulster to Duplin County, N. C. After the defeat at Culloden (1746) the Scotch began to pour into the province by thousands. They were generally industrious, sober, and intelligent. They were God-fearing men, and the systematic building of churches and the founding of

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arate signatures appended; of these, 37 signed their names in a bold, strong hand, and only one signed by mark.

An examination of the first four record books of Granville shows the following results as to the ability of the makers of wills to write: Record book, 1750–1761, 10 signed their names to wills and 10 signed by mark; record book, 1761–1762, 13 signed names and 10 by mark; record book, 1762–1765, 4 signed names and 4 by mark; record book, 1765–1772, 21 signed names and 7 by mark. For the twenty-two years, 48 signed their names and 31 signed by mark.

The following items are found in the wills and inventories concerning books, 1750–1772: James Hutchinson, 1750, "1 ink pott," "1 Bible, 1 Testament, 2 Sermon books, 3 other small books"; Robert Halliman, 1750, "2 books," "1 Ink glass"; Alexander Largoe, 1750, "1 Bible, 1 Ink Glass"; Robert Dunraven, 1750, "1 Bible"; Edward Jones (grandfather of Nathaniel Macon), 1750, "7 books"; John Duke, 1755, "3 books," "1 Bible, 1 prayer book"; Edmund Daniel, 1755, "5 books"; John Middleton, 1757, "1 Bible, 1 prayer book, 1 psalter, 1 blank book"; John Landress, 1757, "20 books chiefly Dutch print"; James Mangum, 1757, "a parcel of books," The Whole Duty of Man was sold for 1s. 8d. and Law and Grace Unfolded, for 5s.; Samuel Mangum, 1758, "a parcel of books"; Wm. Eaton, 1759, "a collection of books"; Wm. Clanton, 1759, "6 books"; Daniel Williams (father of James Williams, killed at King's Mountain), 1759, "18 books"; Ephraim Merritt, 1760, "some old books"; Minis [sic] Griggs, 1761, "4 old books"; George Jordan, sr., 1761, "1 book"; Thomas Harris, 1761, "1 Testament"; Sugan Jones, 1761, "1 black walnut desk," "1 Bible, 1 Testament, 1 prayer book, The Whole duty and 6 small do. [volumes]"; Thomas Williams, 1761, "5 books"; John Wilder, 1761, "1 Bible and prayer book"; Thos. Bell, 1761, "Edward Green Books"; Richard Davis, 1762, "a passelle of books"; Gideon Macon (father of Nathaniel Macon), 1762, "1 dictionary, 1 law book"; Richard Arrundell, 1762, "1 book"; Joseph Wright, 1762, "6 books"; William Moss, 1762, "8 books"; John Daniel, 1762, "4 books"; Jonathan Pierce, 1762, "2 Bibles 1 church do.

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schools was almost coeval with their settlements. The influence of the College of New Jersey soon became paramount. It remained so until after the beginning of the present century and dominated the conduct of the State University during its earlier years. Princeton had not been long established when it began to send out Presbyterian missionaries to teach and to preach in the wilds of Carolina. These pioneers were men of piety and learning. They settled in the State and became the ancestors of some of the most prominent families within her borders. The earliest of these missionaries was Rev. Hugh McAden, who came to the province in 1755. Alexander Martin, later governor and United States Senator; Rev. Alex-

& the other a comon [sic] Bible 2 Comon [sic] prayer books 1 old psalter 1 other small Book," he provided also that his son James should give his children Philip and Milley "two years schooling"; Ezekiel Fuller, 1763, "5 small books"; Benj. Rice, 1763, "3 old books"; John Johnson, 1763, "1 Blank pocket book 2 small Gilt children's Books, 1 Bible, 1 Spelling book 1 psalter 3 History books 1 Comon prayer Book 1 History book," "the deceased kept school sometime before he died," and is the first teacher of whom we have record in this county; Sherwood Harris, 1763, "1 Bible & some old books"; Benj. Partie, 1764, "6 books"; Augustine Bate, 1765, "1 desk and book case, sundry reading books"; Philip Taylor, 1766, "1 desk and book case"; Wm. Lawrence, 1766, "some old books"; Richard Hartgraves, 1766, "Bible, Testament and sermon book"; Isaiah Phipps, 1766, "1 Bible, 1 Testament, 1 prayer book and 3 other small books," Phipps was probably a doctor, as his inventory includes "tooth drawers" and lancet; Edward Robinson, 1766, "1 Testament and prayer book"; John Glover, jr., 1766, the administrators returned "that they have taken into their possessions the books of the said deceased which is all the Estate they have yet found"; John Allen, 1767, "1 Bible"; Thomas Bell, 1768, "1 Bible," "1 prayer book," "2 or 3 old books"; Robert Droghon, 1768, "7 books"; John Smith, 1768, "a large Bible and 5 other books"; John Gilliam, 1768, "11 bound books and a inkstand"; Charles Dotson, 1768, "a parcel of books"; Thomas Springfield, 1768, "2 books, 1 box of wafers, 1 inkholder, 1 pr. dividers and gunter's scale and 11 small books"; William Rose, 1769, "3 Bibels [sic], 1 Common prayer book, 1 Testament, 5 or 6 old small books, 1 sun dial"; Philemon Bradford, 1770, "4 books"; John Williams, sr. (father of Judge John Williams), 1770, "6 books"; Samuel Benton (grandfather of Thomas H. Benton), 1770, "3 desks and 2 book cases," "a small library of books," "some pamphlets"; Absalom Hicks, 1770, "3 books"; Mythias Myars, 1770, "1 parcel of books"; Frances Landers, 1770, divides between her 3 sons "all the English books"; William Wilson, 1771, "1 Bible, a prayer book & a slate"; Edward Veazey, 1771, "a parcel of books"; George Brasfield, 1771, "a number of books"; Solomon Howard, 1772, "books"; Richard Roberts, 1772, "a parsil of books"; Lewis Reithwell, 1772, "9 books," "3 almanacks".

The above extracts are made from a total of 153 inventories recorded,

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ander McWorter, Rev. David Caldwell, Waightstill Avery, and others, were all graduates of Princeton and immigrants to North Carolina during this period, and their influence on the history of culture has been most marked.[1]

Waightstill Avery (1745–1821), a graduate of Princeton in 1766, came to North Carolina in 1769 and began the practice of law in Charlotte. Besides a law library he had many volumes of the classics, some of which have come down to us. He read them all. His library is said to have been the most extensive and well selected in the western part of the State. In 1831, after the destruction of the State capitol by fire, the governor was enabled, through the liberality of his son, to draw from it one of the two measurably complete collections of the printed copies of the acts and journals of the general

1750–1772. To these extracts may be added a few others of the same character, but made from wills of a later date: William Williams (brother of Judge John Williams, of Williamsboro, N. C.), "1 larg Bible, Burkitt on the New Testament, 1 Clerks Bible, 1 Psalms & Hymns, 1 Watts Hymns family Instructor 1 Doddrids Sermons, the Gospel Mystery of Sanctification A Sacramental Catechism or family Instructor, An Alarm to the unconverted Sinners 1 of the Confession of faith, Johnson's Dictionary, 1 of the Desenting Gentlemen Ansn [sic] 1 of Hervey's Meditations"; Samuel Henderson (father of Col. Richard Henderson), 1783, "1 large Bible, other small books"; Col. Richard Henderson (the founder of Transylvania), 1791, "a parcel of Books, [to wit] 2 Vol. Leeds Sermons, 4 vol. Lyl. Hos. Hin. 2 C. 4 Do. Rambler, 2 Do. of Puffendorfs Introd. &c. 2 Do of Rapin's His. of England, 2 Do. of Churchil's Poems 2 Do Homes Elements, 1 Do of Derhams Astro theology, 1 Do Fable of the Bee, 1 Do Sentimental Journey, Sterne, 2 Do. Sir Will. Temples Works, 2 Do Classical Dictionary, 4 Do Spectator, 1 Do Herveys Meditations, 1 Do Bibliotheca Legum, 1 atlas a Bible, prayer Book & a parcel of old Books"; Bromfield Ridley (ancestor of Judge Bromfield Ridley, of Tennessee), 1796, "1 pine book case, 1 Cotton gin, Books, Raymond's reports, 2 Vol. Piere William do. 3 Vol. Burrows do. 3 do. Vinters do. 1 do. Silleys Conveyance[r], 1 do. Salkields reports, Cooke on Littleton, 1 do. principles of Equity, 1 do Case in the time of Ld Talbot, 1 do. Doughlass repts. 1 do. Cowpers do. do. Blackstons do. 2 do. Blackstones commentaries 5 do. Morgans Essays, 3 do. Law of Evidence 1 do. new do. do. 1 do Laws of North Carolina, 1 do Jacobs Law Dictionary 1 do Yellow Jacket Clerks instructions, 2 do. Butlers Nisi Prius, 1 do. Shoudans Dictionary 1 do. Johnston do. 2 do. Rollins History 10 do., Cooks voige [sic] 2 do. Buckhams Phyn 1 do. Bible 1 do. Prayer Books, 3 do. Youngs Works 3 do."; Samuel Smith, 1801, "Books, 70 volumes."

[1] For the fullest and most accurate treatment of schools in the province, and for the influence of the College of New Jersey, cf. History of Education in North Carolina (Washington, 1888), by Prof. Charles Lee Smith, Ph. D.

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assembly of North Carolina that are now known to be in existence. This library seems to have been procured after the Revolution, for when the British occupied Charlotte in 1780 his law office, his library, and many of his papers were destroyed.[1] He kept a diary in the orthodox New England fashion, which has come down to us, and even in war time was careful to increase his stock of books. In the memorandum of William Alexander, who did a carrying business between Philadelphia and North Carolina during the Revolution as a sort of commissary to the American army, we have an entry to "bring for Mr. Avery" Farmer's Letters; New Voyage Around the World by Captain Cook; Doctor Banks, and Soland (?), two volumes. That a man in the midst of war and in the backwoods of North Carolina should have had the inclination and courage to endeavor to keep up with the latest maritime discoveries certainly argues well for the culture and enthusiasm of this hardy and useful pioneer.

Rev. David Caldwell (1725–1824), a native of Pennsylvania, a graduate of Princeton in 1761, and a teacher and preacher in North Carolina the remainder of his life, had a library of considerable size and value, which included medical books as well as the classics, theology, etc. It was destroyed, along with all his manuscripts, by the British in 1781. This was done with phases of particular and deliberate barbarity, nor was it the work of marauders and camp followers. The order for destruction was given by the officers. The large oven in the yard was used. A fire was kindled and armful after armful of books were committed to the flames. The destruction was ruthlessly complete. Not even the family Bible escaped from these savages. It took years to reproduce this library in part. The loss of the manuscripts was irreparable. Caldwell was then in the camp of Greene, and a reward of £200 was offered for his capture.[2]

Rev. James Hall (1744–1826), another one of these pioneer Presbyterians, had an extensive and well-selected library, collected partly in the last and partly in the present century. About 1810 he made a donation of 60 volumes of Latin, theology, metaphysics, and logic books from his private library to the University of North Carolina. This donation was not large, but was valuable. He gave books to the theological library of

[1] North Carolina University Magazine, 1855, IV, 245.

[2] Foote, Sketches, 274; Caruthers's Caldwell, 7, 41, 43.

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the College of New Jersey in 1815 and founded a circulating library.[1]

Rev. John Barr (1749–1831), of Rowan, did not possess "a large library, but the books contained in it were selected with care." He was also a diligent student of the volumes of the Thyatira Circulating Library, which he founded.[2]

Rev. Lewis Feuilleteau Wilson (1753–1804), another Presbyterian, provided himself with a small library before he came to America in 1774, and doubtless brought it with him to North Carolina in 1786, where he continued to labor until his death.[3]

Gen. Joseph Graham (1759–1836) had a library. Foote remarks in his Sketches that in selecting it "he proved how high an estimate he placed upon Christian instruction."[4]

Of the library of Rev. Henry Pattillo we know very little. He is said to have been a great lover of books and indulged his taste as much as his circumstances would allow. As he was also an author, his library was, probably, comparatively large. During an absence from home his house was burned. When he met his wife on his return his first exclamation was, "My dear, are my books safe?" and on receiving an affirmative answer he thanked God and seemed perfectly satisfied.[5]

Concerning the library of Rev. Dr. Samuel Eusebius McCorkle (1746–1811), Rev. Dr. E. W. Caruthers writes:[6]

> A minister's library is in general a good index to the cast of his mind and to his habits of study. If on entering the study of a minister with a small salary and a large family to support, in this back country, too, and in that period of its history when books were very expensive, and the difficulty of getting books from foreign countries was almost insurmountable, you should find the shelves stocked with such authors in theology as Calvin, Turretin, Stackhouse, Stillingfleet, and Owen; in church history, as Hooker, Shuckford, Prideaux, and Mosheim (in Latin); on law and civil government, as Puffendorf, Burlemaqui, Montesquieu, and Blackstone, besides the Universal History, Encyclopædia Britannica, etc., it might be fairly inferred that he was a man who looked below the surface of things. Such was his library, and it was a good index to his mind and habits. He would not give a trifling book—a mere novel or romance—a place on his shelves; but a work of real value that he wanted he would spare no pains to procure. He rarely bought a work on experimental religion, if it were the production of a second or third rate man; but he delighted much in the practical works of such men as Owen, Edwards, and Doddridge.

[1] Foote's Sketches, 331, 335; see also Bethany Centennial Addresses.
[2] Early Religious Life of John Barr, Philadelphia, 1852, p. 67.
[3] Foote's Sketches, 340.
[4] Ibid., 261.
[5] Sprague's Annals of the American Pulpit, III, 196–199.
[6] Ibid., III, 346.

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I have been able to find no other references to libraries in the west. There were doubtless such. The trouble is the same here as that which has always confronted the historian of North Carolina—a lack of materials. The social side of our history has been neglected more than any other. It does not appear that any attempt has ever been made before to give a full account of any libraries. The result of this indifference and neglect is shown in the provoking incompleteness of the present paper.

But the men whose names have been given above are only typical representatives of others, of whom, unfortunately, our information is still more scanty. From the time of the Revolution the towns in the central and western part of the State—Hillsboro, Fayetteville, Morganton, and Charlotte—became more prominent. In this section education was more widely diffused than in the east, and it is probable that there were more books and more reading, but much of this knowledge has passed from the memory of man. We know something of the collections of Avery, Hall, Wilson, and Barr. We know nothing of those of Hugh McAden, Alexander Craighead, Joseph Caldwell, Humphrey Hunter, James M'Gready, Thomas H. McCaule, and other Presbyterian ministers who were equally interested in learning. Nor do we know anything of the collections of William Bingham, the teacher; of the Brevards, the Alexanders, and Polks, who were patriots in the Revolution, educated and prominent men.

We have the information that in the Alamance section, at least, "many of the first families had respectable libraries of standard works, chiefly religious," and consisting of such books as the Confession of Faith, Longer and Shorter catechisms, Pilgrim's Progress, the works of Boston, of Doddridge, of Baxter, and Watts; Fox's Book of Martyrs; The Afflicted Man's Companion, and the Balm of Gilead.[1] And since this is true of the Alamance section, there is no other reason why it was not equally true of the Rowan, the Iredell, and the Mecklenburg sections.

The Presbyterians of the middle section also took steps in 1791 to have Doddridge's Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul and his 10 Sermons on Regeneration reprinted in Fayetteville. Proposals for subscriptions were circulated in all

[1] Wiley's Address on the History of Alamance Church, 1879, p. 11.

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the congregations, and if the number amounted to 1,500 the work was to be undertaken. The next year it was reported that 800 subscriptions had been obtained, and Dr. S. E. McCorkle and Rev. James McRee were appointed agents to transact the business with the printer. This benevolent scheme for mutual improvement was a failure, however, after a large amount of money had been expended.[1]

We know also that in 1788 devotional and school books were sent by special request from Germany to the Lutheran congregation on Dutch Buffalo Creek, in Mecklenburg County. They wanted especially the works of Reverend abbots Velthusen and Henke, and of Professors Crell, Klügel, and Bruns. The North Carolina Catechism was published at their request in Leipsic in 1788.[2]

These private collections and the Presbyterian libraries were to the west what the parish libraries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel had been to the east.

IX.—LIBRARIES AND THE REVOLUTION.

Bad as the situation was in the colonial period, the Revolution brought with it a sad and heavy change for the worse. The British invasion of the South, 1780–81, was a movement of despair. They had failed in their effort to subjugate New England; they had failed in the conquest of the middle colonies. Their only hope now lay in the South. Their plan was, by conquest and destruction, to make their rule in the South complete. Many of the fairest and wealthiest portions of the province fell into the hands of the British and Tories. The Tories, representing in themselves many of the worst elements of the population, spared neither men nor property, literature nor learning, and the dreariness of the literary prospect in the closing years of the eighteenth century, as given by Hon. Archibald D. Murphey, was due largely, no doubt, to the influence of the British invasion. Judge Murphey says that when he was a student there Dr. Caldwell had no library attached to his school. "His students were supplied with a few of the Greek and Latin classics, Euclid's Elements of Mathematics, and Martin's Natural Philosophy. * * * The students had no books on

[1] Foote's Sketches, pp. 284, 287.

[2] Bernheim's Lutheran Church in the Carolinas, pp. 282–287. The first edition of the work was known as the Helmstaedt Catechism.

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history or miscellaneous literature. There were, indeed, very few in the State, except in the libraries of lawyers who lived in the commercial towns. I well remember that, after completing my course under Dr. Caldwell, I spent nearly two years without finding any books to read, except some old works on theological subjects. * * * Few of Dr. Caldwell's students had better opportunities of getting books than myself, and with these slender opportunities of instruction it is not surprising that so few became eminent in the liberal professions. At this day, when libraries are established in all our towns, when every professional man and every respectable gentleman has a collection of books, it is difficult to conceive the inconveniencies under which young men labored thirty or forty years ago."[1]

We have noticed already the law of 1715, establishing and providing for government care of the Bray library in Bath. There was no other law under the proprietors that has even a glimmering reference to literature. Nor was any law of this character passed under the royal administration. The work of the royal government was not to foster intellectual development any more than it was to foster development along lines of political and religious freedom. The only encouragement given to literature that I have been able to find in the records was the importation in 1771 of "twelve printed coppies of the process used in Sweeden for the making of Tarr," under the direction of Lord Hillsboro,[2] and an allowance of about £2 a year for the years 1769–1771 to the parish school in Newbern, for books and paper.[3]

Rev. Charles E. Taylor, writing at this time, emphasizes the need of books.[4] As the dark days drew on apace, the provincial council of safety, with rare prudence, took measures to provide the people with such literature as would be of most practical service to them in time of war. They offered, and doubtless paid, a bounty of £250 for the first paper mill estab-

[1] Oration before the Literary Societies of the University of North Carolina, 1827, p. 18. We fear that Judge Murphey was drawing on his imagination for some of these libraries "established in all our towns." In 1893 there were reported to the Commissioner of Education 43 public libraries, of which only those at the University and the Bingham School, the State library, and the supreme court library were founded prior to 1827.

[2] Colonial Records, IX, 13, 20.

[3] Ibid., IX, 272.

[4] Ibid., IX, 23, 327.

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lished in the province.[1] They ordered their delegates in Philadelphia to have Brownrigg's Essay on Salt Making reprinted at the public expense and distributed throughout the State.[2] They ordered essays on tactics, discipline, and surgery; nor did they forget spiritual wants in time of trouble, for Witherspoon's Sermons were sent, and a pamphlet on the Principles of the English Constitution was provided for those whose patriotism might lag.[3]

X.—PUBLIC LIBRARIES AFTER THE REVOLUTION.

Besides the efforts made by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to establish parochial libraries prior to the Revolution, there seems to have been at least one other effort in the same direction. This was known as—

THE CAPE FEAR LIBRARY.

We know almost nothing of its history. It was in existence in Wilmington between 1760 and 1770, was a public library, and was supported by a society of gentlemen. It probably disappeared in the Revolution.[4]

After the close of the Revolution, the spirit of study seems to have revived, and we have record of at least five attempts to found circulating or public libraries in the State.

THE CIRCULATING LIBRARY IN MECKLENBURG.

This seems to have been the first. At the close of the Revolution a debating society was formed in this county, and

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[1] Colonial Records, X, 217. For the history of this mill see my paper on "The press of North Carolina in the eighteenth century," pp. 50–52.

[2] Colonial Records, IX, 811.

[3] August, 1776, the delegates sent the council of safety from Philadelphia "144 setts of Simes's Military Guide, two volumes each; 24 New System of Military Discipline; 24 Witherspoon's Sermons; 32 Van Sweeten's and Jones's Cures for Armies; 48 Principles of the English Constitution (pamphlet); 24 rheams of writing paper" (Colonial Records, X, 756). Fourteen volumes of the Field Engineer (p. 812), 12 copies of Proceedings of Continental Congress, and 200 of Articles of War were also (ent (p. 850), as were newspapers (p. 904) and, earlier, "Common Sense" spp. 447, 456). Of this Hewes writes: "We have not put up any to go by the waggon, not knowing how you might relish independency." This was on February 11, 1776; was he also ignorant of May 20, 1775?

[4] See "Sketch of William Hooper," by A. M. Hooper, in Wheeler's History of North Carolina, II, 284, written in 1822.

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embraced parts of the congregation of Sugar Creek, Steel Creek, and Providence. Debating societies for political purposes were common in those days. This one had wealth and talent, and took a hand in religious discussion as well. It was furnished with a circulating library "replete with infidel philosophy and infidel sentiments on religion and morality." This hostility to religion was met with arguments, and caused the publication of a religious tract by Rev. James Wallis (q. v.). The dispute was continued with spirit for a time, but about the end of the century the library was carried across the mountains to Tennessee.[1]

THE IREDELL COUNTY LIBRARY.

About the same time Rev. James Hall founded a circulating library in his congregation in Iredell County. He encouraged debating societies and undertook to instruct a class of young people in grammar. They met on Saturdays, and in order to remedy the general want of books he wrote out a system of grammar and circulated the manuscript copies.[2]

THE THYATIRA LIBRARY.

There was a circulating library in Rowan County, within the bounds of the Thyatira congregation, from which it was known. Its foundation was due principally to Rev. John Barr (1749–1831), and seems to have been made about middle life. "The selections were of the most substantial character." Among them were Rollin's Ancient History, Gibbon's Decline and Fall, Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, Robertson's Charles V, Hume's England, Josephus, Butler's Analogy, Prideaux's Connection, etc.[3]

LIBRARY OF THE CENTER BENEVOLENT SOCIETY.

The legislature of 1789 chartered the Center Benevolent Society of Mecklenburg and Rowan counties. Its threefold object was (1) to encourage literature, (2) to alleviate the distress of the unfortunate, and (3) to supply the wants of the poor and indigent.[4]

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[1] Foote's Sketches, 248, 249.

[2] Ibid., 330.

[3] Early Religious Life of John Barr, Philadelphia, 1852, p. 67.

[4] Martin's Private Acts, 1794, p. 225.

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It certainly had a library, for we know that it was one of the earliest donors to the library of the University of North Carolina. It is doubtless the same as the public library which we know was organized in Salisbury in 1789 or 1790. We have two letters from Gen. John Steele to Judge Spruce McCoy concerning books for this library. The first letter was written from New York on the 29th of May, 1790:

The memorandum, relative to your books, I have delivered to Mr. Rivington, and requested him to inform me the prices that they would cost, respectively. He has not done it yet; therefore I can not give you the necessary information. However, as soon as I obtain it, I shall consult Governor Johnson [sic], and if he likes the binding, etc., and thinks the prices reasonable, I will make the purchase, or inform you and leave it open to your order.

General Steele writes another letter to Judge McCoy, from New York, under date of December 29, 1791:

* * * I rejoice that the Salisbury library company have not lost sight of what I am convinced will be productive of very valuable consequences. The books can be procured here, and shall be at any event, before the adjournment of Congress, but I beg leave to suggest the following difficulties. If bought without the cash at a short credit which may be procured without difficulty, no discount will be made, in their several prices. The money I have not myself. If I pass my note at the bank, and thereby procure the money, the company will lose the discount, this wou'd not however be equal to the loss sustained by purchasing the books on credit. Perhaps the better way wou'd be, to pay the money to Mr. Albert Torrence in Salisbury, and let him draw a bill for the amo^{t}. upon me, founded upon an agreement made with him before I left home. This will be perfectly agreeable to me, and will relieve the company from the difficulty and risque of remitting the payments. There is a kind of reading which is both entertaining and instructive, that the company seems to have overlooked in making up the list. I mean some late travels, thro'. Europe, &ca. &ca. Wou'd it be proper to purchase to a small amount? I will not think of it without the entire approbation of all concerned.

The enclosed papers please to read, and not suffer them to be separated until they are put up at Bream's Coffee house. The business of writing letters has become so burdensome that it almost disqualifies me from proper attention to other business. This method of sending news papers to a public tavern is surely sufficient, nay, far preferable.[1]

The last paragraph indicates that the good general was being pestered by home correspondents hungry for news. If this library is the same as that of the Center Benevolent Society, we know that some of its books found their way to the University of North Carolina, probably on the dissolution of the former organization.

[1] Original in my possession.

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THE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA.

The last public library to be organized in North Carolina in the eighteenth century was that of the infant University of North Carolina. This institution had been chartered in 1789. The corner stone of the first building was laid on October 12, 1793, and it was opened for students in February, 1795. Of the library facilities of the first students we know little. They were doubtless very limited. The earliest donors of books to the library were Judge John Williams,[1] James Reid, of Wilmington; Governor William R. Davie, who gave 14 volumes in 1795 and subsequently added 25 more; David Ker, professor in the institution and acting president; Richard Bennehan, who gave 28 volumes; Abram Hodge, the printer; the Center Benevolent Society; Joseph B. Hill, who gave an encyclopædia in 18 volumes; Francis N. W. Burton, William H. Hill, Edward Jones, Joseph R. Gautier, who gave about 100 volumes, mostly French books of devotion and Protestant theology, and Calvin Jones.[2]

The literary societies were organized in 1795 and began their collections. These were at first poor and small. Dr. Hooper tells us in his address in 1859 that when he came to the university in 1804 the Dialectic Library was contained in one of the cupboards of one of the corner rooms in the East Building, and consisted of a few half-worn volumes presented by com-

[1] The inventory of Judge Williams mentions 74 books as belonging to his law library.

[2] Sketches of University of North Carolina, 36. See also Prof. Fisk P. Brewer's account of this library. He says the first volume that belonged to it was a copy of the works of Dr. Thomas Wilson. This was one of a number of copies that had been presented to Congress by his son and then distributed through its members to institutions of learning. The fly leaf contains the resolutions of Congress, March 22, 1785, and the following record: "In pursuance of the above resolution the undersigned, delegates from the State of North Carolina, have agreed to transmit the works of Dr. Thomas Wilson to Newberne, to be deposited there in the library belonging to the public academy till the time arrives, which they hope is not far distant, when the wisdom of the legislature, according to the express intention of the constitution, shall have caused a college or university to be erected in the State. Hu. Williamson, Jno. Sitgreaves."

Boone, in his History of Education in the United States (p. 295) quotes Stockwell's History of Public Education in Rhode Island to the effect that in the eighteenth century the Redwood Library, of Providence, was visited by scholars "from the Carolinas and the West Indies, from New York, and even from Boston."

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passionate individuals. "And I think it was in the habit of migrating from room to room, as the librarian was changed, for you may be sure the responsibility of taking care of such a number of books could not be borne long by one pair of shoulders. And, besides, there was some ambition to choose as librarian a man who could wait on the ladies. * * * The cupboards were not only small, but full of rat holes, and a large rat might have taken his seat upon Rollins' History, the corner stone of the library, and exclaimed with Robinson Crusoe:

"I am monarch of all I survey,
My title there's none to dispute."[1]

Such were the humble beginnings of the libraries of the universitiy. These alone of the eighteenth century public libraries have survived the century. Within the last few years the libraries of the societies and of the university have been consolidated, and the united library is now not only the oldest, but also the largest and most valuable one in the State. According to the latest report, it contained in 1895 some 26,000 bound volumes and 10,000 pamphlets.

I know of no other public or private libraries in the State prior to 1800. In 1802 F. X. Martin and Robert Ogden, printers, of Newbern, were given authority by the legislature to dispose of books for two years by lottery[2] and in 1803 the Newbern Library Society was organized.[3] These institutions indicate that the use of books was becoming more general in that section.

PART II.—LITERATURE.

I.—JOHN LAWSON AND HIS HISTORY OF CAROLINA.

As we might naturally expect, the first books written in North Carolina were not the work of natives. But I have shown that there were educated and cultured men among the earliest pioneers. The beginnings of literature in North Carolina have their roots deep in the proprietary period. This period can boast of a single volume as its contribution to American colonial history. The first book produced in North Carolina is Lawson's History of Carolina.

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[1] North Carolina University Magazine 1859–60, IX, 582, 583.
[2] Laws of 1802, ch. 52.
[3] Private Laws of 1803, ch. 111.

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John Lawson was an Englishman; he signs himself "Gentleman," and probably belonged to the Lawsons of Brough Hall, Yorkshire. I conjecture that he was a son of that Lawson who was such a faithful adherent of the King in the civil war that he suffered the sequestration of his estates under the Commonwealth. For this steadfastness he was knighted in 1665. The historian was still a young man in 1700, when people were flocking from all parts of the Christian world to attend the grand jubilee in Rome. "My intention at that time being to travel, I accidentally met with a gentleman who had been abroad, and was very well acquainted with the ways of living in both Indies; of whom having made inquiry concerning them, he assured me that Carolina was the best country I could go to, and that there then lay a ship in the Thames in which I might have my passage. I laid hold on this opportunity, and was not long on board before we fell down the river and sailed to Cowes, where, having taken in some passengers, we proceeded on our voyage, till we sprung a leak, and were forced into the Islands of Scilly. Here we spent about ten days in refitting, in which time we had a great deal of diversion in fishing and shooting on these rocky islands. * * * On the first day of May, having a fair wind at east, we put to sea, and were on the ocean (without speaking to any vessel, except a ketch, bound from New England to Barbadoes, laden with horses, fish, and provisions), till the latter end of July, when the winds hung so much southerly that we could not get to our port, but put into Sandy Hook Bay, and went up to New York after a pinching voyage, caused by our long passage. * * * After a fortnight's stay here we put out from Sandy Hook, and in fourteen days after arrived at Charlestown, the metropolis of South Carolina."[1]

Thus begins John Lawson's connection with the Carolinas. He remained in Charleston until December. During this visit he made good use of his eyes and has left us a pleasant description of the Southern province.

Lawson began his journey from Charleston to North Carolina December 28, 1700, the party consisting of six Englishmen, three Indian men and one Indian woman. After ascending the Santee they discharged their Indians, employed another as guide and pack carrier, and determined to finish their journey

[1] Introduction to History of Carolina.

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by land. They struck inland, wandered in zigzag fashion toward the north, paddling up rivers or wading across them, pushing through highlands and morasses, among savages and serpents, wild beasts, and white pioneers. They got well into the Piedmont section of North Carolina. In fact, a considerable part of his journey was made along the great Indian trail and traders' route, known to the Virginia traders as the Occaneechi or Catawba path, which extended from Bermuda Hundred on James River, Virginia, to Augusta, Ga. Mr. James Mooney, of the Bureau of Ethnology, has traced his route with great care.[1] His trip has been the subject of much misapprehension and Lawson's guesses are often misleading, as much of the country through which he passed was still unexplored, and he constantly confounded the numerous large streams met with in the interior with the two or three he was acquainted with on the coast. It is therefore well to reproduce Mr. Mooney's tracing:

Starting from Charleston, S. C., he went by water to the mouth of the Santee, which he ascended 20 or 30 miles to the French settlements. Then, taking the trail from Charleston, which came in near the present railroad crossing, he followed the eastern side of Santee, Wateree, and Catawba rivers, passing in succession through the territories of the Sewee, Santee, Congaree, Wateree, and Waxhaw tribes, until he came to the Catawba (Esaw and Kadapaw), on the boundary between South Carolina and North Carolina. Here he took the great trading path from Virginia to Georgia and followed it into North Carolina as far as Occaneechi village, about the present Hillsboro, N. C. On this part of the journey he encountered the Sugeree, Saponi, Keyauwee, and Occaneechi, and crossed several rivers and smaller streams. His "Sapona" River, supposed by him to be a branch of the Cape Fear, is the Yadkin, which he crossed at the traders' ford near the site of Salisbury. Here was the Saponi village, the name being still commemorated in a small station on the northern side of the river. His "Rocky" River, miles farther on, is probably Abbott['s] Creek, and his "Haw or Reatkin" is the Haw, which he forded about at the present railroad crossing at Graham. In fact, the Richmond and Danville Railroad [North Carolina Railroad, branch of Southern], from Hillsboro, N. C., through Greensboro, Salisbury, and Charlotte, into South Carolina, is laid out almost exactly on the line of the old Occaneechi trail along which Lawson traveled. It is evident that he was not aware of the existence of the Yadkin or Pedee as a distinct stream, as in crossing it he supposes it to be a branch of Cape Fear River, and later on confounds it under the name of "Reatkin" with the Haw or main upper portion of the same stream. At the Occaneechi village, near Hillsboro, commemorated in the "Occaneechi hills" at that town, he left the trading path and struck off in a southeasterly direction [turned from his course by the

[1] Siouan Tribes of the East, pp. 38, 41.

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report of an invasion of the Iroquois from the North] toward the English settlements on the coast. His general course was down along the western bank of Eno and Neuse rivers until he crossed over to the northern bank about the falls near the railroad crossing at Wake Forest, where he entered the territory of the Tuscarora. He then continued down between the main Neuse and the Cotentnea, probably passing near the site of Goldsboro, until he turned northward and crossed the latter stream about the present railroad crossing at Grifton, afterwards continuing across the Tar or Pamlico at Greenville or lower down, and finally coming out at the English settlements, after a trip of about seven weeks, on the "Pamptico-cough River, in North Carolina, where, being well received by the inhabitants and pleased with the goodness of the country, we all resolved to continue."

This trip of "a thousand miles" was a revelation to the young Englishman, who had probably just left a cultured home. That John Lawson, fresh with his culture from the Old World, was a boon to North Carolina there can be no doubt. He was doubly useful to the colony from his knowledge of surveying, and seems to have been made before very long deputy surveyor, and on April 28, 1708, became surveyor-general of the province.[1] This office demanded skill, energy, integrity, and some measure of learning; it conferred a high social rank and brought him in constant contact with the leading men in the province; his promotion to the position implies a general confidence in him, and we may believe that he was a man of worth and a gentleman. Of his personal history, apart from his official capacity, we know but little.

He was one of the citizens who secured the incorporation of Bath in 1705.[2] He does not seem to have been implicated in the troubles giving rise to the "Cary rebellion;" he was too busy for such work. He was a sturdy advocate of peace and order, and probably gave his allegiance to the government de facto; but that he had a decided sympathy for the Democratic party we can easily gather from Pollock's letters.[3]

During a part of these troubles Lawson was in England.[4] His history appeared in 1709, and we may conclude that he went over to superintend the publication. This is confirmed by a minute of the proprietors, who "subscribe £20 to Mr. Lawson for maps of North and South Carolina," in August,

[1] South Carolina Historical Society's Collections, I, 179.
[2] Swann's Revisal, 1752, p. 32.
[3] Colonial Records, I, 723, 724, 725.
[4] Ibid., I, 727, 908, 910.

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1709, perhaps on personal solicitation.[1] He was probably made surveyor-general during this visit.

He became interested in DeGraffenried's colony of Palatines, and was appointed by him a director of the colony.[2] He evidently returned with the first Palatine colony to North Carolina, leaving England in January, 1710–11. They arrived about April, and Lawson set to work to locate them on Neuse River. DeGraffenried claims that Lawson acted dishonestly in this matter and located the settlers on his own lands on the southern bank of the Trent, and sold them these lands, to which he had no right, at an exorbitant price, when he should have located them farther to the north on Neuse River.[3] But if Lawson acted dishonestly here, he was fully repaid by the baron when they were captured by the Indians.

In 1709, probably while in England, Lawson was appointed the associate of Edward Moseley in surveying the boundary line between North Carolina and Virginia. Nothing was done on this work before 1710, and because of disputes over the latitude, little was accomplished then, the Virginia commissioners taking care always to heap abuse on the North Carolina representatives.[4]

Lawson's work as surveyor brought him into constant contact with the Indians, and caused him to incur their hatred; they mistook him for the cause, while he was only an agent in despoiling them of their lands; the presence of the surveyor was indicative of the nearer approach of the settlers. At last these were distracted and broken by internal quarrels, and in September, 1711, the Tuscaroras broke out into open war.

Lawson was their first victim. He was doubtless aware of their hatred toward him, but not of their conspiracy. Early in September, 1711, he and DeGraffenried, with a few servants, set out from Newbern to see how far the Neuse was navigable, to explore the upper country, and to see if a new road could be made that way to Virginia. They sent an Indian around by land with a horse for further exploration. This Indian fell in with a considerable body of Tuscaroras, who ordered the white men to return, arrested them before they could do this, and led them to King Hencock's town of

[1] Colonial Records., I, 717.
[2] Ibid., I, 908.
[3] Ibid., I, 910.
[4] Ibid., I, 703, 716, 735.

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Catechna. The baron tells us, and his account is all that we have, that they were first tried by the Indians, who determined to set them at liberty the next day; but in the meantime other prominent Indians came in, who inquired into the grounds of their justification; and at this critical moment Lawson got into a quarrel with the King of the Corees. This ruined their prospects. They were tried again and sentenced to death, but the baron, by threats and promises and by shifting all the odium and responsibility upon the surveyor, managed to escape. Lawson was executed, but we do not know how. The baron says some of the Indians told him that they threatened to cut his throat with the razor found in his pocket; others said he was hung; others that he was burned. Christopher Gale says he was put to death after a fashion described in his history:

> Others keep their enemies' teeth which are taken in war, whilst others split the pitch pine into splinters and stick them into the prisoner's body yet alive. Thus they light them, which burn like so many torches; and in this manner they make him dance round a great fire, everyone buffeting and deriding him, till he expires, when everyone strives to get a bone or some relic of this unfortunate captive.[1]

The History of Carolina contains the results of the travels and observations of its author. No one had better opportunities to learn the country, and no one had a more accurate and extensive knowledge of it than Lawson. He had had some scientific training, and no one was better qualified to write on the subject than he. There is little in the volume on personal, civil, or political matters; but he has left us a valuable picture

[1] Colonial Records, I, 826, 925–933. Gale is in error here as to the date and also in regard to the death of the baron, who says in his narrative (p. 933), "The day after Surveyor-General Lawson's execution the notables of the village came to me, making me acquainted with their design to make war in North Carolina." This "war" broke out on September 22, 1711. The baron also says (p. 934), "I had to remain for six weeks a prisoner." He had returned to Newbern on or before October 23 (p. 923). This would put the murder of Lawson toward the 1st of September.

The will of Lawson, dated August 12, 1708, is to be found in Will Book, 1712–1722, p. 39, in the secretary of state's office in Raleigh. He spoke of Bath County as his home, and gives to his dearly beloved Hannah Smith the house and the land which he was then occupying and also one-third of his personal estate. The balance was given to his daughter Isabella, "and to the brother and sister (which her mother is with child of at this present)," to share alike. The witnesses were William W. Hancocke, Rich. Smith, and James Leigh. What became of Isabella? April 21, 1758, Samuel Lawson, of Craven County, N. C., made a will. Was he the unborn child of the historian?

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of the resources and natural features of the province. His book is the one contemporary authority for the period. He came constantly in contact with the Indians, and had abundant opportunities for studying their life and customs. These he has faithfully portrayed. His account of the interviews and intrigues of his party with the Indians whom they met is picturesque and amusing. His observations on the Indians themselves are acute and trustworthy. He has left us vocabularies of the Tuscarora, Pamticough, and Woccon Indians, and all of our knowledge of the last-mentioned tribe. There is also in his observations a keen satire. Of the women he says:

> It seems impossible to find a scold; if they are provoked or affronted by their husbands or some other, they resent the indignity offered them in silent tears, or by refusing their meat. Would some of our European daughters of thunder set these Indians for a pattern, there might be more quiet families found among them.

His natural history is perhaps more at fault. He describes the country with its rivers and natural scenery, but Dr. Curtis has shown that his accounts of the flora of the country are overdrawn.[1] He gives us minute descriptions of beasts, birds, fishes; but shows that he was dealing with creatures hitherto unknown when he classed alligators, rattlesnakes, and snakes generally, lizards, tortoises and terrapins among "insects."[2]

The history first appeared as a part of John Stevens's A New Collection of Voyages and Travels: with Historical Accounts of Discoveries and Conquests in all Parts of the World. It was begun in London in 1708 and finished in 1710 and 1711. The second of the series, "printed in the year 1709," in small quarto, with map and plate, was "A New | Voyage | to | Carolina; | Containing the | Exact Description and Natural History | of that | Country: | Together with the Present State thereof | and | A Journal | Of a Thousand Miles, Travel'd thro' several | Nations of Indians. | Giving a particular Account of their Customs, | Manners, &c. | By John Lawson, Gent. Surveyor- | General of North Carolina. | London: Printed in the Year 1709."

It appeared with the same title-page in 1711 as a part of the

[1] A commentary on the natural history of Hawks's History of North Carolina, in North Carolina University Magazine, 1859–60, IX, 407–419.

[2] The word seems to have been used at the time as a synonym of strange, unknown. I understand that it is still used colloquially in England to indicate anything that crawls.

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edition of Stevens's Voyages issued in that year, and in 1714 and 1718 was republished under the new title: "The | History | of | Carolina; | containing the | Exact Description and Natural History | of that | Country: | Together with the Present State thereof. | And | A | Journal | Of a Thousand Miles, Travel'd thro' several | Nations of Indians. | Giving a particular Account of their Customs, | Manners, &c. | By John Lawson, Gent. Surveyor-General | of North-Carolina. | London: Printed for W. Taylor at the Ship, and J. Baker at the Black- | Boy, in Pater Noster-Row, 1714." | Map and plate.

The edition for 1718 is the same as that for 1714, except the imprint: "London: | Printed for T. Warner, at the Black-Boy in Pater-noster | Row, 1718. Price Bound Five Shillings."[1]

The history is divided into three nearly equal parts—(1) "A journal of a thousand miles travel," (2) "A description of North Carolina," and (3) "An account of the Indians of North Carolina." It is an "uncommonly strong and sprightly book"[2] and was considered of so much value that the legislature of North Carolina caused a new edition to be made in 1860, which was, unfortunately, very poorly done.[3]

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[1] For a careful collation of all these editions, see Sabin and also Pilling's Bibliography of the Iroquoian Languages. The four editions were the same impression even to the announcement following p. 258, but with new title-pages; title, verso blank, 1 l.; dedication, 1 l.; preface, 1 l.; introduction, pp. 1–5; text, pp. 6–258, map, plate, sm. q. The plate of animals is found in few copies. Dr. Hawks (II, 104) reproduces the North Carolina part of his map. A German edition of Lawson was printed at Hamburg in 1712 under the title: "Allerneuste Beschreibung | der Provintz | Carolina | In | West-Indien. | Samt einem | Reise-Journal | von mehr als | Tausend Meilen | unter allerhand | Indianischen Nationen. | Auch einer | Accuraten Land-Carte und andern | Kupfer Stichen. | Aus dem Englischen übersetzet durch | M. Vischer. | Hamburg, | * * * Thomas von Wierings Erben | * * * Anno 1712. | * * * | * * * |" This edition was in 16°, pp. 14, 365, with map and plate and 3 unnumbered pages of contents. There was another issue in 1722.

[2] Tyler, History of American Literature, II, 282–289. This is a very appreciative notice of Lawson and his work; cf. also Professor Hubbard in North Carolina University Magazine, 1852, I, 343–352; reprinted as a part of his review of Dr. Hawks's History in North American Review, 1860, XCI, 40–71.

[3] Wheeler, Reminiscences, 101. Dr. Hawks seems never to have heard of the edition of 1709, for he says, in his History of North Carolina, I, 80: "In 1714, when Lawson wrote," and in II, 370, he says: "The History of Carolina was published in 1714, after Lawson's death." Dr. Smith, in his Education in North Carolina (p. 18), errs still further by interpreting Dr. Hawks's words to mean "was published after his death in 1714."

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All editions are now comparatively rare. About 1820 a copy of the edition of 1718, which was then thought to be unique, was put up for sale at public auction in North Carolina, probably in Raleigh. The State library was a competitor, so was the university, while several private parties were also anxious for it. After a spirited contest, it was secured by the State library, at a cost of nearly $60. Doubtless there has never been a similar instance of bibliomania exhibited in North Carolina. Jared Sparks, writing in 1826, thought this was probably the rarest instance of bibliomania which had then occurred on the Western Continent.[1]

II.—JOHN BRICKELL AND HIS NATURAL HISTORY OF NORTH CAROLINA.

The next North Carolina author was John Brickell. He was no doubt an Irishman, for whenever any comparison is to be made with the Old World, Ireland is the country selected, as if he were more familiar with this than any other. Of his personal history we know very little. He lived in Edenton, was a physician, and practiced his profession there. Professor Hubbard thinks that he was under the patronage of Governor Burrington, or that he was sent out by the proprietors.[2] We do not know the time of his arrival. He says that he left North Carolina soon after 1730 (p. 108), and we do not know

[1] North American Review, XXIII, 288. This copy was purchased from the estate of Robert Williams, who was for years secretary of the board of trustees of the University of North Carolina. It perished in the burning of the capitol in 1831. Its place was supplied by James Madison with a copy of the 1714 edition. But Lawson has brought higher prices than this. At the Brinley sale in 1880 a "splendid copy," edition of 1709, brought $250. The Murphy copy, "half green morocco, top edge gilt, fine, tall copy" sold for $60. At the Menzies sale in 1876 a large and fine copy of the 1714 edition sold for $43 and at the Field sale another copy brought $25. The edition of 1718 is worth $25 and that of 1860 $3. Dr. Hubbard, writing in 1860, knew of but four copies in America. There are many more than this number. Wake Forest College has a fine copy of the 1709 edition. The State library has a copy each of the editions of 1714 and 1718, but the latter has "a map of the English plantations in America" instead of Lawson's map, and the former lacks the map also. In 1851 there was a copy in the Historical Society, but it has disappeared. There are copies of some of these early editions in the British Museum, Congress, Astor, New York Historical Society, Brown, Harvard, Lenox, Boston Atheneum, and Massachusetts Historical Society libraries. The author has a copy of the Hamburg edition of 1712.

[2] North Carolina University Magazine, 1852, I, 346.

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that he ever returned. He seems to have been in Ireland when his book was written. Besides his Natural History of North Carolina, he published A Catalogue of American Trees and Shrubs which will Endure the Climate of England (London, 1739, folio). His brother, the Rev. Mathias Brickell, was for many years rector of St. John's Chapel in Bertie County. He was the first clergyman to have the care of souls west of the Chowan River, and it is said that much of the subsequent fame of this section for morality and intelligence is owing to his efforts. He was a man of culture and high social qualities. He died before the Revolution, and his son, Col. Mathias Brickell, was a leading spirit in the period just before that event. The name was known in the county for one hundred years, but has disappeared within the last fifty years, although descendants in the female line are still living.[1]

In 1730–31 Dr. Brickell, one of a company of ten, with two Indian servants, went on an exploring expedition to the west. About the same time Sir Alexander Cumming held an interview with the Cherokee Indians as a representative of South Carolina. Martin says that Brickell and his party were also sent out by Burrington with the purpose of gaining their friendship. But this seems to have been only indirectly their purpose. They had no direct diplomatic object. They went in a "friendly manner, with no other design than a curiosity of viewing the mountains." The party provided themselves with guns, ammunition, horses, compasses, rum, salt, pepper, corn, etc., and the Indians furnished meat. They camped out and lay on beds of moss. They arrived at the mountains in fifteen days. They were received with great friendliness by the Indians and remained with them two days. They declined to stay longer, as the savages were about to drink up their rum. From this tribe they continued their journey still farther to the west. They crossed one ridge of mountains and after two days came to another. They saw few Indians in this section, and after a journey of fifty-two days reached home again.[2]

Dr. Brickell published: "The Natural | History | Of | North-Carolina. | With An | Account | Of The | Trade, Man-

[1] Moore's North Carolina, I, 49, 50; Wheeler's Reminiscences, 218.

[2] Natural History, 387-393; quoted in Martin, II, 4-9. Brickell was a member of the grand jury in Edenton, April 1, 1731 (Colonial Records, III, 135); we know of no further service.

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ners, and Customs of the | Christian and Indian Inhabitants. Il- | lustrated with Copper-Plates, whereon are | curiously Engraved the Map of the Country, | several strange Beasts, Birds, Fishes, Snakes, | Insects, Trees and Plants, &c. | By John Brickell, M. D. | Nostra nos in urbe peregrinamur—Cic. | Dublin: | Printed by James Carson, in Coghill's-Court, Dame- | street, opposite to the Castle-Market. For the Author, | 1737."[1]

Jared Sparks, writing of Brickell's[2] work in the North American Review (XXIII, 288), says that this book is "an almost exact verbal transcript of Lawson's History, without acknowledgment on the part of the author, or even a hint, that it is not original. Periods and paragraphs are transposed, parts are occasionally omitted, and words and sentences are here and there interpolated; but, as a whole, a more daring piece of plagiarism was never executed." Of the part relating to Indians, Field says, in his essay (pp. 46–47), it "is such a mutilated, interpolated, and unscrupulous appropriation of the unfortunate John Lawson's work of the same subtitle that the transcription is scarcely more than a parody." These statements are only partially correct, and do grave injustice to Brickell. He acknowledges in his preface that his work is "a compendious collection of most things yet known in that part of the world." But it is a good deal more than a mere slavish reprint of Lawson. It is further increased almost one-half in bulk. The reprint of Lawson made in 1860 contains 390 pages, with about 270 words to the page. Of this space 106 pages are taken up with his "Journal of a thousand miles travel." This part is not used by Brickell. The edition of his work published in 1737 contains 408 pages, of about 340 words to the page.

Brickell took the book of Lawson, reworked it in his own fashion, extended or curtailed, and brought it down to his time. The effect of his professional training is seen everywhere, for there is hardly a description of a plant or animal which does not have some medical use attached to it. His work is fuller, more systematic, and seems more like that of a student; Law-

[1] Collation: Title, 1 leaf; verso blank; preface, iii–vi; subscribers, vii–xv; Natural History, 1–408; 8vo; maps; 4 plates of cuts. The same sheets were used and issued with a new title-page in 1739 and 1743; 8°.

[2] Watt (Bibliotheca Britannica) also writes the name Brickwell, and says the book was first published in 1723.

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son's work seems more like that of a traveler and observer. There is, besides, much more relating to the social condition of the colony in Brickell, who has a section on "The religion, houses, raiment, diet, liquors, firing, diversions, commodities, languages, diseases, curiosities, cattle, etc.," while Lawson sticks close to the natural, economic, and Indian history of the province.

The fact that Brickell's book was published only nineteen years after the last edition of Lawson is presumptive evidence that the latter was already very rare. It is said to have been intended as an advertisement to boom the land of Earl Granville, but it is not of the nature of a boom publication, for there is a presentation of the weakness of the country as well as of its strength. The book shows observation and investigation, and is far from being nothing more than a wholesale plagiarism.

III.—JOHN THOMPSON AND THE BEGINNING OF PRESBYTERIAN INFLUENCE.

The next two papers are slight, but of importance. They introduce us to the religious literature of the province. The one represents the beginning of the Presbyterian influence; the other gives us the first sample of native North Carolina literature.

Rev. John Thompson was a native of Ireland. He came to New York as a licentiate in the Presbyterian ministry in 1715. He labored for some years in Delaware, and in 1739 settled in the valley of Virginia. He took an important part in the division of 1741, joining the old side against the new side. For this he has been abused and misrepresented. He went to North Carolina in 1744, was the first Presbyterian missionary in the province, and labored in the Iredell section until his death, in 1753. Before coming to North Carolina he had published several discourses, and in 1741 issued a pamphlet on church government. This was answered by Rev. Samuel Blair, of New Londonderry, Pa., in A Vindication of Those Opposed to Mr. Thompson. In 1742 he published a Sermon on the Nature of Conviction of Sin.

After coming to North Carolina he published one more paper. This paper is the beginning of that Presbyterian influence which dominated the intellectual life of the State for

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one hundred years. It was: "An | Explication | of the | Shorter Catechism | Composed by the | Assembly of Divines | Commonly called the | Westminster Assembly: | Wherein the several Qus and Ans of the sd S. C. are re- | solved, explained, &c., &c. | By John Thompson, A. M. & V. D. M. | In the county of Amelia. | Williamsburg: | Printed by William Parks, MDCCXLIX. | "

This catechism was in its day well known in the section and in common use. Mr. Thompson states that it is a plain but very full explication of the Shorter Catechism, somewhat after the manner of Fisher and Vincent. He has a long quotation in his dedication from the preface of the latter. The explanations are sometimes so full as to forbid the idea that he expected them to be committed to memory.[1]

IV.—CLEMENT HALL, THE FIRST NATIVE NORTH CAROLINA AUTHOR.

But neither Lawson nor Brickell nor Thompson were natives. The first native of North Carolina to become an author was, probably, the Rev. Clement Hall. He was a resident, and presumably a native, of Perquimans County. He was a man of some means, for he speaks of a small estate[2] and in 1756 had land to sell. He had acted as lay reader for several years, and in 1743 or 1744, with a reputation for "honour, diligence, and fidelity," went to England and applied for holy orders. He returned the last of 1744, after preaching on board the vessel in which he sailed and in Virginia, and began the active work of a missionary. He agreed to serve the church in Edenton at £45 a year, and was, perhaps, for a part of the time, the only clergyman in the province, but his work was not confined to his own parish. East and west his work extended, and once or twice a year he journeyed to the borders of the province, and always exhibited the same sweet spirit of Christian earnestness and love. He was always hopeful of his work, for "several religious churchmen" were to be found, "and the

[1] He gives in Appendix 1 the 39 articles, "reduced to the form of a catechism in order to render them more easy and ready to be committed to memory." Appendix 2 contains the assertions of Lambeth, agreed upon by the archbishops, etc., 1595, of which there are nine. Appendix 3 contains the articles of the Church of Ireland, 11–37, inclusive. (E. F. Rockwell in Historical Magazine, August, 1869, second series, VI, 78–82.)

[2] Colonial Records, IV, 752.

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common people are naturally teachable and ingenious, and was there a minister and schoolmaster in every parish (as there ought to be) there would be but few dissenters or sectaries in this province, as themselves declare they go to meeting because they have not an opportunity of going to church."[1]

He experienced also the usual troubles over insufficiency of salary, and his was hardly worth £25 in England because goods were "scarce and extravagantly dear."[2] His estate had suffered during his absence in England, and in 1755 he lost his house, books, and personal property by fire. But still he labored on, busy and faithful in his work, and "I do propose," he writes, "(thro' God's help) to continue to do what I am able."[3] His ministrations and devotions were appreciated, and his audiences became so large that there was no room for them in the chapel or court-house, and he preached in the open air.[4] He traveled over all the northern half of the province, and continued in the active work until his death in 1759. He had a family and was interested in the contemporary life of the colony and of the mother country.

We may estimate the extent of his work by the modest account he gives us of it in 1752:

> I have now thro' God's gracious assistance and blessing in about 7 or 8 years, tho' frequently visited with sickness, been enabled to perform (for aught I know) as great ministerial duties as any minister in North America, viz, to journey about 14,000 miles; preach about 675 sermons, baptize * * * 6,195 persons & sometimes administered the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper to 2 or 300 communicants in one journey besides churching of women, visiting the sick, &c.[5]

Seldom have we found a record of an humbler faith or greater devotion to the cause of Christ. Had there been many men of the stamp of Hall, the fortunes of the church in North Carolina would have been far different from what they really were. He was one of the most devout and earnest of the missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to labor in North Carolina. His life stands out in a brilliant contrast to that of Moir, his careless and drunken contemporary.[6]

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[1] Colonial Records, IV, 753.
[2] Ibid., IV, 793.
[3] Ibid., IV, 794.
[4] Ibid., IV, 872.
[5] Ibid., IV, 1315.
[6] For his letters to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, see Colonial Records, IV, 752, 793, 794, 872, 924, 1314; see also Church History in North Carolina, pp. 70–72.

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Of Hall's literary attainments and resources we know but little. He tells us that his library was destroyed by fire in 1755. One volume of this library, however, has survived, and is now in my possession. This is Littleton's Defence of the Christian Revelation, London, 1748. It contains his autograph "C. Hall, 1752." In 1753 James Davis published for him in Newbern, "A | Collection | of many | Christian Experiences, | Sentences, | and several | Places of Scripture Improved; | Also some short and plain Directions and Prayers | for sick Persons; with serious Advice to Persons | who have been Sick, to be by them perused and put | in Practice as soon as they are recovered; and a | Thanksgiving for Recovery. | To which is added, | Morning and Evening Prayers for Families and Chil- | dren, Directions for the Lord's Day, and some Cautions | against Indecencies in time of Divine Service, &c. | Collected and Composed for the Spiritual Good of his Parish- | ioners, and others. | By C. H. Missionary to the Honourable Society for the Propaga- | tion of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and Rector of St. Paul's | Parish in North Carolina. | * * | * * | * * | * * | * * | Newbern: | Printed by James Davis, MDCCLIII."[1]

V.—THOMAS GODFREY AND THE PRINCE OF PARTHIA.

The next author whose career is connected with North Carolina is Thomas Godfrey, the author of The Prince of Parthia, the first American drama. Godfrey was the son of a Philadelphian glazier of the same name. The elder Godfrey (1704–1749) made the improvement on Davis's quadrant, then in use, which has since gone under the name of Hadley's quadrant. The improved quadrant was first tried in Delaware Bay, by Joshua Fisher. It was then carried to Jamaica, where it was shown and explained to a nephew of Hadley, who reported it to his uncle. Efforts were made by Godfrey's friends to secure for him a reward offered by the Royal Society; but

[1] The book is in sm. 8vo, pp. 51. There is a second title on page 25. I have never seen a copy of this book. In a volume of this size and character there can be little opportunity for the display of any literary feeling; but this is the beginning of our domestic literature. The title was furnished me for my Bibliography of the Eighteenth Century Press of North Carolina by Mr. C. R. Hildeburn, of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, who purchased a copy in England. This copy is now owned in Philadelphia.

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this prize was awarded to Hadley, and Godfrey got nothing for his invention.[1]

Thomas Godfrey, the son, was born in Philadelphia, December 4, 1736. He inherited the misfortunes and the genius of his father. He was able to obtain at school only a tolerable English education, which was supplemented by private studies while working at his father's trade. But he was unfit for mechanical employment. "In 1758 he served as a lieutenant in the Pennsylvania forces that formed a part of the expedition against Fort Duquesne. Subsequently, in 1759, young Godfrey went to North Carolina, where he gave his leisure during the summer and autumn to completing his tragedy, intending it for production in Philadelphia by Douglass's company. 'By the last vessel from this place,' he wrote to a Philadelphia friend, in a letter dated November 17, 1759, 'I sent you the copy of a tragedy I finished here, and desired your interest in bringing it on the stage. I have not yet heard of the vessel's arrival, and believe if she is safe it will be too late for the company now in Philadelphia.' This letter proves that Godfrey wrote the Prince of Parthia with a view to its production." [2]

On the death of his employer, Godfrey returned to Philadelphia, but finding nothing to do there went as supercargo to New Providence, and from this island returned to Wilmington, N. C. Many of his minor poems abound in local allusions. He died in Wilmington, August 3, 1763, and is buried in the churchyard of St. James's Parish and lies near Cornelius Harnett, the Revolutionary patriot. He is described by his biographer, Nathaniel Evans, as a man of lovely character. "His sweet, amiable disposition, his integrity of heart, his engaging modesty and diffidence of manner, his fervent and disinterested love of his friends, endeared him to all those who shared his acquaintance, and stamped the image of him in indelible characters on the hearts of his more intimate friends."[3] His drama was presented by the American Company at the new theater in Southwark, Philadelphia, April 24, 1767, and it is probable that Douglass, the head of the company, took the part of Artabanus, King of Parthia.

[1] Armistead's Memoir of Logan; Watson's Annals of Philadelphia; Scharf and Westcott's History of Philadelphia.

[2] Copied in Seilhamer's History of the American Theatre, I, 185, 186, from the introduction to Evans's edition.

[3] Scharf and Westcott's History, Philadelphia, II, 1117.

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Godfrey was quite a voluminous writer, and had published verse in the American Magazine before going to North Carolina. His Court of Fancy, a Poem, is modeled on Chaucer's House of Fame.[1] Nathaniel Evans, another young poet, collected and edited his writings in 1765, and gave some account of the author.[2]

The Prince of Parthia is an oriental story of love and lust, despotism, ambition, and jealousy. Artabanus, King of Parthia, has three sons; the eldest, Arsaces, is a military hero and an idol of the populace; he is also the object of consuming envy on the part of the second son, Vardanes, and of loyal affection on the part of the third son, Gotarzes. The first scene is in the Temple of the Sun, and represents the joy of this youngest son over a great battle recently gained by Arsaces over the Arabians. The second scene represents the envious Vardanes and his friend Lysias as expressing their rage at the success and popularity of Arsaces. It now appears that Vardanes is in love with a beautiful Arabian captive named Evanthe, who is betrothed to Arsaces. The queen, Thermusa, appears in the third scene and expresses her hatred of Arsaces and her desire for his destruction, also her wrath at Evanthe, with whom the king has fallen in love. Evanthe herself appears later and gives an account of her capture by a cruel and lustful wretch, who was slain by Arsaces. She hears that more Arabian captives have been brought in, and goes to get news of her father. The fifth scene represents the King of Parthia as just ordering the execution of a brave Arabian captive named Bethas:

> BETHAS. True, I am fallen, but glorious was my fall;
> The day was bravely fought; we did our best;
> But victory's of heaven. Look o'er yon field.
> See if thou findest one Arabian back
> Disfigured with dishonorable wounds!
> No; here, deep on their bosoms, are engraved
> The marks of honor! 'Twas through here their souls
> Flew to their blissful seats. Oh! why did I

[1] The | Court of Fancy; | A | Poem. | By Thomas Godfrey. | * * * | * * * | * * * | * * * | Philadelphia: | Printed and Sold by William Dunlap. MDCCLXII. | sm. 4°. pp. 24.

[2] Juvenile Poems | on | Various Subjects. | With the | Prince of Parthia, | A | Tragedy. | By the late | Mr. Thomas Godfrey, Junr. | of Philadelphia. | To which is prefixed | Some Account of Author and his Writings. | * * * | Philadelphia: | Printed by Henry Miller, in Second-Street | MDCCLXV. | 4°. pp. xxvi, (2) 223.

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Survive the fatal day? To be this slave—
To be the gaze and sport of vulgar crowds;
Thus, like a shackled tiger, stalk my round,
And grimly lower upon the shouting herd.
Ye gods!—

KING. Away with him to instant death.

Arsaces pleads with the king for the captive's life. It is granted him, and Bethas is afterwards discovered to be the father of Evanthe. The second act opens with a plot between Vardanes and Lysias to destroy Arsaces. Their plan is to induce the king to believe that Arsaces is intending to slay him and win the throne, and that his intercession for the captive soldier was to secure his help. It is on this conspiracy that the plot turns. The action now moves swiftly, the entanglements, the cross-purposes and astute villains are well presented. The conspirators almost succeed. They murder the king, are about to murder Arsaces and Bethas, and have Evanthe in their power, when, suddenly, the youngest brother arrives with a great army. A battle is fought in the streets of the city. Evanthe sends her maid to a tower to see how the contest is going and to learn the fate of Arsaces. The maid sees a hero fall, mistakes him for Arsaces, and returns with the dreadful news; Evanthe takes poison; Arsaces, who had won the battle, rushes in and the beautiful Evanthe dies in his arms. He kills himself and the kingdom passes to his loyal brother, Gotarzes.

We can see clearly from this summary that the Prince of Parthia partakes very largely of the characteristics of the blood-and-thunder drama of the pre-Shakesperian period, but this does not hinder us from agreeing with Professor Tyler when he says:

The whole drama is powerful in diction and in action. * * * It has many noble poetic passages; the characters are finely and consistently developed; there are scenes of pathos and tragic vividness; the plot advances with rapid movement and with culminating force. Thomas Godfrey was a true poet, and The Prince of Pathia is a noble beginning of dramatic literature in America.[1]

On the other hand, Seilhamer, in his History of the American Theatre, I, pp. 189, 195, says:

As an acting play, The Prince of Parthia has no merits whatever. The speeches are long and are in blank verse, remarkable only for its measured dullness. All the characters are on stilts. There is little plot to the piece

[1] See the appreciative notice of Godfrey, with extracts, in his History of American Literature, II, 244–251.

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and no action. As a first attempt at play writing in America by a young man who had few opportunities of seeing plays acted, the tragedy is not without interest. It has none of the interest, however, that makes it readable as a poem or presentable as a play. That it ever should have met with favor on the stage is impossible.

And again:

As the work of a young man of 23, without education and without knowledge of stage requirements, The Prince of Parthia is not discreditable to its author. Neither as a poem nor as an acting play has it any merit that would cause it to be remembered, were it not for the fact that it was the first American play ever written as well as the first actually produced.

The other names to be added to the list of writers of verse are few. Governor Thomas Burke "could dash off stanzas without apparent effort,"[1] and Governor Alexander Martin was quite vain of his accomplishments in this direction, but thought more of his abilities than anyone else. In 1799 William Soranzo Hasell (1781–1815), the grandson of James Hasell of colonial fame, delivered on the occasion of his graduation at Yale an historical poem of merit called "Alfred;" but this seems to have been the extent of his published work. He went to the bar, but abandoned the law and kept a bookstore and circulating library in Wilmington, N. C., and edited the Wilmington Gazette.[2]

VI.—THE THEATER IN NORTH CAROLINA.

A study of the Prince of Parthia brings us to consider the presentation of the drama as well. It appears that there were strolling players in the State during the last century, despite the fewness and smallness of its cities. The first information of the kind that we have is in a letter from Governor Tryon to the Bishop of London. He writes from Brunswick under date of the 11th of June, 1768:

I was solicited a few days ago by Mr. Giffard, a young man who is engaged with a company of comedians now in this province, to recommend him to your lordship for ordination orders, he having been invited by some principal gentlemen of the province to be inducted into a parish and to set up a school for the education of youth. He assured me it was no sudden caprice that induced him to make this application, but the result of very mature deliberation; that he was most wearied of the vague life of his present profession, and fully persuaded he could employ his talent to more benefit to society by going into holy orders and superintending the education of the youth in this province. I candidly told Mr. Giffard that his address to me was a matter of some surprise; that as to my own part I

[1] McRee's Iredell, I, 547, 563.

[2] North Carolina University Magazine, 1857–58, VII, 264–273.

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could have no reason to obstruct his present intentions, which might, if steady and determined, be directed to the benefit of this country; but that I could not possibly flatter him with success with your lordship, as I was not assured how far your lordship would choose to take a member of the theatre into the church. I, however, promised him I would give testimony to your lordship that during his residence in this province his behaviour had been decent, regular, and commendable; as such, my lord, I beg leave to present him to you, leaving the propriety of the ordination to your lordship's wisdom. He takes this letter by way of Providence, being under obligation of contract to attend the company there. If your lordship grants Mr. Giffard his petition, you will take off the best player on the American stage.[1]

It would be a matter of great interest for us to know the other members of this company, what they were playing, the length of their stay in North Carolina, etc., but of this we know nothing; nor do we know whether Giffard abandoned the stage for the pulpit. We hear of strolling players again in 1787. A company then performed in all the chief towns, and kindled quite an enthusiasm in the young folks for similar exhibitions. Miss Blair wrote Judge Iredell from Edenton, "Folly, you will hear, has not altogether taken her departure from this town with the actors. Our young gentlemen are going to distinguish themselves." The company does not seem to have made a hit. At Halifax they advertised The Spanish Friar.[2] At sundown five tickets had been sold, and the doors were unopened. "The indelicacy of it was the cause." In Newbern they played The Miser.[3] Iredell writes his wife:

I never was so disgusted in my life. They are a most execrable set, infinitely worse than ours. * * * The place was a most abominable one, and one-half the audience could neither hear nor see. When The Spanish Friar was performed, two of the actors (Kidd and McGrath) fought behind the scenes; the stage was soon invaded by a crowd of people. The curtain was down at the time.

When they arrived at Wilmington, Mr. Robinson, manager of the American Company of Comedians, inserted a notice in the State Gazette (No. 107) of Newbern that he had fitted up an "elegant theatre;" that he intended to stay one month, and would give Mr. Soloman, comedian, a "cordial reception" if he would come on.[4]

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[1] Colonial Records, VII, 786, 787.

[2] The Spanish Friar is the work of Dryden.

[3] There are two plays called The Miser—one by Fielding, the other by Shadwell.

[4] McRee's Iredell, II, 157.

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Again, in May, 1788, they were at Windsor, from which they "wheeled about to take a view of Hillsborough and its environs, to fix upon some spot to enliven and cheer the vacant hours of the conventional heroes."[1]

It was due, no doubt, to the influence of these players that the Thalian Association of Wilmington was organized about this time. This was a theatrical corps composed of local talent. They secured from the trustees a perpetual lease of the lower floor of the Innes Academy, which was then in building, fitted it up, and used it exclusively as a theater. The association, with two reorganizations, existed far into the present century. It presented The Prince of Parthia at the old theater there about 1847; its history has been written by Col. James G. Burr (Wilmington, 1871).

VII.—JUDGE IREDELL AND THE POLITICAL LITERATURE OF THE REVOLUTION.

From 1760 to the end of the century the literature of the province has more of a local flavor, for the writers are more thoroughly identified with it. This literature divides itself pretty distinctly into three groups—(1) political, (2) religious, and (3) educational. The first of these divisions is centered around two events—the war of the Revolution and the adoption of the Federal Constitution. The first of these political papers is Judge Maurice Moore's attack on the British policy of taxation, where he argues that the Americans are not a conquered people, and shows historically that they have the constitutional right to be taxed only with their own consent. "The inhabitants of the colonies, * * * I believe, ever will think all the constitutional rights and liberties enjoyed in Great Britain at the time they departed from it their birthright, and that they brought them over to America; among which, that of being taxed only by their own consent is one of the most essential." (Wilmington, 1766.)

Again Judge Moore sounds the keynote of rebellion when he addresses Governor Tryon in November, 1771, in his famous letter signed Atticus, reviews in scathing terms his administration and animadverts on his heartless tyranny and ridiculous pride. It is the best short history of Tryon's North Carolina career that we possess, and gave Moore great reputation as a lawyer and as a writer of brilliant parts. Moore

[1] McRee's Iredell, II, 225.

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had been appointed a judge by Tryon, but this did not keep him from saying that in the treatment of the regulators "your excellency was as short of General Kirk in form, as you were of Judge Jeffreys in lenity." And he taunts him with "the arrogant reception you gave to a respectable company at an entertainment of your own making, seated with your lady by your side on elbow chairs, in the middle of the ballroom."[1]

The next contributions to the literature of politics were the work of Hermon Husband (1724–1795). He had been a Quaker, had already published a religious work, and was now the leader of the regulators. In 1770 he published a book which he called An Impartial Relation of the First Rise and Cause of the Recent Differences in Publick Affairs, in the Province of North Carolina, etc. This was followed in 1771 by A Fan for Fanning and a Touchstone to Tryon, probably by another hand. The two furnish us a contemporary account of the popular side which is wanting for most events in the history of the province.

The Presbyterians of Mecklenburg add another title to the list of political tracts which made for the Revolution. In 1775 Dr. Ephraim Brevard drew up a set of instructions for the delegates of Mecklenburg to the provincial congress. These instructions deal with the civil and religious questions of the day, and as a state paper will not suffer, as Dr. Foote remarks, with any s te paper of the age, and was no doubt superior to any paper of the sort with which these men were familiar.[2]

Another man who lent his pen to the advance of the patriot cause, and who probably stands next to James Iredell in the extent of his intellectual influence, was William Hooper, the signer (1742–1790). He drafted an address to the inhabitants of the British Empire in April, 1776. He was the author of many public documents, and a series of letters on the times, written by him and signed Hampden, are said to have had much influence.[3]

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[1] This piece first appeared in the Virginia Gazette for November 7, 1771. It was reprinted in Martin's North Carolina, I, LVII—LXX, and in Waddell's A Colonial Officer and his Time, pp. 158–173.

[2] Sketches, pp. 68–76, where the paper is reprinted in full with comments. It will also be found in Wheeler's History, II, 260–262, who ascribes it to John McKnitt Alexander; and in Colonial Records, X, 239–242.

[3] They have all been lost. See sketch of William Hooper, by A. M. Hooper, in Wheeler's History, II, 286.

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But the most prolific, as well as the most acute and learned, of the citizens of North Carolina who undertook to aid the American cause was James Iredell (1750–1799). He was preeminently the life of the literary side of the struggle in North Carolina. His first publication was made in 1773. He was then an officer of the Crown, but became from this time a leader of the Whigs. He wrote anonymously, after the fashion of the day, "but so unrivalled was his ability, so peculiar his style, that his masks were soon penetrated, and the popular champion was exposed to popular admiration." Iredell had the art of conducting a discussion in such a way as to avoid unnecessary offense to opponents. His mind was calm and judicial. He indulged in no personalities; "no acerbity poisoned his articles, and no violence sullied his pages." He was the best letter-writer of the war, and his correspondence was courted by the best men of the day, and that this compliment was fully deserved, a perusal of his letters will fully prove. Says his biographer:

> If any North Carolinian doubts the culture and merit of our Revolutionary fathers, let him study my record for '74, '75, '76, and if he blush at all it will be for the degeneracy of their sons.[1]

Judge Iredell's first contribution to the political literature of the day was a letter in the North Carolina Gazette for September 10, 1773, in which he denies the position taken by another writer—that the governor's commission and instructions are the foundation of our political constitution—and asserts that this constitution was to be found in the acts of assembly instead.[2]

On August 25, 1774, the first provincial congress of North Carolina met in Newbern, despite the threats and proclamation of Governor Martin, and defiantly held its sessions almost in his presence. Iredell fought along with this convention and issued an address "To the inhabitants of Great Britain" in September of that year, a month before the address of John Jay, having the same title, was adopted by the Continental Congress.[3]

In 1775 he prepared a series of "Principles of an American Whig," which does not seem to have been printed at the time.[4]

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[1] McRee's Iredell, I, 184.

[2] Reprinted in McRee's Iredell, I, 178–180.

[3] Ibid, I., 205–220.

[4] Printed in McRee's Iredell, I, 245–254.

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In 1776, while many wished for independence in itself, the great mass of people were inclined to assent to it only as a work of necessity. There was needless apprehension to be allayed, scruples to be quieted, and confidence in the American cause to be inspired into the people. This was needed more or less in all the colonies. In North Carolina this duty fell to the lot of Iredell. The pamphlet in which he undertook this work was probably not printed, but was circulated privately in manuscript, like the preceding article and like the North Carolina Code of 1715, and did good work.[1]

Again, in March, 1777, he wrote an address "To His Majesty George the Third, King of Great Britain." Two well-thumbed manuscript copies were extant in 1857. Papers of this character supplied the facts and arguments to the Whig leaders of the day, and in this way the people themselves were indirectly reached.[2]

In 1778 he could pen a sharp reply to the British commissioners who, after the failure of their efforts to effect a reconciliation between England and the United States, had issued a letter disrespectful to Congress.[3]

VIII.—JUDGE IREDELL AND THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION.

With the return of peace and the rise of the question of a central government the pamphleteer again springs into prominence. The contest is of more interest and value to us because all the talent was not on one side. Perhaps at no time in the history of the colony has the political pamphlet had more weight than during the years 1783–1789. But of the character and length of these discussions we know, unfortunately, very little. All our knowledge comes from the correspondence of Judge Iredell, and the incidental references there only exasperate us by their indefiniteness. After the fashion of the day, they wrote under *noms de plume*, and we can only partly identify the authors. "Atticus" was Judge Spencer; "Cusatti" was thought to be Governor Martin;[4] while some thought "Sully" was Davie, and others Maclaine. There was "The Citizen" and "The True Citizen." Judge Ashe masqueraded

[1] Printed in McRee's Iredell, I, 283–323.

[2] Printed in ibid., I, 342–357.

[3] Printed in ibid., I, 401–404.

[4] Governor Martin was also a writer of verse, and so was Governor Burke.

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in his address to the bar as "Gallio;" Iredell wrote as "Marcus;" Maclaine hid his light under "Publicola," and Davie's name I have not been able to find.[1]

This literature, such as it was, was all the work of private initiative. The only effort made in the whole history of North Carolina, so far as I am aware, toward the direct encouragement of literature was made in "An act for securing literary property," passed in 1785. It begins with a preamble, "Whereas nothing is more strictly a man's own than the fruit of study, and it is proper that men should be encouraged to pursue useful knowledge by the hope of reward." It then provides that an author should have exclusive control over his work, which was made to include books, maps, and charts, for fourteen years. It required him to first enter the name of his work with the secretary of state and furnish one copy for use of the executive. The importation and sale of copies published outside the State was forbidden under penalty of forfeiting the books and double their value, one-half of which was to go to the author injured. Then comes a curious provision. If the price fixed by the author was deemed excessive, the judges of the supreme court might summon him before them on complaint, examine the case, and fix the price. The penalty for violating their orders was 20 Spanish-milled dollars The North Carolinians evidently did not wish to encourage a monopoly of limited editions. But the next clause seems more like statesmanship, and in the then state of relations between the colonies approaches the international copyright law. It provided that authors living in States where laws similar to this were in force should have all the privileges of natives.[2]

Political discussion was reopened in 1783 by John Hay, of Fayetteville. "I have had the honor to participate in a political treat, at which you were to have been a guest," writes Hooper to Iredell, November 23, 1783. "It was given by Hay in the character of Tiberius Gracchus, and the feast was called "An Address to the Speakers of Both Houses of Assembly, containing Observations, Moral and Political, upon the Proceedings of the Late Assembly." It is to be served up to the public in a sixpenny pamphlet, and will make its appearance as soon as the illumination is over." No copy of this pamphlet has come down to us. Hooper said that the style was dull and in

[1] McRee's Iredell, II, 76, 95, 179, 180, 186.
[2] Iredell's Revisal, p. 563.

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many parts ungrammatical, and that it appeared worse from the press than in manuscript. "In the latter, perhaps, I viewed it as a production that was for the perusal only of his intimate friends; but when given to the world I consider it as intended for an exhibition of parts that bids defiance to censure and criticism."[1]

With the question of the new Constitution we have at least one production on the Anti-Federal side. "Parson Tate," writes Maclaine in 1788, "has picked up all the arguments, good or bad, that have been published against the new Government. The only original objection he had was the want of a mint in each State. This, he alleges, is a never-failing mask of sovereignty, and is to keep the money with us. He appears to be greatly distressed that we shall be obliged to send our bullion to the seat of Government. It is truly distressing."[2]

No more publications of the Anti-Federalists have come down to us even in title. There were few newspapers in the State. Their editions, and the edition of the pamphlet publications, were necessarily small from the small number of persons interested in such discussions. There were no large libraries. There were no enthusiasts in collecting, and but for the correspondence of Iredell even the titles on the subject would have disappeared.

The most valuable of the publications favoring the new Constitution were Iredell's Answer to George Mason's Objections. Iredell was the literary leader of the forces favoring the Constitution, as he had been of those favoring the Revolution. His answer was first printed in parts in the State Gazette of Newbern, and seems to have appeared in the latter months of 1787. It was reissued in pamphlet form in January, 1788, accompanied by an address to the people by Archibald Maclaine. It is superior to any other defense of the Constitution that appeared in North Carolina, and appeared sooner than The Federalist, except the earliest numbers.[3]

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[1] Ibid, II, 75. 89.

[2] Ibid., II, 217. This was the Rev. James Tate, who first taught school in Wilmington, and afterwards removed to the central section of the State.

[3] John McLean, printer, of Norfolk, writes that he intended to publish Iredell's paper. "Several political pieces have been sent for appearance in my next, but, defective of Marcus's merit and argument, I shall take the liberty of laying them on the shelf of old maids." (Ibid., II, 219.) It was included in McRee's Iredell, II, 186–215, and has been recently reprinted in Ford's Bibliography of the Constitution.

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Iredell wrote in favor of the Constitution singly and also in collaboration with Davie, who writes him from Halifax, May 1, 1788:

> I have to-day finished 25 pages of our little collection on the subject of the Federal Government. I was so constantly interrupted by people on business last week that I am sure what is done is extremely imperfect. You will therefore have much to add if, on examination, you find room in the compass of such a pamphlet as we propose. * * * It will be necessary to preface our pamphlet with a note that it is not offered as an original production, but as a compilation from several fugitive pieces, etc., which will excuse us to the author of Marcus and others for the liberties we have taken with them.[1]

This series of essays on the Federal Government probably appeared during the year 1788 from the press of Hodge & Wills, of Newbern. So far as we know, no copy has been preserved. We do not know that anyone else contributed besides Davie and Iredell and Maclaine. The latter, under the name of Publicola, contributed an "Address." The pamphlet included the "Answer" to George Mason.

These discussions, and they are not all that were published, had their effect; they tended to awaken a spirit of inquiry and interest. The adoption of the Constitution was deferred in 1788, but the discussions there, led by Davie, Iredell, Johnston, and Maclaine, are able. They brought the amendments, and the amendments brought adoption in 1789.

Judge Iredell was, for his time and State, a voluminous writer. Many of his charges as a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States were published in the newspapers and in pamphlet form at the request of the juries to whom they were delivered, and most of them have been reprinted in his Life and Correspondence.[2] He was also an author on legal subjects. He prepared a Treatise on Evidence in 12 chapters, which was finished about 1796 and left in manuscript. It was intended as an appendix to the Law of Evidence, originally published in 1777.[3] From 1796 to his death all of his leisure was spent on An Essay on the Law of Pleading in Suits at Common Law and on the Doctrine of the Laws of England

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[1] McRee's Iredell, 223, 224.

[2] Ibid., I, 382; II, 347, 365, 386, 408, 441, 449, 467, 483, 497, 505, 523, 551 on Alien and Sedition Laws, 577.

[3] This was published anonymously, and Iredell's work was intended to supplement particularly the third edition. His manuscript contained 275 pages.

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concerning Real Property, so far as it is in Use or Force in the State of North Carolina. The first of these papers extended to 1,229 closely written folio pages; the latter to 365 pages. Had Judge Iredell lived to complete the former, he would have anticipated Chitty on Pleading.[1] Of the ability of Iredell it is unnecessary to speak. It was recognized by all his contemporaries. John Marshall considered him "a man of real talent," and Vansantvoord, in his Lives of the Chief Justices, says that "as a constitutional lawyer, Judge Iredell had no superior on the bench."[2]

But it is not in the legal volumes of Judge Iredell, nor yet in his political tracts, however valuable they may be, that our interest centers, but in his letters. Had North Carolina maintained the standard of literary excellence which we here see, she would not to-day be one whit behind any State in the Union. Iredell was not only the best letter-writer in North Carolina during the Revolution,[3] but was the equal of any of his contemporaries. His letters are for the last years of the century the best source we have for the internal, the social, and the political history of the State. Fortunately, they have been well edited.[4] The author speaks through his letters, and never were letters more charming than these; written, many of them, *currente calamo*, in moments snatched from the busy life of a lawyer and judge, they have an elegance and ease, a vivacity and naturalness, not always met with in similar productions. Neither these nor his diary were intended for publication. This adds a charm, for we see the man as he was seen by his friends. In one of his letters to the girl whom he afterwards married, Iredell reveals his art. "Come, my dear madam, I will tell you how I write letters. * * * I just sit down and carelessly let my thoughts flow from my pen without too much anxiety about the expression, though taking care to keep that equally free from meanness and bombast—this is all the art I know. Practice it yourself, and let me have the happy sight of your performances."[5]

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[1] First edition of Chitty was published in 1808.

[2] McRee's Iredell, II, 458, 588.

[3] Ibid., I, 74.

[4] Life and Correspondence of James Iredell, by Griffith John McRee (1819–1872), New York, 1857–58, 2 volumes.

[5] Ibid., I, 109.

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IX.—RELIGIOUS LITERATURE AFTER THE REVOLUTION.

When we return from the political to the religious side, there is less to attract our attention. This is divided between Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Quakers. The Episcopalians were the first in the field, but the Presbyterians were the most prolific, although two causes militated against the growth of a local literature among them. There were few presses in North Carolina in the eighteenth century, and most of these were in the east. The middle and western sections, with few mail facilities, were segregated from their fellows, and this, reacting on them, caused less to be written. Then there was a curious custom, a sort of unwritten law, that the destruction of manuscripts was as much a part of preparation for death as making a will. Since manuscripts must run this gantlet, the risk of numerous fires, and neglect, we need not be astonished that little has survived.[1]

Again, in the east, a love for polite literature was considered little less than a sin, and was fatal to a legal reputation. To accuse a man of writing poetry was little less than an accusation of crime, and its effect can be easily imagined.[2]

THE EPISCOPALIANS.

The first native North Carolina author, the Rev. Clement Hall, was of this faith. In 1759, Rev. Alexander Stewart, then pastor of St. Thomas's Parish, Bath, compiled "a small tract collected from the best authors I could here find" in defense of baptism as practiced by the Established Church. This was printed and 400 copies were distributed through the province. It was aimed at the Baptists, who were then growing, and "for some time checked their proceedings."[3] In 1761, Rev. Mr. Camp published a sermon. In 1763, Rev. James Reid published a Sermon on the Establishment of Public Schools, which was probably the first public expression of this sort in the history of the province. In 1768, Rev. George Micklejohn preached a sermon before the troops at Hillsboro, who were, before long, to be used in the same section for the suppression of the regulators, from the text "The powers that be are ordained of God" (Romans, xiii, 1, 2). It so pleased Tryon

[1] Foote's Sketches, p. 244.

[2] North Carolina University Magazine, 1855, IV, 59.

[3] Colonial Records, VI, 316.

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that he had it printed by James Davis, and gave 100 copies to the next assembly. The preacher asserted that Governor Tryon ought to have executed at least twenty of the rebels on his first visit, and that they could not escape the damnation of hell on account of their resistance to the existing government.[1] Rev. Henry Pattillo, an eminent Presbyterian divine of Granville County, also preached to them on this occasion. His sermon was no doubt as thoroughly loyal as Micklejohn's, for it is not included in his volume of sermons printed in 1788.[2]

The next twenty years were occupied in the military and civil struggle, and produced little religious literature. In fact we have but one other title that can be referred to the Episcopal Church. The Rev. Charles Pettigrew (1743–1807), toward the close of the century, published several tracts on Infant Baptism, one of them extending to some 200 pages. They were anonymous and were designed, it seems, for local circulation only.[3]

THE PRESBYTERIANS.

Among the Presbyterians the matter of publishing seems to have been confined mostly to their divines, and all of their work, with a single exception, is religious in tone. John Thompson, the pioneer in his field, has been mentioned. The next piece of work of this character is the diary kept by Rev. Hugh McAden (died 1781), while making a missionary tour through the province in 1755–56, previous to beginning his regular work there. It is of value in connection with the history of the Presbyterian Church, and remained in manuscript until its publication by Dr. Foote in his Sketches of North Carolina in 1846.[4]

The next Presbyterian to appear in the field of letters was the Rev. Henry Pattillo (1726–1801), a Scotchman who came to North Carolina in 1765. In 1788 he published in Wilmington[5] a small volume of sermons. The first sermon is an exten-

[1] Foote's Sketches, p. 67.

[2] Church History in North Carolina, pp. 75, 76, 82.

[3] Sprague, Annals of American Pulpit, V.

[4] Pages 161–175.

[5] My friend, Mr. T. L. Cole, of Washington City, questions if this book was not published in Wilmington, Del., instead of Wilmington, N. C. When this title was inserted in my Bibliography of the Issues of the Eighteenth Century Press of North Carolina, I was not aware that there was a printer of this name in Wilmington, Del.; but James Adams established a press there as early as 1761. He published Rodney's Revisal of

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sive historical résumé of the Divisions among Christians, with an affectionate exhortation to the practice of brotherly charity; the second is on the Necessity of Regeneration, and the third deals with his favorite theme, the Scripture Doctrine of Election. In this he takes pains to give hard blows to the then rising power of Arminianism in the United States, and quotes at considerable length the letter in which Whitfield takes Mr. Wesley to task for his sermon on free grace. But while denying their views, Mr. Pattillo showed he had Christian charity enough to invite Arminians to his communion table. He defends himself vigorously from the attacks of his own church for this action, and lovingly exhorts them to a similar practice. The volume closes with an address to the deists, in which he surveys the rise and development of deistical opinions, basing his review on Leland, and closes with a faithful exhortation. A note appended to one of these discourses broached the doctrine of Christ's human nature, of which Edward Irving afterwards became a distinguished exponent. Not only does this little volume show us the work of a faithful, honest, earnest man, but it gives us now and then a picture of the wants and needs of the great mass of the people of the State. In the preface he says:

> I expect to be read by many with a double pleasure—one arising from the force of truth, another because this is an American production, and the work of one whom they have often heard from the pulpit. * * * Book writing is but in its infancy in these States. Let no one despise the day of our small things. Americans will naturally relish the fruits of their own soil, though they smell of the congenial forests and fall short of the more elaborate productions of foreign climes. And so affectingly scarce are good books among the common people of the Southern States since the late war that this little piece may compose the whole library in some houses its author has called at.

But he had at the same time the skill to turn this very need to a good account. In speaking of the destitution of the slaves in matters of the religious and intellectual life he says:

> A few of them can read a plain book; and many others of them would learn on Lord's days and sleeping times if they had spelling books, cate-

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the Laws of Delaware in 1763, began the Wilmington Courant in 1787, and the Delaware and Eastern Shore Advertiser in 1789. (Powell's Education in Delaware, p. 32). In favor of Wilmington, N. C., we can only say that A. Maclaine writes to Iredell (II, 243) in 1788 that he intended "to procure another printer;" that the connection between central North Carolina and Wilmington was close, and that had Pattillo gone North for a printer he would probably have gone to Philadelphia instead of Wilmington, Del.

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chisms, testaments, and Watts's Hymns, as they are peculiarly fond of singing. Could my poverty supply them, I should be poor no longer; I should be greatly enriched with the prayers and blessings of many who have nothing else to give. Are the channels entirely shut up by the independence of America, through which so many good books were conveyed about thirty years ago? I reside an hundred miles from Petersburg, our center of trade, and nearest tide of water; and so am out of the way of books. My European readers, should I have any such, will consider the latter part of this note as an eleemosynary, and should it provoke their liberality they will not have an ungrateful beneficiary, nor a negligent almoner.[1]

At a later period he published an Abridgement of Leland's Deistical Writers and a Sermon on the Death of Washington. He left in manuscript some essays on baptism, and on Universalism; a catechism of doctrine for youth, and a catechism, or compend, in question and answer, for the use of adults.[2] His Geographical Catechism will be treated under the head of "Education."

Alexander McWhorter (1734–1807) published a sermon on The Blessedness of the Liberal in 1796, and two volumes of sermons in 1803.

Besides his grammar, noticed later, Rev. James Hall (1744–1826) published a sermon based on Proverbs xiv, 34, preached at the opening of a court in South Carolina; also a sermon preached at the ordination of Samuel C. Caldwell as pastor of Sugar Creek Church, 1792. After the close of the eighteenth century, he also published A | Brief History | of the | Mississippi Territory, | to which is prefixed, | a | Summary view of the Country | between the Settlements on | Cumberland-River, | & the Territory. | By James Hall, A. M. | Salisbury: | Printed for Francis Coupee. | 1801. | "Copy-Right secured according to Law." |[3] In 1802 he published A Narrative of a Most Extraordinary Work of Religion in North Carolina.[4]

But the most prolific of the Presbyterian preachers was the Rev. Samuel Eusebius McCorkle (1746–1811). His first publication of which I have found mention is a Sermon on Sacrifices (1792); he also published a Charity Sermon, delivered on several occasions (1793); a national thanksgiving sermon entitled A

[1] Page 70, note.

[2] Sprague, III, 196–199.

[3] Collation: 12mo; title p., verso preface; summary view, &c., 3–69; Contents and errata, 70.

[4] Philadelphia, 8vo.

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Sermon on the Comparative Happiness and Duty of the United States of America Contrasted with Other Nations, Particularly the Israelites (Halifax, 1795); Sermon Preached at the Laying of the Corner Stone of the University of North Carolina; four discourses on the Great First Principles of Deism and Revelation Contrasted (1797); three discourses on the Terms of the Christian Communion; a national fast sermon entitled The Work of God for the French Republic; and then Her Reformation or Ruin; or, The Novel and Useful Experiment of National Deism to Us and All Mankind; a sermon entitled The Angel's Seal Set upon God's Faithful Servants when Hurtful Winds are Blowing in the Church Militant; another entitled True Greatness, a Sermon on the Death of General Washington (Lincolnton, N. C., 1800).[1]

We have at least one pamphlet of a polemical nature. The debating society and circulating library established in Mecklenburg County[2] had brought in a touch of the contemporary infidelity. To meet this spirit Rev. James Wallis (1762–1819, prepared a condensation of Watson, Paley, and Leslie. It was printed and circulated among the people of his congregation and through the country. Foote says:

> A pamphlet as well calculated to produce the effect designed—the exhibition of the evidences of revelation in contradiction to all infidel notions—has seldom been issued from the press (p. 249).

The Rev. David Caldwell (1725–1824) was perhaps the equal of any minister in the Presbyterian Church in his day. In the pre-Revolutionary period he was in the habit of writing out his sermons with care, but these were destroyed by the British) and in the later period of his life other occupations prevented such work. Only a few of his sermons have come down to us. One, on "The character and doom of the sluggard," and another on "The doctrine of universal salvation unscriptural," have been printed in his biography by Dr. Caruthers (Greensboro, 1842).

The Rev. James M'Gready was another of these Scotch Presbyterians who brought education and culture to their daily task and who prepared their sermons with conscious and scholarly care. Two volumes of his sermons were published in Louis-

[1] Sprague's Annals, III, 346–349. Alexander's Princeton College in the Eighteenth Century, pp. 156–157.

[2] Ante, p. 220.

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ville about 1840 from his manuscript notes. Some of these no doubt had been prepared in the last century.[1]

THE QUAKERS.

The Quakers, although represented by their religious opponents as censorious and ignorant, are able to furnish quite a respectable list of authors. The Society resolved in 1755 "that no Friend or Friends write, print, or publish any book or writing whatsoever tending to raise contention or breach of unity amongst Friends or that have not first had the perusal and approbation of such Friends as shall be appointed by this meeting for that affair." An index committee of seven was accordingly appointed "to peruse all such books and writings as shall be offered them." This regulation was a part of their discipline, and was not peculiar to North Carolina.

Their list of authors begins with Hermon Husband, the regulator. Besides his political pamphlets, already noticed, he published in Philadelphia, in 1761, Some Remarks on Religion, with the Author's Experience. He was then a resident of North Carolina; the work itself had probably been produced about 1750, possibly in North Carolina.

The Quakers had at least one author of considerable fertility. This was Thomas Nicholson (1715–1780), of Perquimans County. Of his personal history we know too little. He was born in Perquimans. He visited England in 1749–50. His first publication was An Answer to the Layman's Treatise on Baptism: in which the Author is pleased to say, that the Quaker Doctrine of Water Baptism is considered, their objections answered, and the Doctrine of the Church of England, upon that important point, stated and vindicated. Williamsburg: Printed by William Hunter. (1757. 8vo.)[2]

His next work was An Epistle to Friends in Great Britain, to whom is the Salutation of my Love, in the Unchangeable Truth. (Written from "Little River, in N. C., the 15th of the

[1] Foote, pp. 367, 372.

[2] Extract from Virginia Yearly Meeting records: "1757. Thomas Nicholson's MS. examined, some changes made, & sent to printer; 600 copies to be printed; 300 to be paid for at £10; 300 to remain in printer's hands 1 year & advertised by him; all remaining in his hands at end of that time to be paid for at 8d. each. 1759. 3£ 6s. 4d. raised to pay Anselm Bailey & Samuel Pleasants, money 'advanced by them for the last payment for printing Nicholson's Answer to the Layman's treatise on baptism.' Balance raised, 1760."

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9th Month, 1762.") (n. p., 1762. 8vo.) As is well known, the North Carolina Yearly Meeting corresponded with other yearly meetings, and these annual epistles took the place of the religious newspaper of to-day. In 1774 he appeared before the Quaker index expurgatorius[1] with a "small piece of manuscript," which he called The Light upon the Candlestick. It was passed upon favorably, and a committee was appointed "to assist him in making it public." He presented them also Extracts from the Light upon the Candlestick and Liberty and Property. This was a plea for a change in the existing law relating to the freeing of slaves. The committee approved the piece and left the author at "liberty to make public." Friends were also appointed whose duty it was "to take opportunity with as many of the members of the assembly as they conveniently can, and let them have the perusal thereof." Nicholson also kept a journal, giving detailed accounts of his visit to Carver's Creek and Dunn's Creek meetings in 1746, to England in 1749–1751, and to Newbern in 1771. It is of much interest and value, and is believed to be the first journal kept by a North Carolina Quaker. Proposals were made in 1782 relative to its publication; this was never done. It is now the property of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.

We must add to the work of Nicholson the work of one other Quaker preacher, whose life comes partly within the limits assigned to this paper. This was Richard Jordan (1756–1826). He was a native of Virginia, but resided in Northampton County, N. C., 1768–1804. His journal, written from day to day, is of great interest. It shows all the marks of the Quaker character—naïve, simple, but highly figurative, and with a certain flavor of self-conceit.[2]

X.—EDUCATIONAL WORKS.

When we come to examine what was done in the way of educational books, we find the field scantier than ever. Indeed the list is narrowed down to the work of two or three Presbyterians, who are here, as always in the history of North Carolina, in the advance in all matters that lead to the intellectual life.

[1] In 1780 the central committee of the index was discontinued and the supervision was left to the standing committee of the quarterly meeting.

[2] Published in 1827, 1839, 1849. For a full presentation of the lives of Husband, Nicholson, and Jordan, see my Southern Quakers and Slavery.

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After the Revolution, Rev. James Hall founded a circulating library within the bounds of his charge in Iredell County. To advance the same good cause, he organized a Saturday class of young people to take lessons in grammar. He had no books, and to remedy the difficulty prepared a grammar, had manuscript copies made, and they were circulated among the class. Later it was printed and had an extensive circulation.[1]

Rev. Joseph Caldwell (1773–1835) did a similar service for the infant University of North Carolina. His book was an elementary treatise on geometry, which was to be used by the junior class. It was enlarged and printed in after years. Prof. William Hooper, in his inimitable address Fifty Years Since, tells the result of using the manuscript copies:

> Copies were to be had only by transcribing, and in process of time they of course were swarming with errors. But this was of decided advantage to the junior who stuck to his text without minding his diagram, for if he happened to say the angle of A was equal to the angle of B, when in fact the diagram showed no angle at B at all, but one at C, if Dr. Caldwell corrected him he had it always in his power to say, "Well, that was what I thought myself, but it ain't so in the book, and I thought you knew better than I." We may well suppose that the doctor was completely silenced by this unexpected application of the argumentum ad hominem.[2]

We can add to this list William R. Davie's Cavalry Tactics, of which two editions were published—the first in 1798 and the second, revised and enlarged, in 1799 (Halifax).

The most curious and interesting of these early books, perhaps, as well as the most valuable, is the Geographical Catechism of the Rev. Henry Pattillo. It was intended "to assist those who have neither maps, nor gazetteers, to read newspapers, history, or travels." It contained "as much of the Science of Astronomy, and the Doctrine of the air" as was judged sufficient for the farmer and for the student who either had or did not have an opportunity to pursue these studies further (Halifax, 1796). It is dedicated to General Davie, and the "fourth inducement for publishing," the author says, was that "I did, and still do, hope my book may bring me in a few dollars, which will be welcome guest when they arrive." He begins with a description of the earth's surface. From this he turns to the zodiac, explains this, and passes on to a general description of the planets. He feels it necessary to argue in

[1] Foote, p. 330.

[2] North Carolina University Magazine, 1859–60, IX, p. 590.

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favor of the heliocentric theory of the universe, and the whole has an intensely religious tone. His account of Uranus is interesting: "The seventh and most exterior of all the planets was discovered a few years ago by Dr. Herchell [sic], which, in honor of the British King, he called the Georgian Planet." On comets he says:

Their uses are mere conjecture. Some judge them the seats of punishment where sinners suffer the extremes of heat and cold. Mr. Whiston says a comet approaching the sun brushed the earth with its tail and caused the deluge, and that another will cause the conflagration.

After this survey of the planets he returns to geography and begins with Europe, "the smallest but most improved quarter of the world." Of Spain he says:

Spain claims as much territory in North America as thrice the United States; extending from the isthmus of Darien to the polar circle; and from the Pacific Ocean on the west to Canada, Mississippi, and the gulph of Florida, on the east. In such a vast extent of coast they have many ports and harbors, the chief of which are New Orleans, on the Mississippi; Vera Cruz, Campechy, Honduras, St. Jago and Porto Bello, on the gulph of Florida; and Aquapulcho and Panama on the Pacific. These dominions contain Mexico, New Spain, and many other provinces. Spain owns in South America from the Carribean Sea to the Straits of Magellan.

Turkey, he says, "is about 1,000 miles in length from Chotzim, near the border of Poland, to the southern point of the Morea; and from Oczakow, on the Nieper, to Dalmatia on the Adriatic, nearly as wide. This empire contains the ancient Peleponesus [*sic*], now Morea, Achaia, Greece, Macedon, Illyricum, Bulgaria, Wallachia, Moldavia, and parts of Tartary. The capital of the whole empire is Constantinople." All of which goes to prove that geography, like history, demands to be constantly rewritten.

When America is reached the author is carried away with his subject. He thus describes the beginnings of the Revolution:

Britain backed her claims with a fleet and army, and the devoted town of Boston felt the first vengeance of offended royalty. O my dear country! never forget your then situation. Without an army; without a general bred in the school of war; without great or small arms fit to oppose the unconquered forces of Britain; without a treasury; without an ally; without a single frigate to oppose the first naval power on earth—a power deemed our mother, among whom we had a million of relations, friends, and correspondents—to oppose the King whom we honored to idolatry! At this awful period Congress met, under a load of public cares, inconceivable by all but patriots. It seized the helm; it became a center of union and of motion to the scattered colonists, and made a common

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cause with Boston. The continent, as by an electrical shock, caught the noble and enthusiastic spirit of liberty and resentment. Heaven pointed out George Washington as the instrument by whom it would save his country.

He then reviews the States, and coming to North Carolina speaks of the infant University as follows:

A university is established by act of assembly, in Orange County, with liberal appointments by the State, and numerous benefactions. It is yet in its infancy; has about 60 students, and if under the government of good and learned men, must prove an extensive blessing as well as an honor to the State. What can more loudly call for the prayers of all good people than that God's blessing may reside on our principal seat of learning, from which fountain are to flow those streams that must poison or purify our country. Its short progress has been rapid; may its success be glorious!

This completes, so far as I know, the list of books written in North Carolina in the eighteenth century. It does not seem proper to include in the list the few law books that were published, for they were nothing but compilations. The list as given is small and perhaps incomplete. Many of the books are of little value in themselves, and of the twenty-eight authors of the seventy publications mentioned, only six persons—Clement Hall, James Wallis, Maurice Moore, W. S. Hasell, Thomas Nicholson, and possibly John Hay—were natives of North Carolina. But nearly all of these writers had settled permanently in the province or State, and had become identified with its history, and this goes to prove Colonel Saunders's dictum that the birth of North Carolina is much nearer 1753 than 1653. The list is given without further comment; some knowledge of its contents is of service in studying the development of Southern history and literature.

PART III.—BIBLIOGRAPHY.

SUPPLEMENT TO MY BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY PRESS PRINTED IN MY "PRESS OF NORTH CAROLINA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY," PP. 53-80 (BROOKLYN, 1891).

Acts passed by the Assembly during the session of March, 1753. [Newbern: Printed by James Davis.] 6a

This is a second edition. It is printed and paged uniformly with the Revisal of 1752 and has no separate title-page. It was evidently bound in with the remainder of the edition of the Revisal that had not been sold up to that time. It is probable that the type was set and after the separate edition was struck off the pagination was changed to run on continuously with the Revisal. The same thing was done in the Revisal of 1773 (see Nos. 35 and 35a), and something somewhat similar in the Revisal of 1791 (see Nos. 88 and 88a–88g). The Pennsylvania Historical Society has the only copy of this edition with which I am acquainted.

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Acts passed by the Assembly during the session of February, 1754. [Newbern: Printed by James Davis.] 8a

See note to 6a above.

A [?] | Sermon | Preached in | Christ-Church, in Newbern, | in North-Carolina, | December 27th, 1755, Æra of | Masonry, 5755, | Before | The Ancient and Honorable Society | Of | Free and Accepted Masons. | Published at the Request of the Master, War- | dens, and Brethren of the Lodge. | By Michael Smith, A. B. | Newbern: | Printed by James Davis. | M,DCC,-LVI. | 8a

Collation: 8vo (3¼ by 5¼ inches), pp. 19. Title and collation kindly furnished me by Mr. F. D. Stone, of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, which has the only copy that I know of. The upper part of the title-page is gone, so that it is impossible to tell whether the word "A" is torn off or not.

[A Defense of the Method of Baptism as practiced by the Church of England; by Alexander Stewart, missionary of the S. P. G. at Bath. Newbern: Printed by James Davis. 1759.] 18a

Hypothetical title of a tract which Mr. Stewart says he prepared, "collected from the best authors I could find here." Four copies were sent to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and 400 distributed through the province. (Colonial Records, VI, 316.)

N. B.—Was this tract an answer to Nicholson (q. v. under Literature)? And if so, who was the "Layman" whom he answers?

Full title to No. 33:

A | Sermon | Preached before his Excellency | William Tryon, Esquire, | Governor and Commander in Chief of the | Province of North Carolina | and the | Troops raised to quell the late | Insurrection | At | Hillsborough, in Orange County | on Sunday, September 25, 1768 | By Geo. Micklejohn, S. T. D. | New-Bern: | Printed by James Davis. | M. DCC. LXVIII. 33

Title from North Carolina University Magazine, 1855, IV, 251. Col. W. L. Saunders had two copies of this sermon, which probably came from the Swain Collection.

[Plan for Keeping the Public Accounts of the Province of North Carolina. Newbern: Printed by James Davis. 1768 (or 1769)] 33a

Hypothetical title based on Tryon's message to the assembly: "I herewith send you a printed copy of the * * * ." (Colonial Records, VIII, 152, 317.)

[Acts passed by the Assembly during the session of 1768 (or 1769?). Newbern: Printed by James Davis.] 33b

Title based on Tryon's letter to Earl Hillsborough, November 22, 1769: "This is my apology for sending your lordship at this time printed copies of the principal transactions of the last assembly." (North Carolina University Magazine, 1859–60, IX, 339.) As the assembly of 1769 lasted only fourteen days and passed no important acts, this letter doubtless refers to the assembly of 1768.

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[An act for authorizing Presbyterian ministers, regularly called to any Congregation within this Province, to solemnize the Rites of Matrimony, under the regulations therein mentioned. Newbern: Printed by James Davis. 1770.] 33c

Inserted on authority of Rev. James Reed's letter to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel: "Lest by any accident the Governor's letter should have miscarried, I have sent you a printed copy of the act." (Colonial Records, IX, 5, 6.)

Full title to No. 35:

The | Office and Authority | of a | Justice of Peace. | And also, | The Duty of Sheriffs, Coroners, Con- | stables, Church wardens, Overseers | of Roads, and other Officers. | Together with | Precedent of Warrants, Judgments, Execu- | tions, and other legal Process, issuable by Ma- | gistrates within their several Jurisdictions, in Cases | Civil and Criminal, with the Method of Judicial | Proceedings before Justices of the Peace out of sessi- | ons. Also some Directions for their Conduct within | their County Courts. | To which is added, | An Appendix. | Containing many useful Precedents, and Directions | for the Execution of them. | Collected from the Common and Statute Laws of | England, and the Acts of Assembly of this Province, | and adapted to our Constitution and Practice. | By J. Davis, Esq; one of his Majesty's Justices of | the Peace for the County of Craven. | Newbern: | Printed by James Davis. M,DCC,LXXIV. | 35

Collation: Title, 1 l., verso blank; preface, 1 l., unnumbered; text, 1–404; index, 3 pp., unnumbered. The only copy known to the compiler is the one in his possession.

Acts passed by the Assembly during the session of March, 1774. Newbern: Printed by James Davis 35a

A second edition. See note to 6a above.

[An Address to the Ministers and Presbyterian congregations in North Carolina. Wilmington: Printed by Adam Boyd. 1775.] 36a

Hypothetical title based on Colonial Records, X, 188, where it is stated that Boyd, who was a member, had laid before the provincial congress 200 copies of such a letter. This is immediately followed by a resolution to allow Boyd the sum of ——— out of the public funds. As Boyd was then printing the Cape Fear Mercury in Wilmington, it is probable that the Address (reprinted in Colonial Records, X, 222–228) was first printed in his paper and then reprinted by him and these copies presented to the congress, for which they agreed to reimburse him. The Address was doubtless intended to counteract Toryism on the upper Cape Fear.

Full title to No. 38:

The | Journal | of the | Proceedings | of the | Provincial Congress | of North-Carolina, | Held at Halifax on the 4th day of April, 1776. | Pub-

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lished by Authority. | Newbern: | Printed by James Davis, Printer to the Honourable the House of Assembly. | MDCCLXXVI.....38

Pages 45; size, 7¼ by 9½ inches. Title from copy owned by Bishop Cheshire.

Correction to No. 41:

This is an error. There was no Revisal of the Laws printed in 1777 41

The | Journal | of the | House of Commons.....44a

Session of August, 1778; n. t. p.; n. p.; no printer; quarto. Bishop Cheshire's copy, the only one of which the compiler knows, lacks all after page 24.

State of North Carolina: | In Convention, August 1, 1788.....69

The character of this publication is explained by the proceedings of the convention of 1788 (Journal, p. 15, August 1). The convention in committee of the whole adopted a "bill of rights" and a number of amendments, which the convention desired to have incorporated into the Federal Constitution before they were willing to accept it. The next day the convention adopted the preceding action reported from the committee of the whole and directed that copies of the bill of rights and amendments should be sent to the Federal Congress and to the executives of the several States. This No. 69 is evidently one of the copies printed to be sent as directed.

Answers to Mr. Mason's Objection to the New Constitution recommended by the late Convention at Philadelphia. By Marcus. Newbern: Hodge & Wills. 1788.....68a

This was the work of James Iredell and is dated January 8, 1788. It was first printed in the State Gazette in fragments, and in the pamphlet form was accompanied by an address to the people by Publicola (Archibald Maclaine). It was republished during the same year with additions by William R. Davie and others. See No. 70.

The | Journal | of the | Convention | of | North-Carolina. | [Colophon:] Hillsborough: Printed by Robert Ferguson. [1788.].....72a

Collation: Pages, 16; size, 6 by 8 inches. Title from Bishop Cheshire's copy.

This was the convention of 1788, which rejected the Federal Constitution.

Full title of No. 87:

The | Office and Authority | of a | Justice of the Peace, | and of | Sheriffs, Coroners, &c. | according to the laws | of the | State of North-Carolina. | Happy the Country where Law is not a Science! | Newbern: | François Xavier Martin | 1791. | 87

Collation: 8vo; title, 1 l., verso blank; 1 l. blank; dedication to John Sitgreaves, 1 l., verso blank; preface, 1–3; p. 4 blank; index, 5–6; 1 l. blank; ratification of Constitution of United States and constitution of North Carolina, 1–27; office and authority, etc., 29–293; note on 294; 1 blank l.; appendix, 295–307; errata, 308, unpaged; subscribers' names, 4 p., unpaged.

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Corrections to Nos. 77 and 88, Iredell's Revisal:

McRee's Iredell (II, 277) and the Revised Statutes of North Carolina (I, xii) both state that Iredell's Revisal was printed in 1789, but I have never heard of a copy with the 1789 imprint. The Revisal proper ends with the laws for 1788, the ordinances of the convention of 1789, and the Constitution of the United States (p. 660). An appendix, "Laws of North Carolina, 1789," begins on page 661; a second appendix, "Laws of North Carolina, 1790," begins on page 694. The laws for 1790, inserted here, were, possibly, printed in part from the forms used for the separate edition of the laws of 1790, for the type and pp. 697–710 agree in all respects except the signatures. It seems that the separate edition was first printed; the same type was then used, the paging being changed and the private laws given by title only, for the appendix to the Revisal. This was not the case with the appendix for 1789. Those laws were reprinted, as will be seen by comparing the two. The index to the Revisal, which is paged separately, comes in after page 713. I have never seen a copy with the index following page 660. Some copies end with the laws for 1790, the index, and list of subscribers; other copies have the laws for various years added after the index, and the laws thus given are not the same in all copies. The laws for 1791 are paged 713–732, but are not the original edition (for which see my No. 91). The laws for 1792 are paged 1–20 (balance missing in compiler's copy), and it seems that this is the original edition (see my No. 95, but in some copies only pp. 1–16 are of the original edition). It seems that the usual custom was for the printer to issue an extra number of copies of pages 1–16 of the public or general acts for each year, reprint all public acts that ran beyond page 16, give the titles only of the private acts, and attach this collection from year to year to the remainder of the edition of the Revisal then on hand. The compiler has a copy which includes the laws of 1800, and some of the copies have an index to the appendixes through 1798. All the copies he has seen have the 1791 title-page.

Collation of appendixes:

Laws of 1791, F., pp. 713–732.....88a
Laws of 1792, F., pp. 1–20 (pp. 1–16 same).....88b
Laws of 1793, F., pp. 1–19 (pp. 1–16 same); separate edition, list of fees, etc., 21–23.....88c
Laws of 1794, F., pp. 1–8 (July session, probably same).
Laws of 1794, F., pp. 1–20 (December session, 1–16 same).....88d
Laws of 1795, F., pp. 1–20 (1–16 same).....88e
Laws of 1796, F., pp. 1–40, 43–45 (no pp. 41–42).....88f
Laws of 1799, F., pp. 1–20 (1–16 same).....88g

As the compiler did not have a complete set of the annual session laws at hand, he can not speak for the identity of the other years. None of these revisals of the annual laws have separate title-pages; no time, place, or printer is given; the signatures, as well as the paging, indicate that they were printed separately and independently of each other.

Cases | determined in the | Court, of King's Bench; | during the | I, II & III Years of Charles I. | Collected by | John Latch, of the Middle

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Temple, Esquire, | First published, in Norman-French, [1661,] by | Edward Walpole, of Gray's Inn, Esquire. | Translated into the English Language, | By Francois-Xavier Martin. | Newbern: | From the Translator's Press. | 1793. | 98a

Collation: 8vo; note by translator, 1 p., facing title; title, 1 l., verso blank; note of translator, 1 l., verso blank; first editor's preface, 1 l.; Latch's reports, 215 pp. unpaged (the paging of the original edition is indicated in the margins, and reference is made to this paging); table, 4 pp. verso to recto, unpaged; index, 15 pp., verso to recto, unpaged; errata, 1 p., recto. This volume is usually bound with No. 115, and the size of that volume will probably explain why the paging of the original edition was not followed exactly.

[Address of Tarborough Convention] 98b

Hypothetical title of a pastoral letter printed as a broadside and sent out to the churches of the State by the Protestant Episcopal convention then in session in Tarboro, November 21, 1793. Probably printed by Hodge & Wills, Edenton.

Laws of North Carolina, July session, 1794. [Colophon:] Newbern: from the press of François X. Martin 101a

Folio; n. t. p.; 9 pp., 1 blank.

Exact title to 108:

The | Acts | of the General Assembly | of the | State of North Carolina, | passed during the sessions held in the years 1791, 1792, 1793 and 1794. [Design] Newbern: Francois-X. Martin. | 1795.

Collation: Title, 1 l., verso blank; preface, 1 l.; acts, 1–182; table, 5 pages (unnumbered).

[North Carolina Almanac for 1796. Halifax: Abraham Hodge. 1795.] .109a

Based on Pattillo's Geographical Catechism, page 62: "Mr. Hodge's new Almanack will gratify political arithmeticians, not only in the proportion of the sexes, but will prove the age of 16 to be a good medium at which to divide the living numbers of the human race."

Full title to 115:

Notes | of a few | Decisions | in the | Superior Courts | of the | State of North Carolina, | and in the | Circuit Court of the U. States, | for | North Carolina District. | To which is added | a Translation of Latches's Cases. | Newbern: | Francois-Xavier Martin. | 1797. | 115

Collation: 8vo; title, 1 l., verso blank; publisher's statement, 1 l., verso blank; table of cases, 3 pp., unpaged; North Carolina cases, 1–78; United States cases, 1–83; table of matters, 5 pp., verso to verso, unpaged; errata, 1 p.

Hamilton *vs.* Eaton. A case respecting British debts in U. S. Circuit Court, N. C. District. Newbern: F. X. Martin. 1797..... 115a

Title from Brinley Catalogue, 1886, Pt. IV, p. 62. This case appears also in Martin's Notes of Decisions (see No. 115), where it is paged separately without title-page, 1–77. The same forms were no doubt used for the separate edition, as it was only necessary to make a separate title-page.

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Correction to No. 129:

This volume is known as 1 Haywood, and Judge Iredell in the list of "Titles of the Reports in North Carolina" in his Digest, Vol. I, p. ix, gives the date of publication as 1799, not 1800. I have never seen a perfect copy 129

A Manual of the Laws of North Carolina, arranged under distinct heads in alphabetical order; with references from one head to another when a subject is mentioned in any other part of the book than under the distinct head to which it belongs. By John Haywood. 1800.....131

Laws | of the | University | of | North-Carolina; | Established by the | Board of Trustees, | at their session in December, | 1799. | Raleigh | Printed by J. Gales. | 1800.....132

Total number of separate publications discovered, 1749-1800, inclusive, 153. Of these the compiler owns in complete, and in most cases perfect, copies, Nos. 63, 71, 80, 87, 88, 88a, 88b, 88c, 88d, 88e, 88f, 88g, 92, 95, 98, 98a, 104, 107, 114, 115; in imperfect copies, Nos. 5, 34, 35, 35a, 57, 58, 59, 62, 68, 85, 91, 129.

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XI.—SUFFRAGE IN THE STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA (1776–1861).

By PROF. J. S. BASSETT,
OF TRINITY COLLEGE.

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SUFFRAGE IN THE STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA (1776-1861).

By J. S. Bassett.

The question of suffrage is the core of governmental policy. It is the gauge of the conditions of democracy. The extent to which organized society admits its constituent parts into participation in the affairs of government is the extent to which it secures free institutions. Accordingly, the degree in which we understand the conditions of suffrage in a State will be a measure of the appreciation of the politics of that State. It is with a view of getting this appreciation of the politics of North Carolina that the present treatment of suffrage has been undertaken.

Suffrage in North Carolina has grown, very naturally, out of the spirit of the people. This State has always been remarkable for her conservative thought. In nothing is this conservatism seen more clearly than in the obstinacy with which she opposed the tendency toward a level democracy, which from the days of Jefferson gradually subdued the political life of the country. It was probably her isolated geographical position, and all the disadvantages consequent upon it, that caused this conservatism. At any rate, it was manifested from her earliest existence as a State. The revolutionary movement there was an affair of the colonial aristocracy. The prominent families organized it in the field and then made the constitution under which the people were destined to live for sixty years.

The key to the general political situation will be found in the county politics of the time. There were in each county a certain number of families of wealth and political aptitude who were selected by the governor and the other agents of the royal authority to be the justices of the peace. These were appointed by the governor and council and in their hands gradually came to be the chief power of the county. They had the right to recommend to the governor three men for the office of sheriff.

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One of these the governor appointed. This sheriff held the election for assemblyman, and by means of collecting the taxes, executing court decrees, and a hundred other actions of government became the direct symbol of the King's authority to the people around him. He at once became a personage of importance. The Englishry of the people is seen in their ready submission to such leadership. When it came to the election of assemblymen these justices of the peace, with the sheriff and the family connection for which they all stood, would decide on a candidate, and through their combined influence they usually elected him. Often this was the only candidate before the voters. At times the people became dissatisfied and brought out a candidate themselves. Sometimes such a man would be elected, but the usual result was the contrary. Through this means there came about what may be called, without intending to discredit them, an officeholding aristocracy. As long as this influence gave an honest administration—and such was usually the case—the people were satisfied and public business, both locally and centrally, went on with good effect.

The point on which these leading families relied in 1776 to maintain themselves in the government was the suffrage. They first made the executive and judicial functions take their authority from the legislature, and then they made sure of that function by leaving the upper house in the hands of the landowners. So complete was their ascendency that it was seventy years before the excluded classes dared to join battle for their rights, and ten years more before they secured them.

The slowness to reform was due, in a sense, to a condition of affairs that approached democracy. In the eastern part of the State inferior economic opportunities offered no attraction to men whose means enabled them to settle large tracts of land. Such persons usually went to South Carolina or to Virginia. Consequently, the intermediate colony was settled by small landholders, not a few being people of broken fortunes elsewhere. It is true that the natural growth of slavery brought about a certain number of large plantations in the east, but so great was the former proportion that the genius of landholding, if one may so speak, remained till the civil war on the basis of the small farm. The western part of the State was settled quite independently of the east, and for a long time there was little common life between the two sec-

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tions. It was settled by a vast train of Scotch-Irish that poured down from Pennsylvania through the Virginia valleys. These were without great means and cared little for slavery. They came with the habits of small farmers, and in a short time cut up the available land west of Raleigh into little holdings that rarely exceeded 500 acres. It was this diffusion of the landed property, both in the east and the west, that enabled the political leaders to retain for so long a time the property qualification for voting. Had there been a considerable number of large farms there would have been a greater number of nonlandowners, and these would have brought on at an earlier day the struggle for equality.

In 1776 there were two sources of authority in the political affairs of the province—(1) the King, who, through his governor and the council, appointed and controlled all the officers except the assembly and its few appointees; (2) the people, who, under certain restrictions, elected the assemblymen, and through this single means had a part in government. Between these two powers there was continual warfare. Each tried to get authority that was exercised by the other. At an early time the assembly, not disposed to trust a proprietary officer, appointed a treasurer, whose duty it was to receive and disburse the funds raised by the assembly. This officer was quite distinct from the receiver-general, whose duty it was to handle the money of the lords proprietors, or later of the King. This treasurer at length became a man of power, and on more than one occasion the royal influence showed a desire to control his selection. On the other hand, the King had appointed the superior court judges. This was distasteful to the people, and by various means they tried to get a voice in this appointment.

The period just before the Revolution saw the assembly and the King's representatives at a deadlock on the question of superior courts. Each side was bent on getting entire control of the court system. Neither would yield, and so for three years there were no regularly authorized courts in the province. Much hard feeling was engendered, and the more the country suffered the more did the leaders on the side of the assembly have the support of those of the people who might already have been spoken of as the party of the Revolution. Therefore, when in 1776 these leaders found the government left to them by the flight of the governor and his council, they

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naturally thought that the safety of the State lay in carrying out the plans for which they had been for years contending. The officers that had formerly been appointed by the King might now be disposed of in two ways—they might be turned over to popular election or they might be chosen by the assembly. There were two good reasons why the former method should not be adopted: (1) There were so many Tories in the province that it was doubtful if the Revolutionary party could carry a popular election. As a matter of fact, the constitution of 1776 was not submitted to the people because it was feared that it would be rejected through the opposition of the Tories. (2) The assembly leaders were unwilling to see the power they had go out of their hands. They thought, and with much justness, that it would be better to leave the selection of the officers who must take the State through the Revolution to those who could judge wisely, and who were undoubtedly committed to the cause of independence. At any rate, they quietly took these vacated offices into their own hands, and popular government was practically little better off than before.

Such was the point of view of the convention that framed the Halifax constitution in 1776. These men were elected for their duty under the old colonial law of elections. This law stipulated that freeholders only could vote for representatives, and it went on to define a freeholder as a person "who, bona fide, hath an estate real for his own lifetime, or the life of another, or any estate of a greater dignity of a sufficient number of acres;" that is to say, of 50 acres or more.[1]

The provincial congress of 1775 provided for the calling of further congresses,[2] and on it fell the duty of regulating the matter of suffrage for the temporary government. It approved

[1] See Laws of North Carolina, 1760 (fourth session), Chap. I, secs. 3 and 4.

[2] It enacted "that on the third Tuesday in October in every year the freeholders in each county throughout this province shall meet at the court-house of such county, and in the presence of three inspectors to be appointed by the county court, or candidates, or any two of such inspectors, shall proceed to choose any number of persons, not exceeding five, to represent them in congress for one year, in the same manner and under the same regulations, as near as may be, as directed by an act of assembly of this province entitled 'An act to regulate elections.'" It was also provided that the boroughs should each "elect a member to represent them in congress, under the same rules and regulations, as near as may be as have been usually observed in electing members to sit and vote in general assembly." (Colonial Records, Vol. X, p. 211.)

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and continued the colonial law, and added a provision that the electors might be required to take an oath of loyalty to the patriot cause before they would be allowed to vote. It extended also the sphere of the political activity of the voters by giving them the right to elect the county committees of safety,[1] thus giving, for the first time in the history of the province, local self-government.[2] It was according to these arrangements that the congress which met in Halifax, and on which devolved the duty of preparing a constitution, was elected.

That this congress should have kept its eye steadily on the privileges of the property holders will not surprise us. That it should have made a concession to the nonproperty-holding class is a matter of more interest. In arranging the assembly it provided that there should be two houses—a senate and a house of commons. The former was to be composed of one representative from each county. Such a representative must have resided in the county for which he was chosen at least one year before election, and he must possess 300 acres of land in fee. To vote for a senator a man must have 50 acres of land in fee, or for life, in the county in which he voted. Thus it will be seen that the landowners remained supreme here. The house of commons was composed of two representatives from each county and one from each of seven enumerated towns. A representative in this house must have lived six months in the county and must own at least 100 acres of land in fee, or for life, in that same county. All freemen resident for twelve months in the county and having paid public taxes, or all freemen in the boroughs, had the right to vote for such representatives. All elections, it was further provided, should be by ballot.[3] This giving of the franchise as regards voters for members of the commons to nonproperty holders was a wise policy. It conciliated that class who could hope for nothing under the old arrangement, giving them the hope of gaining a share in the direction of government. It was a concession made with a view of securing their loyalty. Still it must be very evident that with the senate in the control of landowners, and with landowners alone voting in the commons, the powers of the landless voters were not very wide reaching. It

[1] These were the Revolutionary committees in North Carolina, and corresponded to the town committees in the Northern colonies.

[2] Colonial Records of North Carolina, Vol. X, pp. 212–213.

[3] Ibid, p. 1007.

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was a step toward democracy, however, and must be noted as the beginning of a process which later brought entire equality.

The whole business is indicative of the spirit of the Revolution. In North Carolina this movement was a revolt on the part of the leaders against the one-man power of, not only King George, but of the unit of British power. The process by which this authority was overthrown is analogous to that by which the Greek cities passed from monarchy to oligarchy. To carry the analogy further, it would not be incorrect to say that the manner in which the Greek cities passed from oligarchies to democracies corresponds in a way to that by which democracy came in North Carolina to succeed the oligarchy that followed the Revolution. Indeed, the civil war, that ruthless knocking down of aristocracies, is in a certain sense analogous to that process by which democratic Athens imposed popular government on the various aristocratic cities which she conquered.

These facts need not be cause of regret. An oligarchy was best fitted to organize and to bring to successful issue the Revolutionary struggle. After liberty was won, it gave the people a pure, honest, economical, and steady administration. How many democracies can say as much for themselves?

With the arrangements for suffrage thus made in the beginnings, no dissatisfaction appeared for years. There were from time to time demands for the revision of the constitution, but they were invariably made on other grounds than the suffrage. It was these demands that finally led to the constitutional convention of 1835. The only matters discussed and carried in that body that have interest for us at this time were the disfranchisement of the free persons of color and the election of the governor by the people. Here was both a departure from and an advance toward popular government. The former grew out of a change in public sentiment in regard to the negro, and the latter was doubtless the natural result of the leaven of democracy that was working in the minds of all the people.

The question of negro suffrage came up for discussion early in the sessions of the convention. The constitution of 1776 had made provision by which it was not possible to keep any free negro who could comply with the necessary conditions from voting for assemblymen as freely as the whites. What had been the actual intentions of the builders of the constitution was never satisfactorily known. In view of the fact that free negroes were free men in 1776, it seems but fair to assume

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that they were not intended to be debarred of the franchise, there being no statement to that effect. At all events, they were allowed to vote. In some counties there were considerable numbers of them. In close political contests they became important factors. They often held the balance of power. It was charged that they were won either by money or by degraded favors from some low-minded white candidate. As a people they had come to be looked on as a hopeless set, with no ambition and with a ready disposition to favor sedition among the slaves. The majority of the members of the convention undoubtedly believed these charges, whether they were true or not. There were, however, a number who believed in the better element of the free-negro class and who tried hard to save that element from disfranchisement. These made the fight on a property qualification for the free negroes. In committee of the whole they introduced an amendment providing that no free person of color should vote for members of the house of commons unless he should possess a freehold estate of the value of $250.[1] A spirited debate at once began. The advocates of the measure claimed that it would put a premium on the progress of the free negro; that it would conciliate the most respectable of that class, and so make them valuable to the whites in discovering impending slave insurrections; that a number of these people had fought in the Revolution and their services ought to be recognized, and that in fact they usually voted for men of character and talents to represent them. Owen Holmes, of New Hanover, made some remarks of great plainness and much interest. He said that there were many prejudices against free negroes in his part of the country, and he admitted that many of the class were degraded and corrupt, but he believed that the whites were as much to blame as the negroes, "for they were principally the corrupters of the morals of these people." There were also many free negroes who owned property and were of good standing. These, he thought, should be distinguished from those who were vicious.

It was argued, on the other hand, that a free person of color was not a citizen and was already disfranchised. The fact that they were called freemen in the abstract gave them no right to vote, unless it were agreed that they were citizens. The argument that they had fought in the Revolution was

[1] See Debates of the Convention of 1835, p. 60.

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weak. Many slaves had fought there also; should they vote on that account? The free negro's lot was not a hard one. It "far surpassed the nondescript situation of the ancient Helots and villeins, or the ignoble condition of the oppressed peasantry of Poland." These people had all been slaves once, and as such they were certainly not citizens. Were they ever naturalized? Did the act of assembly which allowed a superior court under certain conditions to liberate slaves confer any power to make them citizens? If they were citizens they were entitled in every State to the privileges of the citizens of the several States. Yet had not North Carolina forbidden free negroes to come within her borders, except under certain severe restrictions? To deprive them of their votes would undoubtedly be a hardship to the more progressive of the class, but the interest of a few must yield to the public good. In several eastern counties they had not been allowed to vote, and there they had accepted the necessity "with cheerfulness and contentment." The spirit of the majority was seen clearly in a speech by Mr. Bryan, of Carteret. He said:

> This is, to my mind, a nation of white people, and the enjoyment of all civil and social rights by a distinctive class of individuals is purely permissive, and unless there be a perfect equality in every respect it can not be demanded as a right. * * * It may be urged that this is a harsh and cruel doctrine, and unjust, and by no means reciprocal in its operation. I do not acknowledge any equality between the white man and the free negro in the enjoyment of political rights. The free negro is a citizen of necessity, and must, as long as he abides among us, submit to the laws which necessity and the peculiarity of his situation compel us to adopt.[1]

It must be confessed that the friends of the free negro had made the weaker argument. The natural strength of their position lay along the lines of the natural rights of man. They had confined themselves almost solely to the question of expediency. In ignoring the real strength of the negro's cause they perhaps acted wisely. An appeal on the basis of natural rights would most likely have done the negro no good. Indeed, it is doubtful if all of those who voted on his side on the question at issue would have indorsed any such appeal. The amendment to provide property qualification was lost and another was adopted which read:

> *Resolved*, That free negroes and mulattoes, within four degrees, shall not be allowed to vote for members of the senate or house of commons of this State.[2]

[1] Debates of the Convention of 1835, pp. 68–69.

[2] Ibid., p. 72.

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Thus the matter was reported from the committee of the whole to the convention.

The following day this resolution was taken up by the convention. An animated debate ensued. On the side of the negro a few new points were made. Mr. Shober, of Stokes, took advanced ground, but did not attempt to defend it. He said that it was sufficient for him that a free negro was a human being and a free agent, and that if he were taxed as a white man he ought to have the rights of a white man. Mr. Giles, of Rowan, spoke of the charge that negro votes could be purchased. Purchased by whom? Undoubtedly by white men. In that case the blame was as much on the white man as on the negro. The legislature, he thought, had been remiss in its duty toward the negroes. "Instead of attempting to improve their situation they appear to have acted on a principle of hostility toward them." Judge Gaston approached the subject in a more deliberative manner. After Nathaniel Macon, he was the most influential member of the convention. The question, he said, was one of the taking away of a right. He was willing to restrict the suffrage of free negroes, but he would not vote to disfranchise them. One of them who possessed a freehold was an honest person and perhaps a Christian.

On the other side Mr. McQueen, of Chatham, made a long and, in some respects, a good speech. He thought the question was not one of right, but of expediency. The North Carolina government did not make the negro a slave. It had through emancipation placed him in a better position than that in which it found him, and in a better position than he had a right to expect. Was this a reason why it should invest him with the power of ruling over others?

Is there any solid ground for the belief that a free mulatto can have any permanent interest with, and attachment to, this country? He finds the door of office closed against him by the bars and bolts of public sentiment; he finds the circle of respectable society closed against him; let him conduct himself with as much propriety as he may, he finds himself suspended between two classes of society—the whites and the blacks—contemned by the one, despised by the other; and when his favorite candidate in the election prevails, it communicates no gratification in his breast, for the candidate will be a white man, and he knows full well that the white man eyes him with contempt.[1]

[1] Debates of the Convention of 1835, p. 78.

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Another point came from Mr. Wilson, of Perquimans. He said:

> We already exclude a colored person from giving testimony against a white person. A white person may go to the house of a free black, maltreat and abuse him, and commit any outrage upon his family, for all of which the law can not reach him, unless some white person saw the act committed—some fifty years' experience having satisfied the legislature that the black does not possess sufficient intelligence and integrity to be entrusted with the important privilege of giving evidence against a white person. And after all this shall we invest him with the more important rights of a freeman?[1]

After these two days of discussion the matter was put to the test and carried against the negro by a vote of 65 to 62. An analysis of this vote with reference to geographical distribution is interesting. Of the 65 votes cast in the majority 47 were cast by the east and 18 by the west; while of the 62 that were cast in the minority 40 came from the west and 22 from the east, thus showing that it was largely the slaveholding element of the east that worked the disfranchisement of the free negro.[2]

Some days later the question came up again on a further reading. Judge Gaston, in view of the closeness of the former vote, tried to get the matter reconsidered. He offered an amendment restricting the suffrage of free negroes to those who owned property worth $500 and who had never been convicted of any infamous crime. Gaston fought hard for his amendment. Several others spoke, but no new arguments were made. When the vote was taken it was 55 yeas and 64 nays. This was the last effort to stay the tide of feeling against the free negro.[3]

The question of the election of the governor by the people did not lead to a long debate. The arguments made for it are those of the broad rights of human liberty and political equality. If carried to their logical limits they would have committed the convention to manhood suffrage. The arguments against the measure were along the line of the inefficiency of the masses, and the inviolability of the ancient constitution. The question was undoubtedly complicated by the rivalry of the east and the west. The eastern counties were small; the western counties were large. Hitherto they had all had equal representation in the assembly. This gave the eastern counties

[1] Debates of the Convention of 1835, p. 80.

[2] For this entire debate, see ibid., pp. 60–81.

[3] See ibid., pp. 351–358.

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undue advantage in the election of governors as long as that election was in the assembly. An illustration of this is seen in the fact that of the 24 men elected governors up to 1836, 18 came from the east, while of the 7 that were elected from 1836 to 1860, 5 were from the west.[1]

The question of property qualification, which was completely ignored in the convention of 1835, was not thus to be settled. The people would not suffer it to rest so quietly. As early as 1842 a mass meeting was was held in Kinston, Lenoir County, for the purpose of protesting against the property qualification for suffrage. The meeting addressed Louis D. Henry, who represented the county in the assembly, asking his views on the subject. What were Henry's views, or whether or not he had any, we have no means of knowing.[2] It was perhaps about the same time that Green W. Caldwell brought the matter of equal suffrage before the assembly. "But," says the Raleigh Register, "it met with so unfavorable a reception there as was sufficient to convince its sapient author that intelligent men were not to be duped by plausibilities into the support of any such a dangerous and leveling innovation."[3]

These two incidents were merely preliminary. In 1848 there appeared on the scene of action a man who opened the matter with great seriousness and who had the ability and the conviction to push it to a successful issue. This man was David S. Reid, of Rockingham County. It is said that Stephen A. Douglas, on one of his accustomed visits to that part of North Carolina, first suggested the matter to Mr. Reid.[4] The Whigs embraced most of the small landholders of the central and western part of the State. Before these the Democrats had for years been steadily losing ground. In 1848 Reid was nominated. Nothing was said in the party platform about equal suffrage. The party would most likely have preferred leaving that issue untouched. Reid, however, would accept the nomination only on condition that he make the run on the question of a constitutional amendment to abrogate the property qualification of voters for members of the State senate. The leaders were doubtful. The wealthy Democrats of the east would be

[1] In this estimate those counties have been considered western that were settled by the stream of immigration from Pennsylvania already referred to.

[2] See Raleigh Standard, June 22, 1842.

[3] Raleigh Register, May 24, 1848.

[4] Josephus Daniels, in Raleigh News and Observer, December 1, 1895.

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estranged, it was thought. But since success was doubtful in any case, they gave a reluctant consent. In W. W. Holdon, the editor of the Raleigh Standard, a young man of great ability and influence, Reid found a useful lieutenant. The two opened a most energetic campaign for the proposed amendment. By election day they had aroused public sentiment to the extent that they reduced a safe Whig predominence to a precarious majority. Two years later the fight was renewed, with Reid again the nominee for governor. So popular had equal suffrage become in the meantime that the Whigs did not now dare to oppose it. Governor Manly, who was once more their candidate, said that he was personally opposed to the measure, but that since the people desired it he would withdraw his opposition.[1] Thus a measure which two years before the Whigs had denounced as "a system of communism unjust and Jacobinical" now had their tacit approval.[2] The Democratic platform now gave no uncertain sound. It demanded in the strongest terms the abolition of the property qualification by constitutional amendment.[3] As between the candidate who stood for his convictions and the candidate who waived his convictions because he saw they were unpopular, the people very happily chose the former. Reid, who had been defeated by 854 votes in 1848, was now, in 1850, victorious by a majority of 2,774.[4]

The contest was now transferred to the assembly. Here the Democrats had a majority; but a mere majority was not sufficient. To secure a constitutional amendment it was necessary that it should pass in one assembly by a majority of three-fifths of each house and in the next by a majority of two-thirds of each house, and finally that it should be ratified by a popular vote. To this rather formidable task the Democrats now turned their attention.

The Whigs tried to divert the attack by introducing a proposition to call a constitutional convention, their intention being, it was said, thereby to get through a measure which would place representation on the basis of white, rather than Federal, population. Such a measure would operate against the Democrats, who were strongest in the slave-holding counties. This demand was opposed on the ground that a convention was

[1] Raleigh Standard, June 26, 1850.
[2] Raleigh Register, May 27, 1848.
[3] Raleigh Standard, June 19, 1850.
[4] Ibid., September 11, 1850.

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needless. After some debate the measure failed by a safe majority. The Democrats then brought up their proposition. After a spirited debate it lacked in the commons only 4 votes of the necessary three-fifths. Its disheartened supporters charged its defeat to a combination of western men, led by Mr. Woodfin, of Buncombe, who, it was alleged, was holding out in the hope of securing a constitutional convention. The Democrats, a few days after their defeat, secured a reconsideration and passed their bill by a vote of 85 to 36. In the senate, however, the measure lacked 1 vote of passing. Here, again, the house did not stand to its first conviction. The question came up on a motion to reconsider, and passed by 32 to 15 votes. The Whigs continued to hammer away at the subject of a convention. They succeeded in getting a motion to that effect through the commons, but only to have it defeated in the senate.[1]

Everything now depended on the political complexion of the succeeding assembly. The Democrats did their utmost to get a two-thirds majority in each house. The Whigs urged a constitutional convention, hoping to get at least enough members to prevent the passing of equal suffrage. As soon as the houses had convened the measure was brought forward. It passed safely through the commons, but in the senate it lacked 1 vote. Weldon Edwards was the speaker of the senate. He could secure the passage of the bill by voting. He was a Democrat. His party turned to him with anxiety. He refused to vote, and equal suffrage was lost. The Standard charged that Edwards had defeated it. It said that those who voted for it were 15 Federalists, 27 Democrats, and 6 Whigs; those who voted against it were 15 Whigs and 1 Democrat (the speaker). The Democrats now tried to get the same bill through by a three-fifths majority, so that it might be ready for consideration in 1854; but in this they were defeated, their bill being tabled indefinitely.[2]

In 1854 the struggle was renewed. The Whigs declared for a general revision of the constitution. In party convention they resolved, "That we are of the opinion that the people of North Carolina desire a change in the constitution of the

[1] For this whole debate, see Raleigh Standard from December 18, 1850, to February 5, 1851.

[2] For these debates, see Raleigh Standard, November 24 to December 15, 1852.

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State, and that this can most wisely and safely be done by a convention of delegates elected by the people. Therefore we recommend to the legislature to call such a convention, and in submitting the election of delegates to the people so to provide as to preserve the present basis of representation in the legislature."[1] The Democrats stood to the fight on the single issue of equal suffrage by constitutional amendment. They had the advantage of a single clear issue. They had confidence in the people. It can not be doubted, also, that the trend of the slavery question in national politics was making for the advantage of the State Democracy; but how far this affected the result it is impossible to say.[2] The Standard claimed that most of the young men were joining that party. As far as this was true it was, perhaps, as much due to equal suffrage as to slavery. At any rate, the election left the Democracy strongly in the ascendant; so much so that but little further opposition was made to equal suffrage. In 1854 it received the necessary three-fifths majority, and in 1856 the two-thirds majority. In August, 1857, it was submitted to the people, where it received 50,007 votes, against 19,397 cast against it.[3]

This was the greatest purely political victory ever won in the State. It was a great triumph for liberty and human equality. It broke the power of the landed class over the landless class. Indeed, it stood for a kinder feeling on the part of the aristocracy for the landless men of the country. Besides all this, it meant a great deal for the Democrats. The moral strength that was developed in them during this nine years' contest was the making of them. It gave them a sure control of the loyalty of a majority of the whites of the State. It did more. It drew so closely to that party the landless whites that four years later it was not a difficult thing for the leaders to carry them with the party in the movement for secession.

There are two other features of the history of suffrage in North Carolina that might be taken up in a sketch like this. These are, the enfranchisement of the negroes and the temporary disfranchisement of those whites who fought in the Confederate armies. These questions run so into the well-known story of reconstruction in the South that no mention need be made of them here. Neither need we go into the much dis-

[1] Raleigh Standard, March 1, 1854.
[2] Ibid., September 6, 1854.
[3] Ibid., September 23, 1857.

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cussed question of suppressed negro votes. It is rather more fitting to close this paper at this point with the hope that the courage, intelligence, and patience which carried the manhood of the State through nine years of disappointment to a great victory over class inequality may yet enable her to settle this vexed question with due regard for the foundations of political morality and with equal consideration for the permanency of the best type of civilization.

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XII.—LOCATING THE CAPITAL.

By GAILLARD HUNT,
OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

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LOCATING THE CAPITAL.

By GAILLARD HUNT.

The two measures which aroused the most heated discussion in the First Congress under the Constitution provided, the one for the public credit, and the other for a permanent seat of the Federal Government. The former took the shape of a bill, which Alexander Hamilton had drawn up, funding the Federal debt and assuming the debts which the several States had contracted during the Revolutionary war. To the assumption of these debts, as they stood, there was soon developed a bitter antagonism. It was based upon two chief arguments—first, that it was an invasion of State prerogatives for the General Government to levy taxes to pay debts which the States separately had contracted, and, second, that it was unfair that those States whose debts were not embarrassing should be obliged to share the burdens of States whose debts were large.

Among the Representatives most strongly opposed to the measure were Alexander White and Richard Bland Lee, both of Virginia. The debt of their State had been reduced, was funded at 6 per cent, and the interest was being regularly paid. That Virginia should share in the larger obligations of less cautious States was, therefore, thought to be a manifest injustice. As the debate on the measure proceeded, it assumed a threatening tone. Lee said, that if the General Government assumed the State debts due to individuals, the measure would be so evidently partial that he dreaded the consequences, and White declared, "it would lessen the influence of the States; they would be reduced to a degree lower than they should be, while, at the same time, the General Government would be elevated on their ruin." The assumption bill was defeated April 12, 1790, in committee of the whole, by a vote of 31 to 29,

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and in consequence the whole funding measure was in danger of total collapse. This condition of affairs was followed by the most violent excitement, and although Congress met from day to day the opposing factions could transact but little business together.

It was more important that the public credit should be provided for than that the capital should be located in any particular spot, for upon the former depended the financial standing of the new nation in the eyes of the world, while the latter was a measure of purely domestic concern. The two, however, had no connection with one another; yet, by a system, since come to be known as "logrolling," they became involved. The Eastern members of Congress desired the passage of the assumption bill, but had no hope, for geographical reasons, of obtaining the capital. The members from the Middle States, on the other hand, were determined, if possible, that the seat of the Federal Government should be permanently located either at Philadelphia or in that neighborhood. The two sections, therefore, effected a combination of their interests, and it was rendered only barely unsuccessful by the strenuous opposition of the South. But Virginia and Maryland conceived that they also had claims to the capital, and their respective legislatures had already taken steps to procure it.

On December 27, 1788, before Congress had come together, the general assembly of Virginia passed resolutions offering 10 miles square of any portion of the State for the new Federal city which the Constitution provided for, and White laid these resolutions before the national House of Representatives May 15, 1789. On the following day Seney, of Maryland, offered a similar act from the legislature of his State. Maryland and Virginia were not, however, in hostile rivalry in their efforts to obtain the Federal district. They contemplated its location on the banks of the Potomac, and calculated upon jointly profiting in consequence. On December 10, 1789, the general assembly of Virginia informed the general assembly of Maryland that it would advance $120,000 toward the erection of public buildings in the new Federal city, if it should be located on the Potomac, provided Maryland would advance three-fifths of that sum, and at the November session, 1790, the Maryland assembly appropriated $72,000 for the purpose.

On December 3, 1789, the general assembly of Virginia

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passed an act, reciting that the seat of the General Government should occupy a central location, "having regard as well to population, extent of territory, and a free navigation to the Atlantic Ocean, through the Chesapeake Bay, as to the most direct and ready communication with our fellow-citizens on the Western frontier." The banks of the Potomac, above tide water, it was added, seemed to combine all these considerations, and therefore a location of 10 miles square or less in that region was offered.

Lee had anticipated in Congress this action of the State by introducing, on September 3, a resolution "That a place, as nearly central as a convenient communication with the Atlantic Ocean and an easy access to the Western territory will permit, ought to be selected and established as the permanent seat of the Government of the United States." This was seconded by Daniel Carroll, of Maryland, and supported by Madison, who contended, in the face of much opposition, that the Potomac River region answered the requirements more satisfactorily than any other place. A little later, Lee offered another resolution, coming out in terms for the banks of the Potomac. It soon became evident, however, that the combination which was not strong enough to carry the assumption bill a few months later was strong enough at this time to defeat the bill locating the capital in the South, and the House decided that the capital should be located on the banks of the Susquehanna River. The bill was sent to the Senate September 22, and came back September 26, with the location changed to Germantown, Pa., and this was accepted by the House with an unimportant amendment, which threw the bill back for further action by the Senate. There other business interposed, and it died when it was upon the very verge of final adoption.

It was at this juncture that Jefferson gave his famous dinner party. He tells the story in his Anas:

> As I was going to the President's one day, I met him [Hamilton] in the street. He walked me backward and forward before the President's door for half an hour. He painted pathetically the temper into which the Legislature had been wrought, the disgust of those who were called the creditor States, the danger of the secession of their members and the separation of the States. He observed that the members of the Administration ought to act in concert; that though this question was not in my Department, yet a common duty should make it a common concern; that the President was the center on which all administrative questions ultimately rested, and that all of us should rally around him; and that, the

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question having been lost by a small majority only, it was probable that an appeal from me to the judgment and discretion of some of my friends might effect a change in the vote, and the machine of Government, now suspended, might be again set into motion. I told him that I was really a stranger to the whole subject; not having yet informed myself of the system of finances adopted, I knew not how far this was a necessary sequence; that undoubtedly, if its rejection endangered a dissolution of our Union at this incipient stage, I should deem that the most unfortunate of all consequences, to avert which all partial and temporary evils should be yielded. I proposed to him, however, to dine with me the next day, and I would invite another friend or two; bring them into conference together, and I thought it impossible that reasonable men, consulting together coolly, could fail, by some mutual sacrifices of opinion, to form a compromise which was to save the Union.

The discussion took place. I could take no part in it, but an exhortatory one, because I was a stranger to the circumstances which should govern it. But it was finally agreed that, whatever importance had been attached to the rejection of this proposition, the preservation of the Union and of concord among the States was more important, and that therefore it would be better that the vote of rejection should be rescinded, to effect which some members should change their votes. But it was observed that this pill would be peculiarly bitter to the Southern States, and that some concomitant measure should be adopted to sweeten it a little to them. There had before been propositions to fix the seat of Government either at Philadelphia or at Georgetown, on the Potomac, and it was thought that by giving it to Philadelphia for ten years, and to Georgetown permanently afterwards, this might, as an anodyne, calm in some degree the ferment which might be excited by the other measure also. So two of the Potomac members (White and Lee, but White with a revulsion of stomach almost convulsive) agreed to change their votes, and Hamilton undertook to carry the other point. In doing this the influence he had established over the Eastern members, with the agency of Robert Morris with those of the Middle States, effected his side of the engagement, and so the assumption was passed, and twenty millions of stock divided among favored States, and thrown in as pabulum to the stock-jobbing herd.

Hamilton performed his part of the bargain first. On July 9, 1790, by a vote of 32 yeas to 29 nays, the House passed the bill locating the capital on the banks of the Potomac River between the Eastern Branch and Conococheague Creek. It went through the Senate in due course, and was signed by the President a few days later.

The final outcome did not give general satisfaction. The East and the South were generally in opposition on most subjects, and this was no exception to the rule, and the Middle States were only partially placated by the fact that Congress would sit at Philadelphia for ten years after leaving New York. Moreover, it was known that there had been a bargain, and this fact was freely condemned. Whether or not it was an immoral

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bargain, is hard for us to decide. Hamilton's fears of disruption of the Union, unless the deadlock in the House were broken, were real, and had foundation in a dangerous situation, for the opening stage in the experiment of the new Government was not the time for straining its strength. White and Carroll and Lee, who changed their votes against the assumption bill, did so probably with the honest desire of lessening the tension, but they received a quid pro quo for doing it.

The dissatisfaction with the location found expression in much jeering, and a great deal of cheap humor was expended over the strange name Conococheague. Thus, a servant girl in New York is supposed to be writing to a friend, and says of her master:

> In fact, he would rather saw timber or dig,
> Than see them remove to Conococheague,
> Where the houses and kitchens are yet to be framed,
> The trees to be felled, and the streets to be named.

Another, and even worse doggerel, represents Virginia as saying to Massachusetts:

> Ye grave, learned asses, so fond of molasses,
> You're fairly outwitted, you're fairly outwitted;
> With this Georgetown motion—oh, dear! what a potion!
> In the teeth you'll be twitted, in the teeth you'll be twitted.

To which Massachusetts replies:

> The Union you'd sever for sake of your river,
> And give up assumption, and give up assumption;
> There's White, and there's Lee, and there's Maryland G.,
> Wise men all of gumption, wise men all of gumption;
> Then there's Daniel Carroll, who looks like a barrel,
> Of Catholic faith, sir! of Catholic faith, sir!
> He swore he was true; but the bung, sir, it flew,
> And went off in a breath, sir! went off in a breath, sir!

The Conococheague is a little creek draining Franklin County, Pa., and running through Washington County, Md. It reaches the Potomac at the village of Williamsburg, fully 80 miles distant from the mouth of the Eastern Branch. Under the law the President was free to make choice of any 10 miles square between the two points, so that it is a fact beyond dispute that the responsibility, or credit, for the location of the city that bears his name rests wholly upon Washington. He seems never to have contemplated planting it near the Conococheague, but started his surveys at the extreme eastern boundary permitted by the law. In locating the city itself, he

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hesitated between lands adjacent to Georgetown and those at the mouth of the Eastern Branch, but finally decided in favor of the former after a series of aggravating negotiations with the landowners. They held their property at exorbitant prices, and were finally brought to terms only after Washington had himself come upon the scene and opened negotiations with them personally.

For the boundaries of the District the proclamation of January 24, 1791, prescribed "four lines of experiment," beginning at Hunting Creek, on the Virginia shore, just below Alexandria, and embracing a portion of territory beyond the Eastern Branch, and consequently not included in the law. An additional act, remedying this difficulty, was passed March 3, 1791. The later proclamation defining the boundaries of the new District was drafted by Jefferson, in his own hand, when he was in Georgetown. It was dated March 20, was read by Washington at Mount Vernon, all that had been inserted in it about the erection of public buildings was stricken out, and it was returned to be engrossed for the President's signature. It bore final date March 30, the great seal being affixed at Georgetown.

The capital having been finally hatched out, the story of its growth is like nothing so much as the story of the Ugly Duckling. When it first peeped forth among the family of cities, the whole flock cried out in disapproval. "What sort of a duck are you?" they said, "you are exceedingly ugly!" And they all flew out and "bit him in the neck." The new city was absolutely without friends. John Melish, an Englishman, who visited it early in the century, declared that he had traveled a good way into it before he saw it; that it had "more the appearance of a thickly settled country than a city." The poet Moore called it—

> "This famed metropolis, where fancy sees
> Squares in morasses, obelisks in trees."

And John Randolph, of Roanoke, dubbed Pennsylvania avenue "The great Serbonian bog."

As the city grew apace it grew uglier. "The ducks pecked him, the chickens beat him, and the girl who fed the poultry kicked him with her feet." A Bostonian, in the elegant Atlantic Monthly, pronounced it, in 1861, a "paradise of paradoxes, a great, little, splendid, mean, extravagant, poverty-stricken barrack for soldiers of fortune and votaries of folly," and Émile Molezieux, in 1874, said it was a strange scattering

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of pompous monuments and very simple houses. An American woman said it was "the most disappointing, disheartening conglomerate that ever shocked the pride or patriotism of order-loving, beauty-worshiping woman."

Exactly when this hard winter of abuse terminated is not of consequence, but it was not more than fifteen years ago. The change was sudden and its coming was foreseen by few, but it was unmistakable when it came. The "ugly duckling" "felt the warm sun shining and heard the lark singing, and saw that all around was beautiful spring." He was recognized for the first time as a swan among cities, and now the cry has gone up that "the new one is the most beautiful of all."

[Authorities: Hening's Statutes at Large of Virginia, Vols. XII and XIII; Annals of Congress, Vols. I and II; Writings of Thomas Jefferson (Ford), Vols. I and V; McMaster's History of the People of the United States; Travels in the United States, 1806–1811, by John Melish; The Atlantic Monthly; Souvenirs d'une Mission aux États-Unis d'Amérique, by Émile Molezieux; Laws of Maryland; The Washington Sketch Book, by "Viator" (J. B. Varnum, jr.); Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Third Series, XI–XII; The Magazine of American History; MS. proclamation and drafts, Dept. of State.]

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XIII.—"FREE BURGHS" IN THE UNITED STATES.

By JAMES H. BLODGETT,
OF ROCKFORD, ILL.

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"FREE BURGHS" IN THE UNITED STATES.

By JAMES H. BLODGETT.

[Revised to include some facts of 1896.]

It is the popular impression, justified by general experience, that when people living in a dense mass feel the need of more streets and paving, and public lighting, and sewerage, and police and fire protection they may be authorized to draw a line about themselves within which they shall establish a set of values and of taxes by which they shall carry the expense of their new wants, without discontinuing their contributions to the funds of the larger unit, the town or county with which they have heretofore acted.

After a brief outline of generally recognized conditions, it will be here shown that we have cities and town corporations separated or established to stand independent of counties or of townships, and that this represents a tendency of wide influence, especially when it is extended to the incorporation of districts for school or road purposes in such a manner as to isolate them from weaker or less interested neighborhoods.

The National Government calls for loyal support, in some degree, from every resident of the United States. Each separate State or Territory adds its claim of duty from all within its borders, certain reservations for Indians and others excepted. Each separate county adds another claim of duty to those required by the nation and the State.

In a portion of the country, in general throughout the South, the series stops with the county as a subdivision for independent action. In another part of the country, in general the North, east of the Missouri River, and emphatically in New England, a fourth claim of duty is added by the town or township. In some States there is a fifth unit of popular government with its claim of duty, namely, the school district.

In some portions of the Union there is a series of municipal units organized only for school purposes upon territory governed for other interests by other municipalities. The present limits do not admit of explanation of the forms in which such

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municipalities for education exist, except as they affect the general municipal divisions discussed.

The citizen votes directly for one house of the National Legislature, for the legislature of the State, for that of the county, and, where they exist, for the legislatures of the town and the district. He indirectly participates in the election of the National Executive. He votes directly for the State executive, the county executive, and where the fourth and fifth units exist he has his share in elections for their executive officers. Ordinarily, he has little experience with the national judiciary, but he has in many States a vote in the selection of judges for the State, the county, and the town. Judicial functions for districts are, in a limited way, conferred on executive officers, and school districts have no separate judiciary.

Throughout the country there are units of dense population incorporated by the State with power to add local proceedings to those of the series above them, their citizens continuing their duties to county or town, as the case may have been, with exceptions, to be treated later. These units are variously named in the order of importance, cities, towns, and villages. In three States (Connecticut, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania) are boroughs above villages, and in one (Ohio) are hamlets below villages. The town as a corporation must not be confused with the town of originally rural organization.

In part of the country there is no government through popular assembly. The private citizen participates only to the extent of the vote which expresses his choice of persons or his preference of measures. Here and there occasional opportunity arises to vote upon so-called option bills referred to the people for an expression of their wishes.

In the Government surveys was laid a foundation for town organization by marking off the land into townships 6 miles square, known as Congressional townships. The National Government further stimulated the use of the township as a unit of organization by setting apart the sixteenth section in each township, and for California and all States admitted since 1853 the thirty-sixth section also, for education. In States settled by those accustomed to a town organization the town took form from the Congressional township, while in States settled by those reared under the so-called county system the Congressional township had slight effect on

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general local government or became a unit for school purposes only. The variations are many. In Gulf States laid out by the Government surveyor the township has no independent action. Texas has no townships. It was a fully organized republic with its own land system prior to admission to the Union. The townships of Arkansas have a standing for school purposes. In Colorado, California, and Nevada the school district is a division of the county, instead of the township.

In this discussion, divisions of territory for administrative convenience, but with no independence of action, are excluded.

The lines of distinction in powers may be clearer if we take authority to levy taxes as a basis of classification.

The national taxes are as yet hardly heeded by ordinary individuals. Taxes on imported goods are paid by the importers at the ports of entry before they reach consumers; taxes on spirits and tobacco and for permission to sell are paid before the articles are distributed; yet, in an indirect way, each person pays a national tax.

The State tax and the county tax are plain on the taxpayer's receipt, the former usually light, though some States complain of poverty in settling claims, and, like the National Government, are perplexed to find suitable subjects for taxation to supply necessary revenue.

The county tax varies in importance according as the county ends the series and takes care of local expense or leaves much of the local expense to subdivisions.

The town tax, where it exists, becomes usually greater than the State and county taxes combined, especially where there is no taxing power in a district.

The district, where it has power, deals with the interests closest to the homes, and is likely to call for the largest sum in the aggregate tax bill.

When an incorporated city or town takes the place of the district or succeeds to the functions of the rural town, its taxes swell with the needs of its dense population, usually in addition to those of the State and the county, and the town if the latter existed and is not included in the corporation.

The setting apart of an area whose wants have become intense and allowing the inhabitants to arrange for a system of expenditure and taxation superimposed on that which they continue to maintain as their share for the broader area in which they have been is essentially by the common consent of

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all concerned. Those who wish to provide increased equipment for sanitary and police protection are included, and those who do not wish to come within the lines of new costs and new privileges are allowed to remain outside of them, so far as consistent with general boundaries.

The wants of a rural population are so moderate in comparison with those of an urban population that their government by a board controlling details for both sometimes produces friction. It is a great relief when the dense population is allowed legal authority to add to the general burdens of the larger unit with its lighter claims through a special corporation, but this does not always bring harmony. There is a disposition in the legislative establishment of county boards to give the rural element a weight disproportioned to its number, wealth, or needs. In a county board of supervisors from the towns and the wards of a city in a county (Winnebago) in Illinois, for example, the rural members from 16 towns with a population of sixteen thousand (16,354) are more than double the number from seven wards of the city (Rockford) with a population of twenty-four thousand (23,584). In questions affected by density of population the rural element has the urban element at its mercy. The country member of a legislature, whether of county or of State or of nation, does not always appreciate the peculiar needs of city life or the different scale of expense from that of the farm. This is one cause that in the first instance leads a dense population to take on corporate burdens, and in the second instance leads it to seek entire relief from the share it bore in carrying the expense of the larger unit.

This tendency underlies some of the exceptional cases in which separation has been accomplished between cities and counties. This inharmony of combined rural and urban control of the same area and its influence extend far below what we would call urban communities and affect the lines of the smaller subdivisions where those ready and able to enlarge their public effort and those unable or unwilling can be separated by the adjustment of the boundary, say, of a school district. The illustrations of such separation of minor units are abundant, but on this occasion attention will be especially directed to the independence of cities from the counties to which they may have belonged, some by separation, some by original establishment.

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Six cities demand mention here to avoid confusion regarding their municipal relations. Washington, D. C., has practically absorbed Washington County and become identical with the District. As the national capital, its conditions are unique, representing an experiment in city government without suffrage, inaugurated as an expedient to save the taxpayers from ruin through the burdens laid upon them by irresponsible and ignorant voters. New Orleans, La.; New York, Brooklyn (January 1, 1896), N. Y.; Philadelphia, Pa., by growth and change of boundaries have come to be coextensive with Orleans Parish, New York, Kings, and Philadelphia counties, respectively, though, for reasons related to State administration, the county organization is preserved and certain offices continue as county offices. Thus, in New York City and County probate business is before a surrogate, who is a county officer, and his work is not duplicated by any city officer. The city of San Francisco, Cal., and the county, have become identical under a State law. These six cities are excluded from further consideration in this connection.

Thus far we have mainly a foundation of popularly accepted facts. We now proceed to exceptional truths less known.

Baltimore City, Md., by State law to be deemed a county so far as relates to service of writs, was a part of Baltimore County, erected into a town in 1729, and into a city with more power in 1796. One power after another affecting its population, but left in doubt, was explicitly defined as exclusive in the city. Even in 1793, before it was made a city, the valuation, assessment and taxation of Baltimore town were authorized to be separate from those of Baltimore County. In 1821 records regarding extensions of streets were required to be made with county officers. In 1822, doubts having arisen as to the fullness of power of the city, an explanatory act was passed giving the city authority to provide all needful legislation; and in 1823 it was required that the records be with the register of the city. The city, like New York City and Brooklyn, has been recently extended geographically, and the control of the extensions has been completely transferred from the county affected to the city.[1]

[1] The statements as to Baltimore and St. Louis are from official sources. Baltimore receives notice by Lewis W. Wilhelm, "Local institutions of Maryland," John Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, vol. 3; and Marshall S. Snow has a monograph, "City government of St. Louis," in vol. 5 of the same studies.

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St. Louis, Mo., was formerly in St. Louis County.[1] In 1875 a clause was inserted in the State constitution, under which a scheme for the separation of the governments of St. Louis City and St. Louis County, so that they should thereafter be independent of each other, was adopted by popular vote in August, 1876, duly certified by the mayor and the presiding justice of the county court as accomplished, December 19, 1876, and recognized by the State legislature in 1877 by various acts, with emergency clauses to enable them to be put into immediate effect, and bring the new arrangement into smooth working order.

The separation of the city from the county in these two cases was mainly a result of the discomfort that had grown up between incongruous partners trying to settle local details.

The great multitude of English colonists were of the common people, who set up institutions upon the theory of equal rights, but there were colonies planted by those of privileged position or habit who evidently intended to provide especially for a commercial or other class, and they established cities, even in advance of inhabitants, that were to be responsible only to the central authority that created them and not to any counties to which they might have geographical relations. It has seldom been noted that the idea of urban independence was planted in at least four colonies—Virginia, Maryland, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. Germantown, now a part of Philadelphia, was incorporated in 1689, to take effect in 1691. In 1701, the residents, having a court of record, considered themselves independent of the county of Philadelphia and its taxes, but they were overruled by the governor.[2]

In east Jersey the assembly, in 1675, enacted that the whole province should come under the jurisdiction of the county courts, thus ending the practical independence of the communes.[3]

[1] The statements as to Baltimore and St. Louis are from official sources. Baltimore receives notice by Lewis W. Wilhelm, "Local institutions of Maryland," Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, vol. 3; and Marshall S. Snow has a monograph, "City government of St. Louis," in vol. 5 of the same studies.

[2] Colonial Records, Vol. II, p. 8, as cited by William P. Holcomb; "Pennsylvania boroughs," Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, vol. 4, p. 29.

[3] Learning and Spicer, as cited by Austin Scott, "The influence of the proprietors in founding the State of New Jersey," Johns Hopkins University. Studies in History and Political Science, vol. 3.

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In Maryland the original capital, St. Marys, was established with broad privileges before any county. By act of assembly, 1683, many towns were initiated. Annapolis became the successor of St. Marys in 1694 and was incorporated in 1696. The position of the corporations was modified by colonial and revolutionary changes.[1] The situation at Baltimore, already given, is a growth of recent conditions, with a trace of hereditary influence.

In Virginia it appears to have been the uniform intent from the outset to establish corporate municipalities independent of the counties. This does not seem to have had adequate recognition in popular or in special publications, and even official publications outside the State generally fail to recognize the independence of the cities. The facts here given are not popularly known. It is only by search in the laws of Virginia and by consultation in person and by letter with officials in Virginia that the facts have been brought together. Every statement here made is fortified by an authority, but the sharpest criticism will be welcomed, that every possible error of citation or of interpretation may be corrected.

In Virginia the continual spirit of legislation is for independence of the city as related to the county. Where any question arises as to which authority is paramount in or near city limits the tendency is constant to emphasize the superior independence of the city.

County officers have only such authority in cities as is given them by special act and residents of cities participate in the election of county officers and in county business only by express enactment.

The inhabitants of cities are exempt from county taxes "except upon property owned in the county" with varied provisos as to their share of obligations incurred before incorporation. In the Code (1887, Chap. XXVII) it is prescribed that State and county taxes are to be collected by the county treasurer, State and city taxes by the city treasurer. It is prescribed that the State school funds shall be apportioned to cities separately from their counties (sec. 1531), apparently clearing up questions as to procedure in the transformation of areas of counties into cities.

Separate courts with original jurisdiction, usually extending

[1] Lewis W. Wilhelm, "Local institutions of Maryland," Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science, vol. 3.

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1 mile beyond corporate limits, are established for the cities. These courts are not subordinate to county courts. Concurrent jurisdiction with county courts is sometimes specifically provided; for example, provision is made for concurrent jurisdiction of the two cities and the county over waters near Norfolk and Portsmouth and Norfolk County. A like provision is made as to the mile beyond corporate limits in the cases of the city of Staunton and Augusta County, the city of Manchester and Chesterfield County, and a greater range of concurrent jurisdiction is given the city of Bristol and Washington County.

The inhabitants of cities are exempt from serving on juries in county courts.

Deeds and other papers affecting property in the cities are recorded by city officers, and not by county officers.

The disposition in Virginia to make cities independent of counties may appear plainer by contrast. In Illinois, by an act to provide for the incorporation of cities and villages (1872), it was directed (sec. 14) that—

> If any city organized or which may hereafter organize under this act shall have had, by the terms and provisions of its special charter, a city register's office or other office in which deeds, mortgages, or other instruments were required or authorized by law to be recorded in lieu of recording the same in the recorder's office in the county where said city was situated, such city register's office or recorder's shall be discontinued under this act, and the city register or recorder * * * shall deposit such records and books and papers in the office of the recorder of deeds of the county in which such city is situated * * * and such records * * * shall * * * be * * * held * * * a part of the records of the recorder's office of said county, and shall have like legal effect as if the same had been originally a part of the records of such county recorder's office.

Someone may ask why the cities of West Virginia, lately part of Virginia, are not independent of counties. It is to be remembered that the mountains prevented the intermingling of the people of the eastern and the western slope, and that the latter was settled mainly by migration through the valleys from Pennsylvania and down the Ohio River. The people inherited distinct methods of administration. We shall see that in Virginia there has been a continual reassertion of city independence and a constant repression of claims of county jurisdiction in cities. Without such reassertion and repression, Norfolk, and Fredericksburg, and Richmond, and Lynchburg, in Virginia, would be more like Wheeling, in West Virginia. Notwithstanding the establishment of five cities (Charleston, Hunt-

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ington, Martinsburg, Parkersburg, and Wheeling) in West Virginia as independent school districts, they are for other purposes parts of the respective counties (Kanawha, Cabell, Berkeley, Wood, and Ohio), and the citizens settle their school taxes through the county sheriffs. The subordination to the county is emphasized by an act[1] (1882) declaring that the taxable property in no city, town, or village shall be exempt from county taxes "by reason of any proviso in its charter or act of incorporation or otherwise."

In Virginia laws of a general character were enacted in 1633 and 1652 to establish ports and towns as "free burghs." Their authority and that of like legislation to 1705, not fully continuous, was ended by a repealing proclamation, July 5, 1710, since which time incorporation has been under special acts.[2] Some municipalities had maximum privileges (e. g., Portsmouth, 1752) through a charter declaration that the "freeholders of the said town shall forever hereafter enjoy the same rights and privileges which the freeholders of any other town erected by act of assembly in this colony have and enjoy."[3]

Many corporations failed to maintain expectation and by ordinance of convention, June 29, 1776, it was provided that "when any city or borough shall so decrease as that the number of persons having right of suffrage therein shall have been for the space of seven years successively less than half the number of voters in some one county in Virginia, such city or borough thenceforward shall cease to send a delegate or representative to the assembly."[4]

In 1639 James City—in some statutes and by our common usage, Jamestown—in early statutes was designated as the chief town and the residence of the governor. Authority was given to "make good and convenient by-laws as they shall see fit, provided such by-laws intrench not upon the privileges of James City County or any other county in the country."[5]

In 1705, after providing that every county, including James City County, should have two burgesses in the general assembly, the distinctness of James City is recognized by providing,

[1] Code, West Virginia, 1891, p. 431.

[2] See Hening, Laws of Virginia, vol. 6, Chap. XLII. Edward Ingle, "Local Institutions of Virginia," Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science, vol. 3, treats of colonial "Free burghs."

[3] Hening, 6, p. 266.

[4] Ibid., 9, p. 114.

[5] Ibid., 1, p. 226.

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"and also that the freeholders of James City shall have the liberty of electing and choosing one burgess to be present, act, and vote in the general assembly aforesaid."

It is to be observed that this is in addition to representation provided for James City County. The charter of William and Mary College (1692) in York County gave it also one burgess, a privilege ended by the constitution of 1776.

In 1699 a law was passed, reenacted in 1705, reciting the burning of the statehouse (1669) and setting apart a plat of land for a capital, to be called the City of Williamsburg. We shall see that this plat overlapped two counties and was not subordinate to either. The law prescribed that the area "shall be, and is hereby, reserved and appropriated for the only and sole use of a city to be there built and erected, and to no other use, intent, or purpose whatsoever."[1]

In 1742 it was enacted that the counties of York and James City should not exercise the power of license in Williamsburg.[2]

An act of 1744 testifies further to the independence of the city from the county:

> The common hall of the city of Williamsburg is authorized to levy a tax for building a prison, having at inconvenience hitherto used the prison of James City County, standing within the limits of said city; and the justices of the county of York and the county of James City are required to levy tobacco to pay sergeants and constables of Williamsburg the respective amounts to which they would have been entitled from each county had not the city been incorporated.[3]

The court-house of James City County being in the area of Williamsburg, and the sheriff of that county being without authority to serve writs in that city, an act was passed February, 1745, to enlarge the powers of the sheriff, reciting that—

> I. Whereas the court-house of James City is so placed that persons may easily evade being summoned to attend the court as jurors unless the power of the sheriff of the said county be enlarged and authority given him to summon jurors as well in that part of the city of Williamsburg which lies in the county of York as in James City to the great delay of justice in the court of the said county of James City:
>
> II. *Be it therefore enacted by the Lieutenant Governor, council and burgesses of this present General Assembly and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same,* That from and after the passing this act, the sheriff of the said county of James City for the time being and his undersheriffs or deputies and every one of them, shall be and they are hereby empowered and

[1] Hening, 3.
[2] Ibid., 5.
[3] Ibid., 5.

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authorized to summon jurors of the inhabitants of James City to serve on juries on the days appointed for holding courts in the said county of James City: any law, custom, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.[1]

It will be observed that not only had the sheriff of James City County no authority to serve writs on the residents of Williamsburg, but he needed special authorization to serve writs in Williamsburg upon residents of James City County, which authorization is made to extend into what would be popularly called York County, emphasizing the distinction between city and county as being quite as complete as that between county and county.

An act of 1768 authorized Williamsburg and James City County to maintain a court-house for their joint use.[2]

Norfolk was incorporated as a borough in 1737. An act of 1752 to explain the charter specifies "that nothing herein contained shall be construed to take away or alter the right and title of the justices of the county of Norfolk in and to one certain lot or parcel of land within said borough where the court-house and prison now stand."

Immediately following this proprietary reservation for the county is a settlement of disputed jurisdiction in favor of the borough, thus:

The court of Hustings within said borough shall have the sole power of issuing licenses to ordinary keepers within said borough and that the county court of Norfolk shall not exercise any jurisdiction in that matter as hath been formerly done.

A little further on in the act it is stated that "there is no court-house or prison" for the borough, and "the court-house and prison of Norfolk County standing within the limits of said borough hath been used for that purpose on sufferance which is attended with inconvenience and they are desirous a court-house and prison should be built for the use of said borough at the charge of the inhabitants of the corporation. But it is a doubt whether they have power by their charter to assess a tax" therefor and authority is expressly given to build. Another section provides for proportional payment of certain fees to the sergeant and constables of Norfolk borough in like manner as in the case of James City and York counties and the city of Williamsburg, already quoted

In 1789 Norfolk County was authorized to move the county

[1] Hening, 5.
[2] Ibid., 8, Chap. LIX.

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court out of the borough of Norfolk and to sell the county buildings. The act provided for dividing the proceeds so as to refund to the corporation of Norfolk a proportion corresponding to its share of the original cost. In the same act, there being doubt whether the justices of Norfolk County can levy taxes on tithable persons in Norfolk borough, it is declared "that it shall not be lawful for the county court of said county of Norfolk to impose any tax whatever on the inhabitants of the said borough of Norfolk."[1]

The town of Richmond was legalized in 1742, a plat having been laid out and some lots having been sold in advance of a charter. It was set out of the county of Henrico, which has an isolated bit of property within the corporation for its public buildings, but its officers have no authority on other property in the city. Richmond was chartered as a city in 1782, three years after it became the capital.

The foregoing citations relate mainly to colonial times. Further citations will show the continual intent to give independence of counties to urban municipalities and the custom to specify by enactment the cases in which residents of counties may act in cities and residents of cities may act with those in the respective counties.

The State laws name the cities as distinctly as the counties in the assignments for judicial purposes, for members of each house of the State legislature, and for Representatives in Congress. The law for Congressional apportionment, February 15, 1892, gives the following in addition to the names of counties: In the First district, Fredericksburg; Second, Norfolk, Portsmouth, and Williamsburg; Third, Richmond and Manchester; Fourth, Petersburg; Fifth, Danville and the town of North Danville; Sixth, Lynchburg, Radford, and Roanoke; Seventh, Charlottesville and Winchester; Eighth, Alexandria; Ninth, Bristol; Tenth, Staunton. With three modifications that list may be accepted for the cities of Virginia; North Danville by act of 1894 changed to Neapolis,[2] is a town, as stated, independent of Pittsylvania County, but subordinate to the corporation court of Danville; Buenavista, by charter of the same date as that of the apportionment act, is a city in the Tenth district; Newport News, in the Second district, was chartered as a city January 18, 1896.

[1] Hening, 13.

[2] By popular vote of February 20, 1896, to be a part of Danville from and after July 1, 1896.

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The Congressional Directory follows the State law closely, but not exactly; Newport News was given in the Second district before its citizens obtained a charter, while it was under county government. This Directory stands conspicuous as an official document out of the State that recognizes the facts. It will not long be singular. The United States Civil Service Commission has found it necessary to accept certificates of clerks of city courts of record for applicants for examination from cities of Virginia, from St. Louis, or from Baltimore, instead of the certificates of clerks of county courts. Names of cities are now used in the Internal-Revenue Bureau like the names of counties for districts in Virginia. Intimations of the conditions are in Census reports.[1]

The Code (1887) defines a city as "a town containing a population of five thousand or more and having a hustings court; and the word town to mean an incorporated town containing a population of less than five thousand." Some units with less than 5,000 population have hustings courts and the name "city" embodied in their charters, and continue to be called cities. The independence of towns is encouraged by acts providing for exemption from certain county taxes; for example, those for roads and those for the support of the poor, when the towns maintain their own streets and care for their own poor. The Code of West Virginia contains like provisions.

In 1846 Lynchburg, originally a part of Campbell County, was authorized to levy on all property within one-half mile of the corporation to meet subscriptions to the Lynchburg and Tennessee Railroad, and this was reaffirmed in 1870, in which year the city was extended to include a part of Amherst County. Certain officers of the city court may reside out of the city of Lynchburg, but within the jurisdiction of the court, which is 1 mile beyond the corporate limits. Other officers must reside within the limits.

In 1890 the sheriff of Campbell County was empowered to serve notices and subpœnas for witnesses in the city of Lynchburg. By act of 1892, residents of Lynchburg are expressly exempt from taxation by Campbell or Amherst County and from jury duty in either. There was a similar law affecting taxation by Campbell County before the extension of the city.

Petersburg was incorporated as a town in 1784. By enlarge-

[1] See Tenth Census, vol. 7, p. 117, for cities of Virginia paying no county taxes.

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ment the present city covers territory once in Dinwiddie, Prince George, and Chesterfield counties, and it is independent of them all.

When a part of Chesterfield County was made the city of Manchester (1874), a clause in the charter gave express permission to the county for occupation of its buildings situated within the city limits till other provision could be made.

Fredericksburg, by act of March 26, 1875, has a separate circuit court, and the circuit court of Spottsylvania County is forbidden to hold sessions in Fredericksburg, and is directed to remove its records to Spottsylvania court-house.

In 1861 it was enacted that no constable of Henrico County should serve writs of a justice of the peace in the city of Richmond. In 1890 Lee district of Henrico County, adjacent to Richmond, was incorporated "to improve streets, provide drainage, and other local necessities." The charter expressly states that "it remains a part of the county and magisterial district to which it now belongs, and is subject in all respects to the county government, except in so far as may be hereinafter provided."

In this case of limited charter it is explicitly stated that county control continues. Under a full city charter the county control ceases. The limits of Richmond having been lately extended, it was enacted (February 19, 1892) that the new territory should be subject to the sheriff of Henrico County for taxes due at date, but the taxes for 1892 were "to be due to and collected by" the city of Richmond.

Charlottesville, incorporated as a city in 1888, is clearly recognized as distinct from Albemarle County, and as requiring explicit authority for any joint action of the two or of their citizens. It is ordained that by consent Charlottesville may use the jail of Albemarle County. It was enacted (March 2, 1888) that "the property now belonging to the county of Albemarle within the city of Charlottesville shall be subject to the joint jurisdiction of the county and city, and shall not be subject to tax" by the authorities of city or county. A board of arbitration is provided to settle claims and distribution of claims for public and private property to which both might have claim. There is a provision, approved March 2, 1888, and reenacted March 5, 1888, that the same person may be elected to a city and a county office if he lives in the city limits. A law of February 4, 1892, recognizes a full distinction between Albemarle

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County and Charlottesville in providing that the Monticello Soapstone Slate Company, authorized to keep its principal office in Charlottesville, may keep the office in Albemarle County instead.

By act of 1880 no person residing within the corporate limits of the city of Winchester shall be entitled to vote for specified county officers (treasurer, clerk of county court, Commonwealth attorney); provided, however, that such residence should not affect eligibility to these offices.

An act of February 16, 1892, authorizes the sheriff of Norfolk County to serve process in Portsmouth on any residents of Norfolk County. The county buildings, once in Norfolk, are now in Portsmouth.

By an act of February 20, 1892, Norfolk County and the city of Portsmouth are authorized to arrange for the transfer of the county jail from its present location in the city to another and to arrange for its joint occupancy.

Alexandria was originally in Fairfax County. It was called a town as early as 1748, and was chartered, with a mayor and aldermen to be justices of the peace, still under the name of town, in 1779. A court of record and explicit exemptions from county control were bestowed upon it prior to the cession of jurisdiction to the United States, under which it and an adjacent area were out of the State for about half a century, becoming the county of Alexandria under a Congressional law of 1801, without abolition of charter privileges. Since its restoration to Virginia, enactments have renewed the distinction of the city of Alexandria from the county. By an act of 1870 all cases in the county court affecting residents of the city were transferred to the corporation court.[1]

The situation in Alexandria County has a very direct interest to the people of Washington. In popular opinion the county includes the city of Alexandria, which, in point of fact, has very little more to do with the people who pursue questionable modes of living near the farther ends of the bridges leading from Washington than has Fairfax, or any other county of Virginia. Alexandria City has a population of some fourteen thousand (14,339). Alexandria County has only a little over four thousand (4,258), of whom, exclusive of the military reser-

[1] By popular election of the voters of Alexandria County, under an act of 1896, the location of the county court-house is to be changed from the city of Alexandria to a spot 5 miles away and near Fort Myer.

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vation at Fort Myer (164), over one-half (2,123) are of negro descent. The area of the city and the county combined is given as 32 square miles, not that of a Congressional township. The forces of Alexandria County are very weak as against the tide of objectionable persons that take advantage of its vicinity to escape the control of the city of Alexandria and of the District of Columbia, from which they come or entice their victims.

Of the cities having in 1890 less than the population (5,000) necessary to fill the definition in the Code, Williamsburg had less than two thousand (1,831). Its standing rests upon its venerable history and the reservation of the site for a city. Fredericksburg, originally incorporated in 1727, comes just below the standard.

The citizens of Bristol (incorporated in 1890), though exempt from county taxes on city property and from serving on a county jury, may hold office in Washington County and vote for county officers. The corporation court of Bristol has concurrent jurisdiction with the circuit court of Washington County within the city or 1 mile of the corporation, and has exclusive original jurisdiction in cases arising under the charter and contested elections in the city. The city is adjacent to Bristol, Tenn., the State line dividing what, in a sense, is one town, till recently using one post-office. Bristol, Va., by the census of 1890, had not quite three thousand (2,902) inhabitants.

The charter of Buenavista, one of the youngest of the cities (February 15, 1892), may be quoted to show customary provisions:

> The city of Buenavista and its inhabitants shall be exempt from all assessments for levies in the way of taxation imposed by the authorities of Rockbridge County for any purpose whatever, except upon property in said county owned by the inhabitants of said city, and the assessments for the years 1892 and 1893, commencing on the first day of February, 1892, shall be made by said city, and not by the county of Rockbridge, nor shall any of the said inhabitants be liable to serve upon the juries of said county.

The sheriff or any other officer of the county of Rockbridge may be a resident of the city, and his office shall not be vacated thereby. This would allow the officers, at incorporation of the city, to serve out their terms, and open the way to elect their successors from the city. A long proviso relates to the share of the city in existing obligations of the county.

The tendency to absolute separation of strong, dense bodies

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from sparse neighbors has thus far been illustrated through cities. There could be an extended showing of like separation in lesser populations, especially for taxation and expenditure for schools. In Ohio every city or village is declared to be a school district, and the remainder of the inclosing township constitutes another district. In States with so-called county organization, chartered school districts are disconnected from the surrounding county.

A single instance in Illinois must here suffice to illustrate a variety of complications. The conditions originated under special legislation prevalent in the State till prohibited by the constitution of 1870. The vicinity is known to the nation as the home of Abraham Lincoln in 1830. Congressional township 16 north, range 2 east of the third principal meridian, became, when settled, a school township. In 1836 the corporate town of Decatur was organized within the township, with Richard Oglesby (later general, governor, and United States Senator), still (1896) active, as president. At a later date this became the city of Decatur. In 1865 the school district of Decatur was chartered, embracing $10\frac{1}{4}$ square miles in the northeast part of the township, and to include the city of Decatur with any additions it might thereafter receive. This school district was to deal no longer with township officers, but directly with county officers, making it, in effect, a special school township. When Macon, the including county, adopted township organization (1860), the boundaries of the Congressional township were used for a town of Decatur, dealing with local questions, except those under the urban charter.

The situation is illustrated by a diagram on the following page.

The whole figure represents the Congressional township of the National Land Survey, whose boundaries were occupied by the original school township and are occupied by the present town of Decatur. Each of the numbered squares into which it is divided represents a square mile or section. The school district of Decatur, at first $10\frac{1}{4}$ square miles, was made $11\frac{1}{4}$ square miles in the same year (1865), correcting an omission of section 10 by clerical error, and embraced all of the township north of the south half of the south half of sections 22, 23, and 24. The city of Decatur, as bounded in the charter of 1867, included $2\frac{2}{3}\frac{3}{2}$ square miles within the school district and within sections 10, 11, 14, 15, and 23. By various

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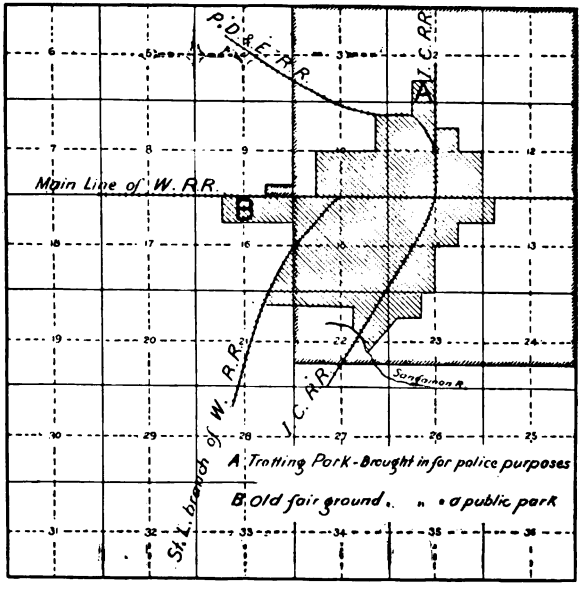
modifications the city now covers about 3½ square miles, as approximately indicated by the hachured space in the diagram. An addition at the north to cover a trotting park (for police purposes), (A), one at the extreme south to locate waterworks on the river bank, and some others were in the chartered school district. A recent (1893) addition of the fair ground (B) for a park and the addition reaching to the railroad south of the park are extensions of the city beyond the original lines of the school district, but by the terms of the charter as to such extensions are made parts of the district. In November, 1895, the school district, on petition of three-fourths of the legal voters in the annexed tract, took in 20 acres from the southeast corner of section 9, thereby removing it from the jurisdiction of the school township, but leaving it a part of the town and not making it a part of the city.



Township 16 N., R. 2 E., third principal meridian, with school district of Decatur and city of Decatur.

In brief, the Congressional township, the original school township, and the present town of Decatur have identical area—36 square miles. The school district of Decatur comprises about one-third the area of the original school township, of which it is independent. The city covers about one-third the area of the school district, by which it is controlled for

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educational purposes, and its citizens participate in town and in county government and taxation.

Such names of post-offices as Freeburg, Freemansburg, and Freeport are memorial of a condition now partially realized in Baltimore, Md.; St. Louis, Mo., and the cities of Virginia, and imitated in a feebler way by many towns and districts.

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XIV.—THE EMPLOYMENT OF INDIANS IN THE WAR OF 1812.

By E. CRUIKSHANK,
OF PORT ERIE, ONTARIO.

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THE EMPLOYMENT OF INDIANS IN THE WAR OF 1812.

By E. CRUIKSHANK.

From the end of the American Revolution the importance, and, indeed, the necessity, of preserving the friendship of the Indians of the Northwest was steadily kept in mind by the officers intrusted with the administration of Canada. The organization of the Indian department which had been formed during the war was carefully maintained. Sir John Johnson, whose family name was still a word to conjure with in the Indian world, was appointed superintendent, and Alexander McKee and John Butler resident deputies at Detroit and Niagara. No better choice could possibly have been made. McKee and Butler were men of great force of character and undaunted courage, whose long experience, consummate tact, and intimate knowledge of Indian customs and dialects had gained unrivaled influence. In 1787, when war seemed imminent, Lord Sydney, secretary of state, remarked in a dispatch that the treatment of the Indians had always been liberal, but as the security of the province might depend on their conduct the supplies to them should be augmented rather than leave them discontented.

Butler and McKee both died in 1796; the former was succeeded by Johnson's nephew, William Claus, and the latter by Matthew Elliot, who was remarkably well qualified for the post by experience, local knowledge, and influence.

In 1808, when war again seemed almost inevitable, Claus was sent by Lieutenant-Governor Gore to Amherstburg to ascertain the intentions of Indian tribes residing between the Ohio and Mississippi. On his arrival at that place he dispatched an interpreter to bring in the Shawanese chiefs and prophet, who took the lead in resisting the farther advance of settlers into the Indian territory. The chiefs obeyed the summons in

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a body and the prophet sent a friendly message. In the meantime Claus conferred with several chiefs of the Chippewa and Ottawa "nations" who were decidedly reserved and noncommittal in their language. He concluded, on the whole, that they were certainly hostile to the Americans, but that unless they had a prospect of support from the British they would be "very backward." He estimated that the number of fighting men belonging to all the Indian tribes "on the waters of the Miamis, east borders of Lake Michigan, Sagana, and the interior of the country between those waters" did not exceed 1,500.

Elliot, who was better acquainted with the sentiments of these tribes, declared unhesitatingly that one regiment of British infantry would be sufficient to take possession of Detroit and the territory between that town and the Ohio, and in that event the Indians would at once become active allies, an opinion which Mr. Gore promptly discounted as much too sanguine.

The lapse of four years brought about a great change in the situation. The Indians had diminished in numbers and otherwise grown weaker, but more hostile to the American settlers, who had become far more numerous and aggressive. The population of Kentucky and Tennessee had doubled in ten years and then exceeded three-quarters of a million. An eager and adventurous host of 250,000 settlers had poured into Ohio. Fifty thousand more made their way into Illinois and Indiana in open defiance of the protests and threats of the dwindling and dispirited bands that had been pushed back to the banks of the Wabash.

There were unmistakable signs that the visions and the harangues of the Shawanese prophet and others were bearing fruit in the evident unrest and discontent among all the Western Indians. The American settlers declared, and apparently believed, that the spirit of hostility was largely due to British influence. In this they were certainly mistaken, although it would be useless to deny that the officers of the British Indian department sympathized strongly with the Indians and were sometimes indiscreet in expressing their opinions.

As early as 1808 the Seven Nations of Lower Canada were dissuaded by them from sending delegates to a great council near Lake Michigan that had been convoked by the prophet, and up to the last they seem to have spared no effort to avert a collision.

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In a dispatch to Sir George Prevost dated December 3, 1811, General Brock said:

My first care on my arrival in this province was to direct the officers of the Indian department at Amherstburg to exert their whole influence with the Indians to prevent the attack which I understood a few tribes meditated against the American frontier; but their efforts proved fruitless. Such was their infatuation that the Indians refused to listen to advice, and they are now so deeply engaged that I despair of being able to withdraw them from the contest in time to avert their destruction. A high degree of fanaticism, which has been for years working in their minds, has led to the present state of affairs.

Yet when he wrote these words he was convinced that war with the United States was unavoidable, and deliberately contemplated seeking the assistance of the Indians in that event.

"But before I can expect an active co-operation on the part of the Indians," he continued, "the reduction of Detroit and Michilimakinac must convince that people (who consider themselves to have been sacrificed to our policy in the year 1794) that we are earnestly engaged in the war. The Indians, I am given to understand, are eager for an opportunity to avenge the numerous injuries of which they complain. A few tribes at the instigation of a Shawanese of no note have already (altho' explicitly told not to look for assistance from us) commenced the contest. The stand which they continue to make on the Wabash against about 2,000 regulars and militia is a strong proof of the strong force which a general combination of the Indians will render necessary to protect wholly so extended a frontier."

The dispatch from Lord Liverpool to the Governor-General of Canada, dated July 28, 1811, reiterating the instructions sent to his predecessor in office on the 2d of February to exert every means in his power to restrain the Indians from hostilities does not appear to have been received by Prevost until the following January; but he was then able to reply that the wishes of the cabinet in that respect had been fully anticipated, and an extract from Brock's letter, already cited, was at once forwarded to the British minister at Washington to be used as evidence of his pacific attitude.

A vague rumor of the battle at Tippecanoe had reached Elliot at Amherstburg as early as the 3d of December, 1811, but it was not until the 12th of January, 1812, that he obtained what may be regarded as the official Indian account of that affair:

Two young Winibiegoes, no doubt out of curiosity (for it appears the Indians had no intention to attack but to defend themselves if attacked),

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went near some of the American sentinels and were shot at and fell as wounded men, but on the sentinels coming up to dispatch them, they arose and tomahawked them.

This insult roused the indignation of the Indians and they determined to be revenged and accordingly commenced the attack at cockcrowing. They had the Americans between two fires; driven by the Winibiegoes they were received by the Kikapoos, alternately, till about 9 o'clock when the Indians gave way for want of arrows and ammunition. It appears that not above 100 Indians fired a shot, the greater part being engaged in plundering and conveying of horses.

The Indians asserted that they had less than 300 men in the field, belonging to seven different nations, and admitted the loss of only 25 in killed and wounded.

Replying about the same time to inquiries from Colonel Claus, Elliot assured him that "all the Indians, with the exception of a few stragglers of all the nations within the limits of your sketch, may be depended upon; the exact number of whom I can not give you, but the following is what I have been able to collect of those living from the St. Croix River to the Wabash, viz: Chippewas, 300; Nodouessies, 1,000 and upward (because there are 1,000 in one party); Saukies, 1,000 went against the Osages; Foxes, 1,000; Mashoutas, 500; Iowas, 200; Menominies, 300. The situation of their villages is out of my power to ascertain. The part of the country I was formerly acquainted with has entirely changed its face with its masters and the Indians have moved to other parts. The Ottawas of the Miami Bay and branches of that river and about Sandusky are about 300 men."

A considerable number of British traders were then domiciled near the Mississippi in the vicinity of Prairie dû Chien, and Brock applied for information to Robert Dickson, the most influential of these, who had spent more than twenty years of an adventurous life in the exploration of the western country and with whom he appears to have previously discussed the subject.

A message to him was dispatched from Toronto on the 27th of February, 1812, by an Indian runner, and delivered early in June at the portage between the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, requesting him to state definitely the number of his "friends" who could be depended upon, and directing him to send down "a few faithful and very confidential agents." Dickson replied that "the unparalleled scarcity of provisions of all sorts" had reduced the number of his "friends" to 250 or 300, speaking several different languages, but that they were all ready to

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march under a proper person commissioned for that purpose, and actually dispatched 79 warriors to Amherstburg on the very day of the declaration of war, and issued instructions for the remainder to assemble at St. Josephs on the 30th of June.

He does not seem to have taken any pains to conceal his intentions, for as early as the 24th of April, 1812, Ninian Edwards, governor of the Illinois Territory, informed the Secretary of War that "the opinion of the celebrated British trader, Dickson, is that in the event of a British war all the Indians will be opposed to us, and he hopes to engage them in hostility by making peace between the Sioux and Chippewas, two very large nations, and getting them to declare war against us."

Dickson asserted that he had found the agents of the American Government among the Indians extremely active, "making them unusual presents of goods and inviting them in the most pressing manner to visit the President of the United States at Washington." He spent about $10,000 out of his own means in frustrating their efforts in the course of the spring and summer of 1812.

Everywhere the Indians were ripe for war owing to the failure of their crops for two years in succession, and the migration of game caused by excessive drought. They were, besides, bitterly exasperated by the refusal of some of the American officers to furnish them with supplies on credit, and Dickson confirmed his influence by distributing his entire stock among them and purchasing all the provisions he could obtain.

At the same time the Governor-General of Canada sought the assistance of the two great fur companies, upon whom so much of the prosperity of the colony at that time depended. The Northwest Company replied that they could control 250 engagés and from 300 to 500 Indians. The Michilimakinac or Southwest Company with equal readiness promised the services of 100 engagés and 300 Indians.

Prevost then endeavored to increase the efficiency of the Indian department, which consisted of a superintendent-general, 3 superintendents, and 14 interpreters, many of them very old men who had been in the service since the Revolution. With this object, on the 1st of May, 1812, he addressed a careful letter of instructions to Sir John Johnson, who was still superintendent-general:

> You are to keep up friendly intercourse and communication with all the Indian nations, to preserve economy, regularity, and order.

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As they consider themselves free and independent, they are to be governed by address and persuasion, and the utmost attention to ceremonies and external appearance, with an uncommon share of patience, good temper, and forbearance, and you are to instruct your officers accordingly. Upon the arrival of parties of Indians at any post the agent shall notify the commanding officer, who, with the officers of the garrison, shall assist in receiving them with every mark of solemnity and friendship. Their requests, if reasonable, are to be complied with. Should they lay down presents, they are to be taken up with thanks and given presents of greater value in return. Chiefs are also to be distinguished. When conferences are held by the agent the commanding officer is to preside and all the officers are to be present, but he is not to interfere with the agent in the management of the Indians. As they are curious and fond of news, the officers are to be cautious as to what they say and it should be told very distinctly, and agents should endeavor to make one or two sober and intelligent chiefs living at the posts their friends and confidants, and use them as their speakers and have them prompted in what the officer intends to say, this being a custom of the Indians with their own speakers. Minutes of the meetings are to be regularly kept. The agents are at all times to inculcate into the minds of the Indians principles of humanity and tenderness to prisoners, particularly on the departure of all parties during a war or when there is a probability of retaliating or resenting injuries sustained.

In all matters of trade in which Indians are concerned the utmost justice is to be done them. No person belonging to or employed in the Indian department is to be allowed to trade, directly or indirectly, or to have any share, profit, or concern therein. * * *

Every means is to be taken to prevent the pernicious practice of introducing liquors among them and every endeavor exerted to keep them perfectly sober.

The entire cost of the department for the year 1811 was £29,606, and, so far from exhibiting a large increase, as alleged by General Harrison, it was actually much less than in the preceding year.

The number of Indians actually residing in Canada, among whom most of this money was spent, was inconsiderable. The Seven Nations of Lower Canada, living at Caughnawaga and the Lake of Two Mountains, could muster about 500 fighting men; the Six Nations, at the Grand River, in Upper Canada, nearly 400, and the Missassaugas about the same number.

On the 8th of July Captain Roberts, the commandant of a British outpost on St. Josephs Island, received letters from General Brock announcing that war had been declared by the United States and suggesting an attack upon Mackinac. A day or two later he received instructions to suspend hostilities, and finally, on the 15th, a dispatch directing him to act as he thought proper. Dickson had come in with 130 Sioux,

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Folles Avoines, and Winnebagoes from Green Bay, and M. Toussaint Pothier arrived from Montreal in the capacity of agent for the Southwest Fur Company. An express was sent to require assistance from the agents of the Northwest Company at Fort William, and on the ninth day after its departure they answered by their presence, bringing with them nearly 200 engagés. Amable Chevalier, an Ottawa chief of influence, who had recently returned from lower Canada to reside at L'Arbre Croche, volunteered his services and succeeded in assembling a considerable number of his tribesmen. Pothier observed that "they appeared very lukewarm, and after a great deal of prevarication reluctantly agreed to join the expedition. The other Indians were unanimous, particularly the Western Indians, whose animated example had great influence upon the others."

The garrison of Mackinac was absolutely taken by surprise and surrendered without resistance on the 17th of July. The Indians are stated to have behaved in the most exemplary manner. Captain Roberts wrote:

> It is a circumstance, I believe, without precedent and demands the greatest praise for all those who conducted the Indians, that although these people's minds were much heated, yet as soon as they heard the capitulation was signed they all returned to their canoes, and not a drop of either man's or animal's blood was spilt till I gave an order for a certain number of bullocks to be purchased for them.

John Askin, an officer in the Indian department, declared that "since the capitulation they have not drunk a drop of liquor nor even killed a fowl belonging to any person (a thing never known before), for they generally destroy everything they meet with."

After the fall of Mackinac, Dickson returned to Green Bay to collect a larger body of warriors whom he dispatched to Brock's assistance, partly in canoes and partly overland. They arrived at Detroit too late to take any part in the military operations which led to the surrender of that place.

The Ottawas, however, continued to waver, and were even suspected of forming a conspiracy to seize Fort Mackinac and exterminate the British garrison.

During the winter Elliot had sent a message to the Indians on the Wabash urging them to desist from further hostilities, and about the 14th of June he received a formal reply from Techkumthai, the "Shawanese of no note" mentioned in Gen-

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eral Brock's letter, who had collected 600 warriors, of 12 different tribes, at Machethie on the Wabash, about 60 miles from Fort Wayne. They had scarcely any ammunition for the firearms they possessed, and were busily employed in making bows and arrows in expectation of an attack.

The Shawanese chief replied: "You tell us to retreat or turn on one side should the 'big knives' come against us. Had I been at home in the late unfortunate affair I should have done so; but those I left at home (I can not call them men) were a poor set of people, and their scuffle with the 'big knives' I compared to a struggle between children who only scratch each other's faces. * * * We will now in a few words declare our whole hearts. If we hear of the 'big knives' coming toward our villages to speak peace we will receive them; but if we hear of any of our people being hurt by them, or if they unprovokedly advance against us in a hostile manner, be assured we will defend ourselves like men. And if we hear of any of our people having been killed, we will immediately send to all the nations on or toward the Mississippi, and all this island will rise like one man. Then, father and brothers, it will be impossible for you, or either of you, to restore peace between us."

The march of General Hull's army toward Detroit was closely watched by Tecumtha's scouts, who lurked in the woods and counted his troops as they passed. In the beginning of July he joined the British forces at Amherstburg with nearly 200 followers. Thirty Winnebagoes sent by Dickson from Green Bay also came in, but the Indians from Upper Canada, Ohio, and Michigan significantly held aloof. In the first letter Hull received from the Secretary of War, after his appointment to the command of the Northwestern army, he was instructed "to adopt such measures with the chiefs of the several tribes of Indians as may in your judgment appear to be the best calculated to secure the peace of the country." Evidence was not wanting that he had been at least partially successful in his efforts to secure their support. A letter from General Hull to the Secretary of War, dated at Fort Findlay, on June 26, was intercepted, in which he said: "I have with me a considerable number of chiefs and headmen of the different nations. * * * The friendly Indians are now making canoes, and will carry a part of the baggage of the army from this to the foot of the rapids."

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The Indians in the British camp were represented as being eager for hostilities. On the 8th of July Colonel St. George wrote to General Brock:

I now think it fortunate that your letter of the 29th came too late to stop the messengers sent out to the distant Indians. On my return from Sandwich yesterday we had a grand council of chiefs, etc., from the neighborhood, and the usual ceremonies of the wampum, etc., were gone through. There were present about 200, and besides those present I am informed 100 had gone to their camp. Tecumtha (the prophet's brother) acted a conspicuous part on the occasion.

On the 15th he observed, "As to the Indians, I wished those here to act when I could support them; but as they are so anxious, I must let them on and sustain them as I see occasion to the utmost of my power." In the course of the same day Elliot reported that "the Indians with us are between 300 and 400, who have resisted every allurement which General Hull laid before them. Techkumthai has kept them faithful. He has shown himself to be a determined character and a great friend to our Government."

On the other hand, Hull asserted that the number of "hostile Indians" was daily diminishing, and took means to circulate widely his well-known proclamation in which he declared "that the first stroke with the tomahawk, the first attempt with the scalping knife, will be the signal for one indiscriminate scene of desolation. No white man found fighting by the side of an Indian will be taken. Instant destruction will be his lot."

Still he did not relax his efforts to gain the Indians over and even sent agents with a message to the Six Nations on the Grand River. Tarhè, the eldest chief of the Hurons, was summoned from Sandusky to exert his influence with his tribe, and on the 19th day of July Hull wrote to the Secretary of War, "I have now a large council of ten or twelve nations sitting at Brownstown, and I have no doubt the result will be that they will remain neutral."

Several chiefs of the Hurons were sent across the river to confer with Tecumtha and Roundhead, who had refused to attend this council. Both these chiefs, after a stormy discussion which in the usual Indian fashion continued for three days, declared their unalterable determination to take sides with the British, and after exhausting every argument in their power the baffled Hurons returned to Detroit.

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The doubtful attitude of the Six Nations still gave General Brock great uneasiness. On the 3d of July he wrote:

> About 100 Indians from the Grand River have attended to my summons; the remainder promise to come, but I have too much reason to conclude that the Americans have been too successful in their endeavors to sow dissension and disaffection among them. It is a great object to get this fickle race interspersed among the troops. I should be unwilling, in the event of a retreat, to have 300 or 400 of them hanging on my flanks. I shall probably have to sacrifice some money to gain them over.

Three weeks later, after learning that all but 50 had declined to join his forces and announced their determination of remaining neutral, he said:

> The militia which I had destined for this service (the relief of Amherstburg) will now be alarmed and unwilling to leave their families to the mercy of 400 Indians whose conduct affords such wide room for suspicion, and really to expect that this fickle race would remain in the midst of war in a state of neutrality is truly absurd. The Indians have probably been led to this change of sentiment by emissaries from General Hull, whose proclamation to the Six Nations is herewith inclosed.

On the 25th of July, 22 Menominees routed a party of Ohio militia near Sandwich, and immediately afterwards a sudden change of sentiment became apparent among the Hurons residing in Michigan, which ended in a determination to join the British.

"On the 2d instant," said Colonel Proctor, writing to Brock on the 11th of August, "the Wyandots having at last decided on joining the other nations, of whom they are the bravest and eldest, against the Americans, a considerable body of Indians accompanied the chief Tecumseth to the village of the Wyandots (Brownstown) nearly 30 miles on the opposite shore from Detroit and 5 from hence. I sent a detachment of 100 men under Captain Muir to enable the Wyandots to bring off their families, cattle, and effects. This was effected, much to the disappointment of Mr. Hull, who has given them a considerable sum of money in the hope of retaining them in the American interest."

The Indians at once beset the communication with Ohio and a day or two later cut off a party with dispatches for General Hull. On the 5th of August 24 Indians, headed by Tecumtha and Capt. William Elliot, ambushed and dispersed the escort under Major Van Horne, capturing the mail from Detroit, which contained a great number of letters and documents revealing the demoralized state of the American army in the most forci-

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ble manner. The importance of the information thus obtained was warmly insisted upon by Brock in justification of his conduct in advancing against Detroit. "I got possession of the letters of my antagonist addressed to the Secretary of War, and also of the sentiments of hundreds of his army uttered to his friends. Confidence in their general was gone and evident despondency prevailed. I crossed the river, contrary to the opinion of Colonel Proctor and others, and it is therefore no wonder that envy should attribute to good fortune what in justice to my own discernment I must say proceeded from a cool calculation of the pros and contras."

The possession of so much of General Hull's confidential correspondence also enabled Colonel Baynes to contest effectively the charge made by General Dearborn soon after, that the British alone had sought the assistance of the Indians in the war.

Describing his interview with the latter, Baynes said that "General Dearborn deprecated in strong language the employing the Indians in our contest and insinuated that the disposition originated with the British, and inferring that the conduct of America was free from that reproach. I refuted this insinuation by assuring the General that we were in possession of intercepted letters of General Hull affording indubitable proof that he had not only entered into engagements with Indian tribes, but had employed emissaries to endeavor to gain over those supposed to be attached to the British interest; that it was highly to be lamented, the necessity of employing such means, but as it was well known the disposition of these people would always lead them to take an active part, it was a matter of necessity to prevent their decision being in favor of our enemy."

The surrender of Detroit was followed by the evacuation of Fort Dearborn, at Chicago, and the massacre of many of the garrison, and the investment of Fort Wayne by the Indians of Illinois.

These events became known to Colonel Proctor, who succeeded Brock in command of the British forces at Detroit, about the 9th of September, when he wrote that "the garrison of Chicago has been taken by the Indians, partly by stratagem, more than a fortnight since, and I am sorry to say that the garrison, consisting of 50 men, and every other person excepting an officer and his lady, who were wounded, and a

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trader, Kinzie, was killed. We had no knowledge of any attack having been intended by the Indians on Chicago, nor can they indeed be said to be within the influence of the superintendent. I have reason to believe that Fort Wayne has been invested by the back Indians, and if Colonel Elliot had not been totally unable, from lumbago, to ride so far, I should have required him to proceed for that place to restrain the Indians. He has, however, taken measures that I hope will have the desired effect."

A few days later Proctor decided to send a small force of regulars and militia to Fort Wayne, mainly to preserve the lives of the besieged garrison, but "the delay occasioned by the armistice prevented the attainment of one object of the expedition, which was the destruction of Fort Wayne; the other was effected by the enemy. I do not think," he added, "we shall have any credit for our good intentions, however."

Sometime in July, 1812, Erastus Granger, Indian agent for the United States in western New York, held a council with the Senecas at Buffalo and proposed that they should send 200 warriors to join the American army. This they declined to do, but agreed to send a deputation to the Grand River to dissuade those of the Six Nations residing there from joining the British forces.

On the 27th of the same month the Secretary of War wrote to General Dearborn inclosing a letter to Granger authorizing him to organize the Six Nations as a military force. Addressing the same officer a few days later, he said:

> By letters received from Erastus Granger it appears that the young men of the Six Nations can no longer be restrained, and that in case of refusal on the part of the United States to accept their services they would join the Indians under the British standard. Mr. Granger has therefore been authorized, after every attempt to secure their neutrality has failed, to employ them.

Yet at a council held at Onondaga on the 29th of September the spokesman of the confederacy replied to a formal invitation to take part in the war in the following terms:

> Having been told repeatedly by your agents to remain neutral we were very much surprised at the council held at the Buffalo Creek at being invited to take up the tomahawk. We are not unfriendly to the United States, but are few in number and can do but little, but are willing to do what we can, and if you say so we will go with your people to battle. We are anxious to know your wishes as soon as possible because we are afraid some of our men may disperse among distant tribes and be hostile to you.

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The Buffalo Gazette records the arrival of 140 Seneca warriors at that place during the last week of September, and on the 9th of October Brock stated that "between 200 and 300 Indians have joined and augmented the force on the other side. Their brethren here feel certain they will not act with any spirit against us. So I imagine, if we continue to show a bold front; but in the event of a disaster the love of plunder will prevail and they will act in a manner most to be dreaded by the inhabitants of this country." Of his own Indian auxiliaries he scornfully observed, "They may serve to intimidate; otherwise I expect no essential service from this degenerate race."

However, a small party of the Six Nations fought bravely in the British cause at Queenston, where they lost 14 killed and wounded.

In a dispatch dated the 10th of August, 1812, Lord Bathurst, who had succeeded Lord Liverpool as Secretary of State for the colonies, formally approved of the employment of Indians. "Had it been possible," he said, "to have induced the Indians to preserve a strict neutrality between the Americans and this country in the contest in which we may be engaged, the interest of humanity might have required that we should resign the benefit of an alliance with them and of their actual co-operation with us in the field. But I fear there can be little doubt, if we decline to employ them, we insure to ourselves all those evils from which we are desirous of exempting our enemies. Upon any principle of self-defense, therefore, we can not but be justified in conciliating them, and if they are determined to engage in the war, in employing them to promote our success. I can not too strongly impress upon you the necessity of keeping that control over them which may enable you to prevent the commission of those excesses which are so much to be apprehended and can not fail to bring discredit upon the power in whose service they are engaged. It would be desirable, if possible, to restrain them from acting at any time except under the immediate direction and guidance of some officers of the Indian department or others in whom they may place confidence and to whose command they may be induced to submit."

The correspondence of Sir George Prevost indicates that he made strenuous efforts to carry out these instructions in as humane a spirit as possible.

On the 7th of December, 1812, a circular was addressed

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to all officers commanding posts upon the frontier, strictly enjoining them to restrain the Indians from the commission of any acts of cruelty, and concluding with the statement that "his excellency disapproves of any co-operation with the Indians not connected with the system of defense of the province."

In a subsequent letter to General Sheaffe, the adjutant-general said:

I am commanded to signify to you his excellency's desire that every precautionary measure may be taken throughout the district under your command to restrain the Indians whom it may be necessary to employ. Sir George Prevost is much averse to allowing the regular troops to be engaged with the Indians in any offensive operations, and it is his wish that in your communications with Colonel Proctor you will call his attention to this important subject and recommend to that officer a cautious line of conduct in this respect consistent with the preservation of the district committed to his charge.

Dickson received similar instructions on the 7th of January, 1813, when on the point of departure from Montreal for the far west:

In the policy to be strictly observed in your conduct toward the different tribes it is desirable that you should endeavor to conciliate them to act together harmoniously, that you should restrain them by all the means in your power from acts of cruelty and inhumanity, encouraging in them a disposition to preserve an alliance of friendship with their Great Father, the King of England.

On the 9th of February the governor-general said, in a letter to Colonel Proctor:

I earnestly recommend on all occasions a strict adherence to that control and restraint of the Indians that we may be enabled to repel the charges which have not infrequently, though falsely, been brought against our Government for resorting to the employment of them.

Again, addressing the same officer on the 1st of March, he returned to this subject:

You will explain to Norton and Roundhead in the most distinct terms the services the King expects from his faithful allies, the Indians, and assure them of His Majesty's entire reliance upon their zeal and courage in defending their best rights and preserving their future existence. Let them clearly understand the extent of the co-operation you can afford, consistent with the trust reposed in you, and above all recommend mercy in victory. The officers belonging to the Indian department must not be sparing in their efforts to restrain and control the Indians so that your achievements may be without stain.

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Writing to General Sheaffe, on the 27th of March, he said:

I now come to that highly important part of your resources, the employment of Indians, some in aid of your precautionary measures of defense and others for making offensive demonstrations for the recovery of their usurped territory, the latter of which can not fail to act as a powerful diversion in your favor. In consideration, therefore, of the movement of the confederate nations from the Wabash to the River Raisin under Tecumseh, and of the expected arrival from the westward of several warlike tribes with Mr. Dickson, the aggregate of which will be formidable, I have decided on intrusting the management of those distant tribes of Indians to other hands than those which are at present employed in the Indian department at Amherstburg, and accordingly have appointed Mr. Robert Dickson deputy superintendent of the Indians in Michigan and the conquered territory, on account of the high opinion I entertain of his courage, his perseverance, his integrity, and his zeal for the service. The late instance of the intrigue by the Indian department, in the case of Norton, and the evidence it afforded of the want of proper subordination, have put me on my guard against their endeavors to thwart my designs or impede their progress because they are not to be executed by themselves, and induces me to recommend you to vest in Colonel Proctor sufficient authority to support Mr. Dickson in his organization of the Indians from the westward, and to check the prodigal expenditure of provisions, and to establish strict impartiality in the treatment they experience from us.

I can not too frequently repeat to you that having been under the necessity of availing ourselves of the Indians' assistance, it is desirable, on every principle of humanity and policy, that all practicable means should be adopted to soften the ferocity of their usual mode of warfare and to restrain them in it.

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XV.—COMMODORE JOHN BARRY.

By MARTIN I. J. GRIFFIN,
OF PHILADELPHIA.

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COMMODORE JOHN BARRY.

By MARTIN I. J. GRIFFIN.

The completion of the first century of the American Navy is a fitting time to pay tribute to the name and deeds of the brave man who was appointed by the Father of his Country the first and ranking Captain of our "infant Navy."

Capt. John Barry "may be justly considered the father of our Navy," said Mr. Dennie, editor of The Portfolio in the biographical sketch of Commodore Barry, July, 1813. "Among the naval heroes of America who have advanced by the utility of their services and the splendor of their exploits the interest and glory of their country Commodore John Barry holds a distinguished rank. His eminent services during our struggle for independence, the fidelity and ability with which he discharged the duties of the important stations which he filled, from the period of the establishment of that independence till within a few years of the close of his life, give him a lasting claim upon the gratitude of his country. A full delineation of the character of Captain Barry would be peculiarly interesting, but the materials which have been supplied are not sufficient for such a work. We leave it to the industry and research of the future historian to fill up the outline and give to the picture that detail of incident and richness of color which the subject merits."

Since that date (1813) no original account of Capt. John Barry has been printed. Before this Allen's Biographical Dictionary (1809) had said:

> Barry was a patriot of integrity and unquestioned bravery. His naval achievements reflect honor on his memory. The carnage of war did not harden his heart into cruelty. He had the art of commanding without supercilious haughtiness or wanton severity. Another trait in his character was the punctilious observance of the duties of religion.

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Frost's Naval Biography spoke of him thus:

> His name occurs in connection with not a few remarkable events in the history of the Revolutionary war, and always with credit to himself and honor to the flag under which he sailed. Few commanders in the Navy were employed in a greater variety of service or met the enemy under greater disadvantages. Yet in no one of the numerous actions in which he engaged did Commodore John Barry ever fail to acquit himself of his duty in a manner becoming a skillful seaman and a brave warrior.

In 1813 oblivious time, for want of authentic records to perpetuate his fame, had already almost effaced from general recollection the impress of his services. If that be the case within ten years after his death, it is so much the more difficult now, I fear, eighty-three years later, to attempt by "industry and research" to present the picture of this Irish Catholic who gave his heart's devotion to our country's struggle to establish her freedom and to maintain her authority.

John Barry was born at Tacumshane, in the barony of Forth, County Wexford, Ireland, in 1745. The next record I have found of him shows his arrival at Philadelphia on October 2, 1766, as captain of the schooner *Barbadoes*, from Barbados. He was then 21 years of age. He continued in command of the *Barbadoes* until 1771. On May 30 of that year he arrived at Philadelphia from St. Croix in command of the schooner *Patty and Polly*. In October of the same year he is found in command of the schooner *Industry*, arriving from Virginia. He sailed in command of the *Industry* to Halifax, where he was transferred to the *Frugality* and the *Industry* was given to Captain Williamson. Both ships, with their captains, arrived at Philadelphia on the same day, September 2, 1772.

Barry was then placed in command of the *Peggy*, which he sailed to St. Eustatius and to Montserrat. On his return to Philadelphia he was given command of the *Black Prince*. On December 21, 1774, the *Black Prince* sailed for Bristol, England. She arrived there February 28, 1775, and on March 14 set sail on the return voyage to Philadelphia. On March 18 she is shown by her log, in the possession of Mrs. W. H. Hepburn, to have been in St. Georges Channel; on the 20th to have put to sea, and on April 24 to have entered Delaware Bay and River. On May 7, 1775, Captain Barry set sail from Morris' wharf, Philadelphia, with a cargo of flour and wheat, and on July 2 arrived at London. The *Black Prince* returned under Barry. On October 4 she arrived at Cape Henlopen, and in

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nine days reached her wharf in Philadelphia. She was afterwards purchased by Congress and named *The Alfred*, after King Alfred, the founder of the English navy. Under Captain Saltonstall the *Alfred* became the flagship of Capt. Ezekiel Hopkins, who, as commander of the first American fleet sailing under Continental authority, was the first "commodore." That title, however, was not then an official one, but a term commonly applied to the commander of more than one vessel.

Captain Barry's arrival on October 13 was opportune for himself and his country. That very day the Continental Congress had resolved to fit out two armed cruisers, one of 14 guns, the other of 10, with authority to capture vessels bringing supplies to the British army at Boston. Two vessels were purchased under the authority of this resolution by the Marine Committee of Congress, and they were named the *Lexington* and the *Reprisal*. On December 7 Capt. John Barry was appointed to the command of the former and Captain Wickes to that of the latter. Captain Barry was "probably the first Catholic appointed in the Continental service."[1] On entering the same he is reported to have said he had "given up the command of the finest ship and left the first position in America." The *Lexington*, named in honor of the place where the first combat with the British had taken place, "was purchased earlier than the *Alfred* and, in the nature of things, was more readily equipped," says Cooper's History of the Navy. Her fourteen 4-pounders and other stores were obtained from Willing and Morris, Barry's former employers. "By the return of a number of iron guns and stores to Philadelphia in November," 1775, this firm alone had a quantity of "round shot and 4 and 9 pounders in their store under the pavement in Penn street and in their yard."[2]

Though Congress had in October begun the formation of a navy, it was not until December 22, 1775, that Ezekiel Hopkins, of Rhode Island, was appointed commander in chief, and Dudley Saltonstall, Abraham Whipple, and John Hopkins, captains. Captain Barry's commission bears date of December 7, two weeks prior to the formal organization of the Navy, and was the first issued.

It was long claimed for Captain Barry that the *Lexington* was the first cruiser to display at sea the first flag of our coun-

[1] Scharf and Wescott's History of Philadelphia, vol. 1, p. 302.
[2] Pennsylvania Archives, vol. 2, p. 556.

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try with thirteen stripes. Earlier editions of Cooper's History of the Navy gave the honor to Captain Barry. The severity of the weather, the blocking of the Delaware with ice, and an outbreak of smallpox among the crews, are known to have detained the fleet under Hopkins until February 17, 1776; yet it is shown by later investigations of Cooper (1853) that, according to Barry's papers, he was employed on shore or in the Delaware after Hopkins's fleet put to sea. Therefore Hopkins, and not Barry, made the first display on the ocean of the Union flag with thirteen stripes.

Under Continental authority seizures of supply vessels had not yet been made, though Washington had authorized such captures, and under that authority Captain Manley had taken prizes. The fleet of the Colonies had sailed, not for defensive, but for offensive warfare. It had gone to the West Indies—the Bahama Islands—to attack and capture New Providence and to bring home munitions of war. Captain Barry's *Lexington* had been fitted out and was ready for service. Authority to act was alone required. Hence, on March 23, 1776, Congress ordered letters of marque to be issued. Public and private cruisers were also authorized to capture British vessels.

Cooper and other writers on the history of the Navy do not give the date of the sailing of the *Lexington* from Philadelphia, but a letter of John Adams, written April 12, 1776, speaks of Captain Barry having sailed a few days before that date. The *Roebuck*, "one of His Majesty's pirates," kept a close watch on the Delaware Bay. But the beginning of Barry's career indicated what subsequent events conclusively proved—that by flight or by fight he could become a victor. The *Lexington* escaped the *Roebuck*, put out to sea, and sailed southward. On April 7, "off the capes of Virginia," she fell in with the *Edward*, a tender of the *Liverpool* man-of-man, shattered her in a terrible manner, and captured her. Barry brought his prize to Philadelphia, and the patriots were greatly delighted with his work. "The *Lexington* was thus the first vessel that bore the Continental flag to victory on the ocean."[1] "The *Lexington* of the seas therefore occupies the position in our naval annals that the Lexington from whence she derived her name does in land annals, from having been the arena of the first conflict of the colonies with Eng-

[1] Preble's Origin of the Flag, second edition, p. 242.

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land. * * * For Barry it can be truthfully claimed that he was the first under the striped flag to capture an armed vessel of the enemy."[1]

Captain Barry arrived at Philadelphia April 11. He reported his capture to the Marine Committee, thus:[2]

IN SIGHT OF THE CAPES OF VIRGINIA, *April 7, 1776.*

GENTLEMEN: I have the pleasure to acquaint you that at 1 p. m. this day I fell in with the sloop *Edward*, belonging to the *Liverpool* frigate. She engaged us near two glasses. They killed two of our men and wounded two more. We shattered her in a terrible manner, as you may see. We killed and wounded several of her crew. I shall give you a particular account of the powder and arms taken out of her, as well as my proceedings in general. I have the happiness to acquaint you that all our people behaved with much courage.

I am, gentlemen, your humble servant,

JOHN BARRY.

To Hon. JOHN HANCOCK, Esq. (or any of the Marine Committee).

The arrival of the *Lexington* and her prize is thus recorded:

This morning arrived a sloop (mounting six 3-pounders and eight or ten swivels), late a tender belonging to the *Liverpool* man-of-war and commanded by Lieutenant Boucher, of said ship, having 35 picked men on board, who on Saturday last, off the capes of Virginia, fell in with Captain Barry, of the Continental brig called the *Lexington*. A battle ensued, which was continued desperately for one hour and twenty minutes, when the tender struck.[3]

Of this important capture John Adams, writing from Philadelphia, April 12, 1776, said—

We begin to make some little figure here in the navy way. Captain Barry fitted out here a few days ago a 14-gun brig and put to sea by the *Roebuck* man-of-war in the Delaware River. After he got without the capes he fell in with a tender belonging to the *Liverpool* man-of-war and took her after an engagement of two glasses. She had eight carriage guns and a number of swivels.[4]

Richard Henry Lee, writing to Gen. Charles Lee, at Williamsburg, Va., from Philadelphia, April 15, 1776, said:

Captain Barry, in an armed brig hence, has taken, off the capes of Virginia, and sent in here a cutter with eight carriage guns belonging to the *Liverpool*, with one of that ship's lieutenants commanding her. He fought his tender well, not submitting until he was near sinking.[5]

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[1] Preble's Origin of the Flag, second edition, p. 243.

[2] Pennsylvania Gazette, April 17, 1776.

[3] Force's American Archives, fourth series, vol. 5.

[4] Athenæum Magazine, May, 1826.

[5] Lee Papers, New York Historical Society's Collections, 187[illegible]

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The following extract from the Pennsylvania Archives[1] gives us further information about the prisoners captured:

APRIL 17, 1776.

List of men taken by Captain Barry and brought prisoners to this city out of the tender sloop *Edward*, Captain Boger:

Isaac Burch.	Thomas Phillips.	James Webb.
William Fulton.	John Wilson.	James Ogelby.
Seth Bowen.	John Johnston (midshipman).	James Spencer.
Jacob Smith.	Owen Humphreys.	Henry Kelley.
John Dayton.	John Henderson.	John Shad.
John Palmer.	Robert Royston.	John Nesbitt.
Richard Gibson.	Thomas Dodson.	
John Doyle.		

Another list, given on page 421 of the Pennsylvania Archives, furnishes additional names of prisoners. In this list Capt. Richard Bowger, John Draper (mate), Andrew Kelley, and John Stead are stated to be "in the sloop;" John Nesbitt to have been "left at Capt. Timothy Shler's, sick," and Thomas Phillips to have been "left at Meg'r Richard Weicot's, sick, and John Wilson ditto." On April 19 a Lieutenant Boger was reported as a prisoner on parole at Germantown, with allowance of 15 shillings a week for subsistence. On June 13 he was sent to York, Pa., and the committee of safety there directed to make the same allowance for his support.

On May 1 advertisement was made that "the sloop *Edward*, condemned by the court of admiralty, with all her ammunition, furniture, tackle, and apparel, will be sold at the coffeehouse to-morrow at 12 o'clock, agreeable to inventory."

Not only has there been controversy as to whether or not the *Lexington*, under Captain Barry, was the first cruiser put to sea under the new flag, but also as to whether or not "the British flag on the ocean was first struck to him." In 1813 John Adams wrote Elbridge Gerry:

Philadelphia is now boasting that Paul Jones has asserted in his journal that his hand hoisted the first American flag, and Captain Barry has asserted that the first British flag was struck to him. Now, I assert that the first American flag was hoisted by Capt. John Manley and the first British flag was struck to him.[2]

Adams also wrote John Langdon respecting this claim of the honors by Jones and Barry, and added:

Both these vain boasts I know to be false, as you know them to be so. I wish your testimony to corroborate mine. It is not decent nor just that

[1] Second series, Vol. I, p. 479.

[2] Adams's Works, Vol. X, p. 30.

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these immigrants, foreigners of the South, should falsely arrogate to themselves merit that belongs to New England sailors, officers, and men.[1]

Langdon replied that the "pretensions of Jones and Barry are both unfounded."

These contradictory opinions existed because there was no agreement in the minds of the disputants as to what constituted the American flag. It is true that Captain Manley hoisted a flag and made captures prior to Captain Barry. In the *Lee*, on November 29, 1775, by the authority of Washington and under the pine-tree flag, Manley captured the *Nancy*, and on December 8 took the *Jenny* and *Hannah*, vessels of supply to the British army in Boston. It is also true that in December, 1775, John Paul Jones, on the *Alfred*, hoisted a flag bearing the warning, "Don't tread on me." But these were not the flag of America—the "American flag." There was no American flag until Washington, on January 1, 1776, raised at Cambridge the Union flag, as it was called, the flag used until June, 1777, when the present form was adopted by striking out the British union and substituting stars for each State of the confederation. Under that flag—the flag of Washington—Hopkins's fleet was the first to go to sea, and Barry's *Lexington*, bearing the same flag, was the first to cause a British flag to be struck to the new American colors.

The observer of curious coincidences might note that as far as the career of Capt. John Barry has been narrated, we learn that he was the first Catholic appointed to the command of a vessel by the Continental Congress, and that he was really the first captain in the Continental Navy; that his cruiser was named after the first battle ground of the Revolution; that it was the first commissioned by the Continental Marine Committee to intercept supplies; was the first equipped for service, and the first under the first American flag to make a capture.

Captain Barry's prize, the *Edward*, having been sold on May 1, he was on May 8 sent down the Delaware by the Marine Committee to defend the chevaux-de-frise. Robert Morris, vice-president of the Marine Committee, directed him to use his "utmost exertion in defending the pass at Fort Island to prevent their coming up to the city, and to assist in taking, sinking, and destroying the enemy if it is thought advisable to pursue them."

[1] Adam's Works, Vol. X, p. 28.

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On May 9 he sent the following report:

Mr. MORRIS.

SIR: I think if the *Lexington* was fitted out to come down she might be of service, for the more there is the better. We shall keep them in play. If you think I shall be of more service here than up there, I think she might be fitted up by somebody. Then, some of the carpenters ought to be up there.

I remain, your humble servant, JOHN BARRY.

P. S. I think if Mr. Wharton was up he would soon get her ready.

ROBERT MORRIS, Esq.,
Philadelphia.

The *Lexington* was got ready and placed under Barry's command in the lower Delaware. On May 27 Henry Fisher, of Lewistown, writing to the committee of safety, reported the *Roebuck* and the *Liverpool*, British frigates, were in and about the bay. He said:

I am persuaded that the *Liverpool* was scared away. Captains Barry and Alexander were over in our roads in a few hours after she went. They went over to Cape May for the rest of the fleet, and now they are all over under our cape in quest of the pirate.[1]

As commander of the first vessel of the fleet and the first appointed officer, this quest of the pirate *Liverpool*, whose tender Barry had taken, is the first occasion on which Barry acted as commodore or commander of a fleet. On June 6, 1776, Barry was reappointed and assigned to the *Lexington*, then under his command in the bay. Barry continued to cruise off the capes of Delaware and Virginia, to afford protection to supply vessels coming to Philadelphia. On June 29, 1776, the brig *Nancy*, Captain Montgomery, from St. Croix and St. Thomas, arrived off Cape May. She was loaded on the account of Congress with 386 barrels of powder, 50 firelocks, 101 hogsheads of rum, 62 hogsheads of sugar, etc. When near Cape May she was discovered by six British men-of-war. Captain Barry, in the *Lexington*, and Captain Wickes, in the *Reprisal*, gave her assistance. She was run ashore, and so escaped capture.[2]

Captain Barry continued to hover about the bay to assist other vessels bringing supplies from the West Indies or direct from France or Spain. At times he took a run out to sea, cruising in search of prizes. How often he succeeded we may

[1] Pennsylvania Archives, Vol. IV, p. 793.

[2] Force's Archives, I-5, p. 14.

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get but a glimpse in letters and reports. Thus Cæsar Rodney, writing to Capt. Thomas Rodney at Dover, Del., August 3, 1776, said:

> Yesterday came to town a ship belonging to the Congress from France with 10 drums of powder, about 40 drums of lead, and 1,000 stand of arms, etc., and the same day an armed vessel taken by Captain Barry at sea.[1]

Two days later (August 5) Josiah Bartlett, writing from Philadelphia to John Langdon, said:

> Captain Barry, in the *Lexington*, one of the Continental vessels, has taken and sent in here a privateer of six gun-carriage guns, commanded by another of those famous Goodriches of Virginia.[2]

Captain Barry remained in command of the *Lexington* until October 18, when it was assigned to Capt. Henry Johnston and dispatched by the secret committee to Cape François to get supplies sent from France for the use of the Americans. In 1777 the *Lexington*, when off the coast of France, was captured by the *Alert*, after an engagement of three and one-half hours.

Congress had, on October 10, established the rank and command of officers of the Navy as follows:

1. James Nicholson to command the *Virginia*, 28 guns.
2. John Manley to command the *Hancock*, 32 guns.
3. Hector McNiel to command the *Boston*, 24 guns.
4. Dudley Saltonstall to command the *Trumbull*, 28 guns.
5. Nicholas Biddle to command the *Randolph*, 32 guns.
6. Thomas Thompson to command the *Raleigh*, 32 guns.
7. John Barry to command the *Effingham*, 28 guns.

There were twenty-four appointments, and Captain Barry ranked as seventh. The *Effingham*, to which he was assigned, was named in honor of Lord Effingham, who resigned his commission in the British army rather than fight against the Americans. On November 15, 1776, the pay of captains of ships of 20 guns or more was fixed at $60 a month. This was Barry's compensation as commander of a 28-gun ship. The uniform for captains prescribed by the Marine Committee on September 5, 1776, was blue cloth with red lapels, slash cuff, standup collar, flat yellow buttons, blue breeches, and red waistcoat with yellow lace.[3]

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[1] Force, I-5, p. 741.
[2] Ibid., p. 759.
[3] Preble, p. 234.

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In Congress Saturday, November 30, 1776, an address from Capt. John Barry, Nicholas Biddle, Thomas Read, Charles Alexander, and John Nicholson was laid before Congress and read. The address was ordered to be referred to the Marine Committee, who were directed to pursue such measures as they may think proper in consequence thereof.[1] Nothing appears to show the contents or character of the address, but the circumstances of the time and the reference to the committee seem to indicate that the address proposed to place the naval force in a position to aid Washington's sorely pressed forces. The main body of Washington's army was then in New Jersey, where it had crossed from New York on the 12th, leaving two large detachments to hold Forts Lee and Washington. By the time the address of Barry and his compatriots had reached Congress these two forts, the defense of the Hudson, had been lost, and the sad and gloomy but marvelously strategic retreat across the Jerseys was being conducted by Washington, with Cornwallis in pursuit. The fleet protecting the approach to the city and operating in the lower Delaware had been recalled. The upper Delaware was soon to become the center of action, where God's providence was so strikingly manifested on the cold Christmas night not long afterwards. Captain Barry at once recruited a company for service on land, and doubtless most of his crew stood by their captain in this new line of endeavor for freedom.

These were indeed perilous times—"times that tried men's souls." Recall those dark days of December, 1776. The battle of Long Island, the escape across the North River in that providential fog, the loss of Forts Lee and Washington, the retreat to and across the Jerseys to the east bank of the Delaware. Think of that almost despairing wail of Washington, as he saw his force fast disappearing through casualties and the ending of enlistments: "In ten days this army will have ceased to exist. We are at the end of our tether."

All seemed lost. The hour of defeat and destruction seemed about to strike. The faint-hearted and the treacherous were fast going over to British allegiance. "At last the old fox [Washington] is in a trap," said Cornwallis. A day's freezing of the waters of the Delaware would bring the complete destruction of the "rebel army." Why not sit down amid

[1] Force IV–5, 3, p. 1594.

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Christmas festivity and wait for nature to furnish the means of crossing? Why harass Hessians by building boats and rafts to cross to the other side? There need be no concern nor haste. "The fox was in the trap," and that Declaration of Independence would be proved only an empty threat and vain defiance.

But a gracious Providence had given this land to man to be the home of freedom and self-government. In this dark hour, when all seemed but lost, Capt. John Barry, a seaman, organized a company of volunteers to hasten to the aid of Washington on the Delaware above Trenton. In the crossing of the ice-blocked river and in the fighting that won victory at Trenton and Princeton, Barry did the duty of a patriot and hero. He was one of those who were ready to uphold the Declaration of Independence with "their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor."

At the battle of Princeton, January 2, 1777, Captain Barry fought under Capt. William Brown, and remained attached to the army until January 23, 1777.[1]

The minutes of the Pennsylvania board of war, March 7, 1777, have this record:

Mr. Moses Young was directed to pay Jane Howe £6 19s. 9d. for the use of the volunteers in Captain Barry's company when going to camp in December last; to be charged to Congress.[2]

Captain Barry, while in service in New Jersey, was an aid on one occasion to Washington on special service, as the annexed letter[3] shows:

MORRISTOWN, *8th January, 1777.*

To Lieutenant-General EARL CORNWALLIS.

MY LORD: Your Lordship's favor of yesterday was delivered to me by the officer who met your flag of truce. You may be assured that no molestation will be offered to the convoy of money and stores which General De Heister means to send to the Hessians taken at Trenton, or to the surgeon with medicines for the wounded at Princeton, by any part of the regular army under my command. But I can not answer for the militia who are resorting to arms in most parts of this State, and are exceedingly exasperated at the treatment they have met with from both Hessians and British troops. I therefore thought it most desirable to direct Captain Barry, the bearer of this, to give a safe conduct to the Hessian baggage as far as Philadelphia and the surgeon and medicines to Princeton. I have no objection to the Hessian sergeant and twelve men attending their

[1] Pennsylvania Archives, second series, Vol. I, p. 234.
[2] Ibid., second series, Vol. I, p. 20.
[3] Writings of Washington, p. 158.

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baggage till it is delivered to their countrymen; but cannot consent to their carrying their arms, as I think none but bad consequences can ensue from such a measure.

I am, with due respect, my Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient servant,
GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Unable to reach the capital of the rebels—Philadelphia—by way of New Jersey, the British plan of campaign for 1777 was designed to reach the city by way of the South and Chesapeake Bay. As this plan became evident Washington, keeping a force in north Jersey to watch the enemy at New York, moved his main body southward to intercept the enemy in its march toward Philadelphia. Brandywine was fought and the advance of the British forces was but little checked. Philadelphia was alarmed. Orders were given to remove all war material, and refugees hastened into the country. Congress fled from Philadelphia to Lancaster, and the city was virtually in possession of the enemy, though entry was not made until the 26th. In the meantime Washington moved backward toward Valley Forge. In November, information from Philadelphia caused him to notify the Continental Navy Board, then meeting at Bordentown, N. J., that there was danger of a force being sent to destroy the fleet in the upper Delaware. He accordingly directed that the vessels then above Philadelphia should be sunk. On March 2, 1778, Washington sent the same notice to the Pennsylvania State navy board.

Captain Barry was then in the upper Delaware. Two days before the entry of Lord Howe's army into Philadelphia, he had moved the *Effingham* to White Hill (now Fieldsboro), 1 mile below Bordentown, N. J. The following letter, though dated November 2, at Bordentown, Barry afterwards claimed he did not receive until the 24th:

BORDENTOWN, *November 2, 1777.*

To JOHN BARRY, Esq.,
Commander on board the frigate Effingham.

SIR: As we understand your ship is now scuttled and ready for sinking, you are hereby directed to remove her a little below White Hill; and having found a suitable berth where she may lie on a soft bottom and be easily got off at a common tide you are to sink her there without delay. We expect this business will be completed by sunset this evening and report thereof made to this Board.

FRANCIS HOPKINSON,
JOHN WHARTON,
Continental Navy Board.

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This order was not obeyed until the 30th. On December 11, 1777, the Navy Board at Bordentown sent to Congress, then at York, Pa., a complaint setting forth "the disrespect and ill-treatment which one of the said board lately received from John Barry, commander of the *Effingham*." On the 30th the Marine Committee reported to Congress, whereupon Congress ordered Captain Barry to attend Congress and make answer to the complaints exhibited against him. Captain Barry attended Congress on January 10, 1778; replied by communication to the charges against him. His reply may be found in the Historical Magazine, Volume III, pages 202–204 (1857). The original manuscript is in the hand of John Paul Jones, according to Dr. R. C. Davis, autograph collector of Philadelphia. It is now in possession of Charles Roberts, esq., of Philadelphia. The pith of it is that Hopkinson called Barry "a scoundrel" and he called Hopkinson "a liar." Barry closed by saying to Congress:

I would just suggest to your honors whether the good of the service does not require the captains of the Navy to be treated with complaisance as gentlemen, so long as they observe their duty. For my part I should think myself unworthy of the commission the honorable Congress has been pleased to give me could I tamely put up with different treatment.

Mr. Hopkinson evidently made reply, for the Journal of Congress for January 29, 1778, records—

A letter from F. Hopkinson, one of the Committee of the Navy Board concerning the conduct of Captain Barry, was read, when it was moved that Captain Barry be not employed on the expedition assigned to his conduct by the Marine Committee with the approbation of Congress until further order of Congress.

Question put.

The States equally divided.

Adjourned till ten o'clock to-morrow.

Had a majority vote been given and Barry "not employed on the expedition assigned to his conduct," perhaps Washington might not have been cheered by results so signal as to win his special thanks. The "spirit of enterprise" aroused in Captain Barry the determination to prove his ability to harass and weaken the enemy who had possession of his city and his home. His ship, the *Effingham*, lay at the bottom of the Delaware, off White Hill, N. J. Barry, learning that British vessels bringing supplies to the enemy in Philadelphia were off Port Penn in the lower Delaware, determined to attempt their capture or destruction. One night early in February, 1778, he

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manned four rowboats successfully in the night and passed down the river unobserved. Getting below the city he continued to destroy the forage of the enemy from Mantua Creek to Port Penn. On February 26 he reported to Washington at Valley Forge that he had destroyed about 400 tons of forage and should have proceeded farther "had not a number of the enemy's boats appeared in sight and, lining the Jersey shore, deprived me of the opportunity of proceeding farther on the same purpose."

On March 9 he reported to Washington that he had "captured two ships and a schooner. The ships were transports from Rhode Island loaded with forage." He sent Washington "a cheese together with a jar of pickled oysters." He closed by saying:

A fleet of the enemy's small vessels appearing in sight obliged me to burn one of the ships, and I am afraid the other will share the same fate. Thirty-seven prisoners were taken as well as some of the officers' ladies.

All were paroled "for a fortnight to go to Philadelphia."

Washington, at Valley Forge, wrote to Congress, then at York, saying, under date of March 12:

I have great pleasure to transmit you an extract of a letter from Captain Barry, which will inform you of his successes. The two ships he burned after stripping them; and he was obliged, it seems, two days after the capture to ground and abandon the schooner, after a long and severe engagement with some of the frigates and smaller armed vessels. It is said he saved her guns and most of her tackle.[1]

Washington sent his thanks to Captain Barry in the following letter:

HEADQUARTERS, *12th March, 1778.*

SIR: I have received your favor of the 9th inst., and congratulate you on the success which has crowned your gallantry in the late attack upon the enemy's ships. Although circumstances have prevented you from reaping the full benefit of your conquests, yet there is ample consolation in the degree of glory which you have acquired. You will be pleased to accept my thanks for the good things which you were so polite to send me, with my wishes that a suitable recompense may always attend your bravery.[2]

Frost's Naval Biography said of this attack on the enemy's ships, "For boldness of design and dexterity of execution it was not surpassed, if equaled, during the war." If it be true that General Howe ever offered Barry a command in the Brit-

[1] Letters, Vol. I, p. 197.

[2] Sparks's Writings of Washington, Vol. V, p. 271.

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ish navy if he would desert the cause of the colonies, and that Barry replied that the command of the whole British navy would not induce him to abandon the cause of liberty, it is probable that it was after this enterprise at Port Penn. While I have found no direct evidence of such an offer, yet there is a possibility that it was made.

The daring and success of Captain Barry and the loss which he had inflicted were of course known to the British commander, and General Howe may have sent the reputed message to him that a high position in the British navy awaited him, together with £20,000. But however this may be, his operations in the lower Delaware certainly aroused the British to revenge. Barry's vessel the *Effingham* had been raised from "the soft bottom" of the Delaware. On the night of May 7 a force under Major Maitland was sent on an expedition up the Delaware. They burned the *Washington* (32 guns), the *Effingham* (28 guns), and other vessels, numbering in all 21 or more.

But while Captain Barry was destroying the forage of the enemy the charges against him in Congress were still undetermined. We have seen how by a tie vote the command was not taken from him. It would seem that his friends, noting how near he had come to dismissal, agreed to accept a vote of censure. Accordingly, on February 21, 1778, the Marine Committee, to whom was referred the complaint of the Navy Board, reported as their opinion "that Captain Barry hath treated the said Board in the person of Mr. Hopkinson, one of the Board, with indecency and disrespect and that they ought within twenty days after this resolve shall have been notified to him by the said Board to make such full acknowledgment as shall be satisfactory to them." Congress agreed to the report, and after this nothing further appears in official records concerning the affront given to the authorities. It may therefore be presumed that Captain Barry complied with the resolve of Congress. He doubtless determined so to manifest "the spirit of enterprise" in serving his country as to make ample reparation for any "disrespect" previously shown.

During the summer of 1778 we find but one reference to Barry. The Journal of Congress, July 22, 1778, reads:

> A copy of a letter from Captain Barry and Captain John Young was laid before Congress and referred to the delegates of Delaware and Maryland and that they take order thereon.

The purport of this letter has not been discovered.

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Though Barry's *Effingham* had been destroyed by the enemy his active spirit did not permit him to remain idle. In February, 1778, the *Alfred* had been captured, owing to her desertion by the *Raleigh*, under Capt. Thomas Thompson. On the arrival of the *Raleigh* at Boston, Captain Thompson was superseded in command by Barry. On her first cruise under Barry the *Raleigh* was pursued by two British frigates and run ashore on the coast of Maine. This disaster left Barry without a ship; but his State engaged his services and appointed him commander of the letter-of-marque brig the *Delaware*, built to replace that *Delaware* which had been destroyed November 21, after the attack on Fort Mifflin. In the *Delaware*, which carried 12 guns and 60 men, Barry made two cruises to Port au Prince. Of his first trip no account is known to have been preserved. Of the second trip, and of his further career in the *Delaware* and in the *Alliance*, we are fortunate in having the account given by John Kessler. Kessler was the clerk of Captain Barry while in command of the *Delaware* and his mate on the *Alliance*. This account is now for the first time made public, although it was written at the request of Mrs. Barry to assist Mr. Dennie in compiling the "Sketch of Commodore Barry," published in The Portfolio, July, 1813. The original manuscript is in the possession of Colonel Kessler, of Butte, Mont., a grandson of John Kessler. There is also a copy in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. Kessler says the *Delaware* sailed from Philadelphia on her second voyage to Port au Prince "in the fall of 1779, in company with three other letter-of-marque brigs and one schooner." Barry was made commodore of this fleet, and arranged signals to be used on it, "of which," adds Kessler, "I had to furnish each commander with a copy."

Kessler continues:

> When abreast of Cape Henlopen a sail was discovered. Chase was made, and on coming up we found it to be a British sloop of war called the *Harlem*, which was taken, with about 90 men, without resistance. The officers during the chase (after heaving over all her guns) made their escape in boats. The vessels were sent to Philadelphia, but her crew was landed near Chinesteague and delivered to a military party. On the remainder of the passage nothing worthy of notice occurred. On the passage home a merchant vessel of Liverpool was taken, which was, however, retaken by the noted *Guttridge* and carried into Bermuda.

During the war there was much controversy, if not actual conflict, between the Continental and State naval forces. The

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Continental vessels impressed into their service men on vessels belonging to the State navy or bearing letters of marque from the individual State. How Captain Barry, once of the Continental, but now of the State navy, met the designs of Continental press gangs is told by Clerk Kessler:

At our arrival in the Delaware the pilot who came on board informed us that the Continental frigate *Confederacy* lay at Chester and was impressing crews of merchant vessels going up the river. This information very much alarmed the brig's crew and many desired to be put ashore. Captain Barry addressed them thus: "My lads, if you have the spirit of freemen you will not desire to go ashore nor tamely submit against your wills to be taken away, although all the force of all the frigate's boat's crew were to attempt to exercise such a species of tyranny."

This address satisfied them, and, as it implied his consent to their defending themselves, they resolved to do it at all hazards, and for that purpose put themselves under the command and direction of the boatswain and armed themselves with muskets, pistols, and boarding pikes; and thus we arrived within hailing distance of the *Confederacy*. When her commander ordered the brig's main topsail to be hove to the mast, Captain Barry answered that he could not without getting his vessel ashore. The commander of the frigate ordered that the brig should come to anchor. Captain Barry gave no answer, but continued on his way, beating up with the tide at flood and wind ahead, when a gun was fired from the frigate and a boat was manned, left her, and came toward us. Captain Barry directed that the officers of the boat should be admitted on board, but that as to the men we might do with them as we pleased. The boat soon arrived and two officers (armed) jumped on board on the quarter deck, ordering the main topsail halyards to be cast off, which was not, however, done. Captain Barry asked them whether they were sent to take command of his vessel. The boat's crew was then about entering when we presented ourselves and threatened instant death to all that entered. Their officers thereon, after trying to intimidate our boatswain by presenting their pistols, but finding it of no avail, hastily sprang into their boats and left us.

Another gun was then fired from the frigate, when Captain Barry ordered the guns to be cleaned, and declared that if but a rope yarn was injured by their firing he would give them a whole broadside. The third gun being fired from the frigate, Captain Barry hailed and asked the name of her commander. The answer was, "Lieutenant Gregory." Captain Barry immediately thereon addressed him thus: "Lieutenant Gregory, I advise you to desist from firing. This is the brig *Delaware*, belonging to Philadelphia, and my name is John Barry." Nothing further was said or done by Lieutenant Gregory. It was said that Mr. Gregory had once been under the command of Captain Barry and could not but know he would not be trifled with. Thus our whole crew arrived at Philadelphia. But the other vessels of our fleet were obliged to anchor because of the pressing of those who did not get on shore, and they were obliged to remain until assistance was sent them from Philadelphia.

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Captain Barry was soon afterwards appointed to command the frigate *Alliance*, then lying at Boston. The *Alliance* was the favorite ship in the Navy and nation during the Revolution. She was both beautiful and exceedingly fast. The selection of Captain Barry as her commander was a most honorable testimony to his merit, and justifies the belief that the loss of the *Raleigh* was not owing to any fault of Captain Barry.

The ship *Alliance* was named in honor of the treaty of alliance concluded with France, February, 1778. She was launched in the spring of that year. As a compliment to the French it was deemed proper to appoint a Frenchman, Pierre Landais, her captain. She sailed from Boston in January, 1779, and went to France. It was there said of her that there was "not a more perfect piece of naval architecture in Europe." Landais proved to be incompetent, and in June, 1780, was dismissed by Congress. In November, 1780, the command was given to Captain Barry.

The *Alliance* was fittingly chosen to convey Col. John Laurens to France as a special commissioner at that "infinitely critical posture of our affairs," to quote from a letter of Washington to Franklin.

On February 11 she sailed from Boston for L'Orient, carrying as passengers Colonel Laurens, Thomas Paine, Major Jackson, and a French officer. On the way to France the *Alliance* captured the *Alert*, of 12 guns, which was taken to L'Orient, where the crew was put in prison. "After this capture," Kessler's narrative states, "we arrived at L'Orient without anything worth noting except Paine's duel with the French officer (Count de Noailles)."

On March 29, 1781, the *Alliance* left L'Orient for America in company with the French letter-of-marque brig *Marquis de Lafayette* loaded with clothing for and on account of the United States. The attempt at mutiny that followed Kessler describes as follows:

> On March 30 an Indian (one of the forecastle men) gave Captain Barry information of a combination among the crew for the purpose of taking the ship, and pointed out three who had striven to prevail on him to be concerned therein. The three men were immediately put in irons, and all the officers, with such of the crew as could be confided in, were armed and required to remain all night on deck. On the next morning all hands were called and placed on the forecastle, booms, and gangways, excepting the officers and such part of the crew in whom Captain Barry confided, who, armed, strongly guarded the quarter-deck, the storage, and the main deck to keep the remainder of the crew together on the forecastle and boom, etc.

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The three designated men were brought out of their irons on the quarter-deck, and being stripped and hoisted by the thumbs to the mizzen stay, underwent a very severe whipping before either would make any confession. The names of 25 of their accomplices were obtained from them before the whipping was discontinued. As their accomplices were disclosed, they were called to the quarter-deck, stripped, and tied to the ridgerope of the netting, and the whipping continued until it was thought all was disclosed that could possibly be obtained. The confessions proved that it had been intended to take the ship on her passage out by killing all the officers (in the middle watch of the night) except the second lieutenant, T. Fletcher, who was to navigate her to some port in Ireland, or, on failure, to be put to death. A quartermaster was to have command, and they had all been bound by an oath on the Bible, administered by the captain's assistant cabin steward, and had also signed their names in a round robin, so called. They had found no good opportunity on the outward passage, and intended to accomplish the taking of the ship as aforesaid immediately on leaving France. But on coming out of L'Orient we lost a man overboard who was one of the chief ringleaders, and, considering that a bad omen, they threw the round robin overboard and relinquished their designs. The three principals were placed securely in irons, and the remainder, after being admonished by Captain Barry, and on their solemn declaration to conduct themselves well, were permitted to return to the ship's duty.

Barry reported to the Board of Admiralty:

We discovered a conspiracy on board, the ring leaders we confined and have brought them in here in irons. Unhappily for us we had no seamen on board but the affected ones, and but few of them. I believe a ship never put to sea in a worse condition as to seamen.

Kessler's narrative continues:

On April 2 two brigs gave us chase and were permitted to come up. One ran close on board of us and without any hail fired the whole broadside at us, and immediately everyone run off her deck. We had commenced firing, but on discovering their retreat the firing ceased and we boarded them. She proved to be a brig with flushdeck and twenty 12-pounders, two 6-pounders, and fourteen carronades, with 112 men, called the *Mars*,[1] and belonging to the Guernsey. The crew was taken on board the *Alliance* and all put in irons without distinction, Captain Barry considering them as not meriting other treatment, in consequence of their firing on us with no intention of bravely fighting. The other brig was the *Minerva*, of 10 guns and 55 men. She was taken possession of and manned by the *Marquis de Lafayette*, our consort. Soon after, in a gale of wind, we parted with our consort and the prizes. On May 2 we captured a brig and snow loaded with sugar from Jamaica for London, which was manned and ordered to Boston.

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[1] The *Mars*, above referred to, had been captured from the Americans at St. Eustatius on February 3, 1781, and added to the British navy. (Beatson's Memoirs, Vol. V, p. 166.)

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The following spirited account is given by Kessler of one of Barry's most famous sea fights:

MAY 28.

Towards evening discovered a sail on the weather bow standing for us, and which, after coming near enough to be kept in sight, hauled to wind and stood on our course. Towards day it became quite calm. After it became light it appeared that they were an armed ship and brig about a league distant. At sunrise they hoisted the English colors and beat drums. At the same time the American colors were displayed by the *Alliance*. By little puffs of wind we were enabled to get within small hailing distance. At 11 o'clock Captain Barry hailed the ship, and the answer was, "The *Atlanta* ship of war, belonging to His Britannic Majesty, and commanded by Capt. Sampson Edwards." Captain Barry replied that we were the Continental frigate *Alliance*, commanded by John Barry, and advised him to haul down his colors. Captain Edwards answered, "Thank you, sir; perhaps I may after a trial." The firing then began. But unfortunately there was not wind enough for our steerageway. Being lighter vessels, by the use of sweeps they got and kept athwart our stern and on our quarters, so that we could not bring one-half our guns—nay, ofttimes only guns out astern—to bear on them. And thus we lay like a log the greatest part of the time.

About 2 o'clock Captain Barry received a wound by a grapeshot in the shoulder. He remained, however, on the quarter-deck until, by much loss of blood, he was obliged to be helped to the cockpit. Some time after, our colors were shot away. It so happened that at the same time such guns as would bear on the enemy had been fired, and were then loading. This caused the enemy to think we had struck our colors. They manned their shrouds and gave three cheers. By that time the colors were hoisted by a mizzen brail and our firing began again. A quartermaster went to the wheel in place of one just killed there. At the same time a small breeze of wind sprang up. A broadside was brought to bear and fired on the ship, and then on the brig, when they struck their colors at 3 o'clock. I was ordered to fetch the captains on board. I found the captain of the brig killed, but brought the captain of the ship. On his entrance into the cabin, where Captain Barry was seated in an easy chair, his wounds dressed, he advanced and presented his sword, which Captain Barry received and then returned to Captain Edwards, saying: "I return it to you, sir. You have merited it, and your King ought to give you a better ship. Here is my cabin at your service. Use it as your own." He then ordered the lieutenant of the brig to be brought.

It being, however, too late in the day to effect removal, a prize master and crew were sent on board the prizes and ordered to keep close by us all night. The next morning the cannon of the brig were hove overboard. After the arms and ammunition had been taken from her, the prisoners were all put on board and she departed for Halifax to exchange them for American prisoners. The *Alliance* made all sail for Boston, on account of Captain Barry's wound, leaving the prize ship to follow.

Barry's report, now in the State Department, continues:

On the 2nd May, in latitude 41° 37 N. and longitude 43, we fell in with a

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brig and snow loaded with sugars from Jamaica, which we captured, and in case of separation were ordered for Philadelphia, which was the case a short time afterwards in a hard gale of wind.

On the 19th May, in latitude 38° 13′ N. and 55 of longitude, we fell in with two ships, took them to be homeward-bound merchantmen, but being so poorly mann'd we were not in a condition to take them; therefore did not speak them.

On the 28th May, in latitude 40° 34′ N. and longitude 63 1, we fell in with two his Britannic Majesties sloops of war, the *Atalanta* and *Trepassey*, the former commanded by Captain Edwards, the latter by Captain Smyth, that was killed in the engagement, who bore down upon us, and after a smart action we had five men killed and twenty-two wounded, three of which have died of their wounds since. I am amongst the wounded. The occasion of my wound was a large grapeshot, which lodged in my left shoulder, which was soon after cut out by the surgeon. I am flattered by him that I shall be fit for duty before the ship will be ready to sail, and I am of the same opinion, as the ship is shattered in a most shocking manner and wants new masts, yards, sail, and rigging. Soon after the sloops of war struck I tho't it most prudent to throw all the *Trepassey's* guns overboard and take away all her military stores and to fit her out as a cartel and to send all the prisoners I had on board with them I had that day taken, for Newfoundland, which the captain of the *Atalanta* assured me, should be regularly exchanged, only keeping on board the captain of the *Atalanta*, the purser, doctor, and wounded, and the senior officer of the *Trepassey*, with a few others. As the *Atalanta* was the largest vessel and copper bottomed, I got jury-masts upon her (she being dismasted in the action) and ordered her to Boston, which I tho't the nearest and safest port; we being at that time in a shattered condition, very foul, and hardly men enough to work our ship, I tho't it most prudent to make the nearest port we could.

On November 27, 1781, after the surrender at Yorktown, Barry received orders to prepare to take General Lafayette "to France, whither he is to go in pursuance of orders from his excellency the Commander in Chief, on business of the utmost importance to America." On December 23 the *Alliance* sailed on this important mission.

The *Alliance* arrived at Boston June 6, 1782.

On August 4, 1782, the *Alliance* sailed out from New London at 4 a. m., and by 7 a. m. had retaken a brig "which had been cut out of Rhode Island by the enemy." On August 9 Barry captured a schooner bound from Bermuda to Halifax. He held the captain and owner, and on arriving at St. Georges Harbor sent them ashore to "inform the governor that unless all the Americans which they had as prisoners were sent on board the *Alliance* he would remain three weeks to hinder any vessel from going in or coming out." On the 25th Barry took a prize from the *Hawk*, a privateer. On the 30th he was

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informed that a large fleet had sailed from Jamaica which he might overhaul. On September 18 he captured one of the Jamaica fleet and learned that the fleet had been scattered in a gale. Captures were also made on September 27 and 28, which were sent to L'Orient, where Barry arrived October 17. Altogether his captures on this cruise numbered 3 ships, 1 snow, 2 brigs, 1 schooner, and 1 sloop. Some of the prisoners entered the service under Barry. The others were sent ashore. Mate Kessler records: "They went with much reluctance. The separation was more like the separation of old friends than that of individuals at war." This unusual state of affairs arose from Barry's method of treating prisoners. "Captains were, if possible, accommodated with room in his cabin. The mates were received by the petty officers. The privates were placed among those of the *Alliance* and enjoyed the same fare. No confinement or labor was imposed upon them. Among the prisoners were several officers. The difference between the treatment commonly accorded by British commanders and the treatment which they and the privates had received from Captain Barry made them blush for their country."

On December 9, 1782, the *Alliance* sailed for a cruise in West India waters, but made no captures. On January 8, 1783, she arrived at Martinico, where Barry found orders to proceed to Havana and take in specie for Congress. He arrived at Havana on January 17. Here the *Alliance* remained until March 7, when she set sail in company with the *Lauzan* (20 guns), which also had specie on board for Congress. On the passage homeward both vessels were chased by three frigates. They were gaining on the *Lauzan*, when Barry directed her captain to heave his guns overboard, while the *Alliance* would keep by the wind so the *Lauzan* might escape. In the action which took place "the enemy fired a bow gun," records Mate Kessler, "which struck the cabin of the *Alliance*, but before a half hour her guns were silenced, and nothing but musketry was fired from her. She was of 32 guns, and appeared full of men. After an action of forty-five minutes she sheered off." As to this engagement with the *Sibyl*—for that was the name of the enemy's ship—her commander, Captain Vashon, declared, in 1802, that he had never seen a ship so ably fought as the *Alliance*, that he had never received such a drubbing, and that he was indebted to the aid of his consorts for his escape. "The coolness and intrepidity, no less than skill and

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fertility in expedients, which Captain Barry displayed on this occasion are described in naval annals as truly wonderful. Every quality of a great naval commander was brought out in extraordinary brilliancy."

This was the last battle of the Revolutionary war. It had been fought while the *Triumph* was crossing the sea with the preliminary treaty of peace. The man who had made the first capture under the Stars and Stripes in the Revolutionary war had the honor of fighting the last battle of that war under the same flag.

On March 23, 1783, the *Triumph* arrived at Philadelphia. On the next day Congress ordered the recall of all vessels cruising under the commission of the United States. On April 19, 1783, Washington announced the close of the war and the disbanding of the Army.

The subsequent history of the *Alliance* is briefly told. "Captain Barry went with the *Alliance* to Virginia, took on board a load of tobacco on public account, went to Amsterdam, and returned to Philadelphia," is the way in which Mate Kessler closes his record. On June 3, 1785, Congress ordered the *Alliance* to be sold. She was the last ship of the Confederacy. At the public sale she was bought by Coburn & Whitehead for £2,887, or about $7,700. They, in turn, sold the ship to Robert Morris, who employed her in the merchant service.

Captain Barry had not only served his adopted country well on sea and on land in contests with its enemies, but for the sake of securing a more perfect form of government he was ready to manifest his combativeness in dealing with those who opposed the Constitution of 1787. The Constitutional Convention had completed its work on September 17, 1787. The next morning the Pennsylvania delegates to the convention, headed by Benjamin Franklin, appeared before the Pennsylvania assembly to announce that they were ready to report, and on the following day they presented the Federal Constitution. On September 29, the last day but one of the assembly's session, an endeavor was made to have a convention called to act upon the Constitution. Nineteen members opposed it. When the assembly met the succeeding day it was found that the nineteen had absented themselves and that the body lacked two of a quorum.

Captain Barry, leading a number of citizens, went to the lodgings of two of the seceding members "and dragged them

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to the State house and thrust them into the assembly room while that body was in session." They desired to retire, as they had been forcibly brought to the meeting, but the assembly decided that they were present and could not retire without permission, which was refused. There now being a quorum of the house, the minutes state that "the consideration of the time of holding a convention to act upon the new Constitution was resumed and the date fixed." Thus Pennsylvania, through the prompt and forcible action of Captain Barry, was the first to take steps in the direction of adopting the Federal Constitution. Though the supreme executive council, on appeal of the opposing members, directed the attorney-general to begin legal proceedings against Captain Barry, no further action seems to have been taken. In the spring of 1788 he sailed to China in command of the *Asia*, whence he returned June 4, 1789.

The "depredations of the Algerine corsairs on the commerce of the United States rendered it necessary that a naval force should be provided for its protection." Thus reads the Act of March 27, 1794, which established the present Navy, On June 7 President Washington announced the commanders of the frigates to be built, and the name of John Barry led all the rest. His commission, yet preserved, is "No. 1," and was signed by Washington, July 4, 1797. "Captain Barry," says Cooper's History, "was the only one of the six surviving captains of the Revolutionary war who was not born in America, but he had passed nearly all his life in it, and was thoroughly identified with his adopted countrymen in interest and feeling. He had often distinguished himself during the Revolution, and perhaps of all the naval captains that remained he was the one who possessed a greater reputation for experience, conduct, and skill. His appointment met with general approbation, nor did anything ever occur to give the Government reason to regret its selection." On August 7, 1794, Barry was appointed "superintendent of the frigate to be built at Philadelphia"—the *United States*—the first vessel of our present Navy. Barry visited Georgia to direct the selection of "the most durable wood in the world—the live oak of Georgia"—to quote from his letter of December 18, 1794, to the Secretary of War. On May 10, 1797, the frigate *United States* was launched amid the acclaims of all Philadelphia.

The records of the Navy Department show that on June 3,

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1798, Barry was given authority to capture French armed vessels. On July 11, 1798, Barry received orders to "take the *Delaware*, Captain Decatur, under your command and proceed without delay to Cape Cod, where you will be joined by the *Herald*, Captain Sever, of 20 guns, and a revenue cutter of 14 guns from Boston. With this force you will proceed with all practicable speed to the West Indies and so dispose of the vessels under your command as to afford the greatest chance of falling in with the French armed vessels. The object of the enterprise is to do as much injury to the armed vessels and to make as many captures as possible, consistent with a due regard to the security of our own."

The *Herald* and the Boston cutter were unprepared, and Barry, with Decatur, proceeded on the expedition to the islands. He returned to Philadelphia September 21, 1798, bringing about 100 Frenchmen and negroes as prisoners, mostly from the *Le Jaloux*, which he had captured. Stoddert, Secretary of the Navy, wrote President Adams that "Barry had returned too soon," his reasons being "the apprehension of the hurricanes," and that "the result of the enterprise had fallen very far short of his hopes." On September 28, 1798, orders were given Barry to cruise to the eastward until November 15. On December 7, 1798, the Secretary of the Navy notified Barry that the employment of our naval force in the West Indies this winter "had been determined upon, and that the frigates *United States* and *Constitution*, the *Washington* (32 guns), the *Merrimac* (24 guns), and four or five more vessels of nearly the same force as the latter, will, by order of the President, be under your immediate command, to be employed as your knowledge of those seas and your judgment shall suggest in active operations for the protection of our commerce and the capture or destruction of French armed vessels."

On March 15 the Secretary of the Navy wrote Barry in the West Indies to send the *Constitution* to Boston and the *Washington* to Newport, and added: "I am sorry your health is not quite restored, which, however, I attribute more to your vexation for not being able to fall in with the Monsieur than to the effects of the climate." Barry himself returned to Philadelphia with the *United States* in May, leaving the other vessel under the command of Captain Truxton. In June, 1799, after the *United States* had been refitted, he was again ordered to "protect our defenseless coast." This service was discharged until

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October 21, when Barry, then at Newport, R. I., received orders to take Ellsworth, Davie, and Murray to France as envoys extraordinary.

On the return of the *United States* she was again refitted and prepared for service. On December 6, 1800, the Secretary of the Navy directed Barry "to proceed to St. Kitts and assume command of your squadron on the Gaudaloupe station," saying that it was "difficult to prescribe the conduct to be pursued toward French national ships, when unofficial accounts say a treaty has been made and no official accounts have been received on the subject." He was instructed, however, to capture such ships if he believed that they still captured American vessels. "And in no state of things will it be right for you to avoid encounters with them should they be sought on their part." News of the treaty having been received, and the Senate having consented thereto on March 23, 1801, orders were sent Barry directing the return of the squadron in the West Indies under his command. At the end of April the *United States* arrived at Philadelphia. On May 1 Barry was ordered to bring her to Washington, which was now the seat of government. He was also directed to give "his opinion of the respective merits of the most promising officers, so that the President might select the 9 captains, 36 lieutenants, and 150 midshipmen which the act providing for the naval peace establishment empowered the President to name." At Washington the *United States*, the first ship of the Navy, was dismantled and put out of commission. Barry was permitted to return to Philadelphia, "there to remain until the Government again requires your service, of which you will be reasonably apprised."

On the 11th of June the Secretary of the Navy addressed Barry as follows: "It is particularly pleasing to me to have the gratification of informing you that the President has been pleased to select you as one of those who are to be retained in the service." The records of the Navy Department show the performance of various duties, such as testing cannon, until in August, 1802, Barry had to plead that his health would not permit him to proceed to Havre de Grace, Md., "to prove a number of cannon at Colonel Hughes's works." But he still continued to act with Captains Dale and Bainbridge as examiner of officers seeking promotion.

The Tripolitans were at this time giving much trouble to American commerce. On December 22, 1802, Secretary Smith

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notified Barry that "we shall have occasion to keep a small force in the Mediterranean, and upon the return of Commodore Morris we shall expect your services at that station." But the brave old Commodore was now unfitted by reason of ill health to serve his country and defend its honor. The last scene in his eventful history was approaching. He had braved death and feared it not amid fire of battle. On the 13th of September, 1803, he faced it for the last time. "In the full belief in the doctrines of the Gospel," ran the original inscription on his tomb, "he resigned himself into the arms of his Redeemer." He was buried in St. Mary's graveyard, South Fourth street, Philadelphia.

"There are gallant hearts whose glory
Columbia loves to name,
Whose deeds shall live in story
And everlasting fame.

But never yet one braver
Our starry banner bore
Than saucy old Jack Barry,
The Irish Commodore."

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XVI.—AGREEMENT OF 1817—REDUCTION OF NAVAL FORCES UPON THE AMERICAN LAKES.

By J. M. CALLAHAN,
OF JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

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AGREEMENT OF 1817.—REDUCTION OF NAVAL FORCES UPON THE AMERICAN LAKES.

By J. M. CALLAHAN.

The inland waterway which stretches along the northern border of the United States was the theater of warlike movement and of desperate conflict from a time previous to the discoveries of Champlain till the close of the war of 1812. The conflict between savage tribes became a struggle between two powerful European nations, until at last the supremacy of England on the new continent was assured. But the Anglo-Saxon had not won for England alone. The liberty-loving colonists who were battling with the forest and making a new life south of the lakes claimed the right to govern themselves in their new home. The struggle by which they secured the lakes as their northern boundary did not end until their claims had been emphasized by fleets and diplomacy in a war which has since been, perhaps, well characterized as "unwise and unnecessary," although the fiery speeches of fascinating Americans and the slowness of the British Government in repealing the "orders in council" made it appear unavoidable at that time.

With the close of the war came the almost universal desire for peace. In England a few wanted to send Wellington to America to direct a continuation of the war; in America a few favored the conquest of Canada; but the thinking people received the news of peace with gladness. Jefferson wrote that Quebec and Halifax would have been taken, but that peace and reconciliation were better than conquest by war. He had not lost confidence in the strength of the Republic, but he hoped that the motto of "Carthago delenda est" might not be forced upon it. It was a time for repression of pas-

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sion rather than for the perpetuation of hatred. Jefferson's advice concerning the "inscription for the Capitol which the British burnt" was that it should be brief and so no passion could be imputed to it.

Peace had been concluded at Ghent amidst the festivities of Christmas eve in 1814, and as soon as the slow-sailing craft of that day could traverse the waters of the Atlantic the news was proclaimed in America on each side of the lakes. But entire peace could not be guaranteed by proclamation. How was the Temple of Janus to be kept closed? Manifestly, the most apparent danger of future collisions would lie in the relations of the two peoples along the northern limits of the United States. While Jefferson was trying to "eradicate the war feeling which the newspapers had nourished" and wishing for the two "countries to shake hands together," what measures should be adopted to lessen the possible sources of future misunderstandings, as well as to accelerate the return of fraternal feelings, desires, and actions? The development of the Northwest was affected by the presence of British troops in Canada and of British vessels on the lakes. How should this danger be avoided? These were questions which the wise, well-trained leaders of 1815 had before their minds.

Perhaps no better leaders could have been selected for the hour. They consulted only the interests of the country. They had no axe to grind at the expense of the public peace. Their statesmanship did not sink into morbid abuse of some fancied enemy. They and the people for whom they stood, when they looked back and saw that the world had moved, began to look forward for the things that should grow in the new era of quickening activity, when great cities would be erected along the south shores of the limitary lakes.

"The statesmen of that period, sincerely desirous of establishing a lasting peace, applied their minds on both sides to effective arrangements which would render these waters neutral." They saw at once that if peace were merely to lead to a perpetual race in naval construction, such a peace would be only temporary and expensive. Building of naval vessels would have gone on ad libitum, possibly ad infinitum, greatly to the emolument of shipbuilders, perhaps, but at the risk of strained relations between the United States and Canada.

The first suggestion of the idea of making the lake region neutral appears to have originated during the administration

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of President Washington, and by the President himself, as a means of preserving peace at home. On May 6, 1794, Mr. Randolph, Secretary of State, wrote to Mr. Jay, who had been sent to negotiate a treaty with England, that in case the "subject of a commercial treaty be listened to," it would be well to consider as one object the following: "In peace no troops to be kept within a limited distance of the lakes." There is no record of this subject having been considered in the negotiations. Jay's treaty clearly gave Great Britain the advantage on the lakes, much to the disappointment of Mr. Madison and others, but probably no better terms could have been secured at that time. It permitted British subjects "to navigate all the lakes, rivers, and waters of the United States up to the highest ports of entry;" but it was expressly stated that "vessels of the United States were not to be admitted into the seaports, harbors, bays, or creeks of His Majesty's American dominions." By it the lake trade fell into the hands of the British, and by means of the lake trade they secured an influence over the Indians of the Northwest, which they were able to retain till the war of 1812.

During that war the Americans were at first determined to shut the British out from the lakes. In this they were largely successful by force of arms, but in diplomacy it was considered inexpedient to insist upon securing control of the lakes. Such a policy would probably have broken off negotiations at the time, for Great Britain would hardly have given up such a great advantage to commerce, especially when she feared the dangers of conquest of her upper provinces by the Americans. By these considerations the American commissioners at Ghent were led to stand for "terms of reciprocity honorable to both countries." When the British commissioners were proposing that Great Britain should have military occupation of the lakes, the Americans asked only a renewal of the former boundary through the middle of the lakes and "perfect reciprocity" in such matters as naval forces and fortifications.

Lord Castlereagh from the first desired to prevent a contest for naval ascendency upon the lakes. In his letter to the British commissioners, August 14, 1814, he said that a boundary line equally dividing the lakes, with a right of each nation to arm, both upon the lakes and upon the shores, was calculated to create a rivalry for ascendency in peace as well as in war. This appeared to be one reason why he thought the British, as "the weaker power upon the North American continent," should

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have military occupation of both shores of the lakes, in case the former territorial limits were left undisturbed and the Americans were allowed free commercial navigation. He thought under these conditions armaments would not be needed. But Lord Castlereagh's proposal to disarm was not based upon the principle of reciprocity. It may, however, have suggested to the minds of the American commissioners the idea of mutual disarmament. There is an intimation of the idea, at least, in their reply to the British commissioners (dated August 24, 1814), in which they are "at a loss to discover by what rule of perfect reciprocity the United States can be required to renounce their equal right of maintaining a naval force upon those lakes and of fortifying their own shores, while Great Britain reserves exclusively the corresponding rights to herself." Though the United States had no guns upon the lakes before the war, she did not propose to give up her guns now and go back to her former condition in this respect. She desired to see England propose a more liberal and amicable policy toward America.

The Government at Washington early in the war apprehended what would be the probable policy of the British. Monroe instructed the commissioners April 15, 1813, under the proffered Russian mediation: "You will avoid also any stipulation which might restrain the United States from increasing their naval force to any extent they may think proper on the lakes held in common; or excluding the British traders from navigation of the lakes and rivers exclusively within our own jurisdiction." At this time, it should be noted, past experience and conditions made it appear necessary for the United States to keep a superiority of naval force on the lakes. Neutralization of these waters was probably not thought of at that time. Even as late as January 28, 1814, Monroe thought that participation in the dominion and navigation of the lakes by Great Britain would be a source of danger of the renewal of the war.

It appears that the first definite proposition of disarmament on the lakes was made by Mr. Gallatin. It was on September 6, 1814, when it seemed that negotiations could not proceed. Bayard manifested some symptoms of concession to the British proposals, and Mr. Gallatin proposed to offer, at least, to refer to the United States Government a "stipulation for disarming on both sides of the lakes." Adams objected to this, as not being in accordance with positive instructions. Here the matter dropped. But it was probably further discussed by the Amer-

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ican commissioners, as a subsequent note seems to indicate. Their firm, but friendly, reply of September 9 was a factor in drawing from the British commissioners a more favorable reply, in which they asserted that they had "never stated that the exclusive military possession of the lakes * * * was a sine qua non in the negotiation," and that after the Indian question should be adjusted they could make a final proposition on the subject of Canadian boundaries "so entirely founded on principles of moderation and justice" that they felt confident it could not be rejected. The nature of this proposition is not stated. It was never brought forward, nor was any explanation given of what was intended by the offer. But the American commissioners supposed they intended to propose the mutual reduction of armaments, and on September 26 pledged themselves to meet such proposition with perfect reciprocity."[1] This

[1] Mr. Clay, on October 9, however, was for rejecting any proposition to disarm upon the lakes if a proposed article by the British (ultimatum on Indian pacification) was admitted; because he considered that the two articles together would deliver the whole Western country up to the mercy of the Indians.

supposition is not stated in any of the official notes to the Department of State. Gallatin, however, wrote to Mr. Monroe on October 26:

> The right of preserving our naval forces on the lakes to any extent we please is a sine qua non by our instructions. Supposing the British to propose a mutual restriction in that respect, either partial or total, should we still adhere to the sine qua non?

Clay wrote a private note to Monroe on the same day, in which he says that the recent events at Vienna and in America had encouraged a hope for an early peace, but he does not allude to Gallatin's note. It is probable that Gallatin wrote without consulting the other members of the commission. No reply to his note is found; in fact, if one was ever sent, it could not have reached him until after the Christmas eve when the terms of peace had been agreed upon.

Gouverneur Morris, who had been desirous for peace, and not desirous for Canada, during the negotiations also suggested the idea of disarmament. But his idea differed from that of Gallatin by being proposed as a matter of economy. On October 17, 1814, he wrote to Hon. William Welles:

> It would be wise to stipulate that neither party should have ships of war on the lakes nor forts on their shores. Both are an idle and useless expense.

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He added:

> If they had there forty ships of the line and a dozen Gibraltars, we could with great ease take Canada.

The work of reducing the expense of naval forces on the lakes began very soon after the peace. Mr. Jackson, of Virginia, on February 17, 1815, offered a resolution that the naval committee be instructed to inquire and report to what extent the United States Navy on the lakes could be reduced consistent with public interest. It was felt that while the United States forces ought to some extent to be regulated by that of Great Britain, all useless expenditure should be retrenched. It was not the policy of the United States Government to fight to prevent a possible injury at a distant day. The Government expected peace and began to prepare for it. By act of February 27, 1815, the President was authorized "to cause all armed vessels of the United States on the lakes to be sold or laid up, except such as he may deem necessary to enforce proper execution of revenue laws; such vessels being first divested of their armament, tackle, and furniture, which are to be carefully preserved."

When Napoleon, dissatisfied with the small portion of the map of Europe that had been allotted to him, issued forth from Elba to disturb the congress of map revisers at Vienna, the danger of a renewal of the war was apprehended in America. Madison wrote Monroe on May 5, "If Napoleon is restored, England and France will again pillage America." But he believed that while the United States must maintain her ground and fight for her rights, she must avoid being a party to the European war. The nation was unwilling to relinquish the rights for which it had contended, but, at the same time, it was ready to support the Government in such measures as were "best adapted to prevent a renewal of the war." The continuation of the war between France and England was fortunately averted, and there was one less source of possible contention between England and the United States.

There were several sources of dissension which existed in 1815, whose early adjustment was considered advisable. Those which endangered the peace between the United States and Canada were: (1) Restlessness and hostility of the Indians on the frontier; (2) conduct of the British local authorities in Canada; (3) desertion of British soldiers to the American side; (4) British armaments on the lakes.

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Mutual surrender of the frontier forts was not made at once after the war. There were suspicions on both sides of insincerity. Dallas wrote Monroe on May 28 that "we must be on our guard." Hostility of the Indians had not ceased. Some of the British officers had persisted in influencing them. It was found, however, that they showed a disposition for peace as fast as the British gave up the posts. By the commercial convention of 1815, in the interest of peace, the United States refused to allow the British to trade with the Indians in United States territory, though it cost her the use of the St. Lawrence River.

Troubles were also arising concerning jurisdiction. The Americans complained of the conduct of the British officers in pursuing deserters into American territory, and in otherwise violating international usage. On the other hand, the British complained of the attempts of a United States officer on the frontier to seduce soldiers from the British service.

The authorities at Washington saw a greater probable source of future trouble in the evident intention of the British to increase their naval force upon the lakes. They had built several new vessels just before the peace, and the London newspapers in August, 1815, had announced that the British cabinet had determined not only to maintain, but also to augment, the armed naval force on the lakes. The fact that an American merchant vessel upon Lake Erie, where the Americans had been dismantling their vessels, had been fired upon by a British armed vessel, will show that there was reason for fearing the results of further augmentation.

On July 22, when taking measures to prevent a United States officer from influencing soldiers to desert from the British service, Mr. Monroe, in a letter to Mr. Baker (who was temporarily representing the British Government at Washington), seems to intimate the necessity of a reciprocal stipulation in regard to naval forces. At a later date, probably in November, Mr. Monroe had a conversation with Mr. Baker concerning the subject. On December 6, after reporting to Mr. Baker an inquiry into the case of Lieutenant Vidal, who had been fined for riot while pursuing offenders into American territory, Mr. Monroe wrote:

> This Government is sincerely desirous, as I had the honor to intimate to you in a late interview, to make such arrangements relating to the force to be kept on the lakes, and to the intercourse between the United States and the British provinces in that quarter, as will effectually prevent these evils.

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John Quincy Adams was at this time minister of the United States to London. The information which he had sent on August 29 as to the intentions of the British Government to increase its force on the lakes was confirmed by later news from that quarter, which showed that preliminary measures had been taken. This arming appeared foolish, for it is hardly likely that England could have competed with the United States on the lakes if a policy was adopted of having rival fleets to parade those waters in time of peace. But the United States, anxious for the preservation of peace, was disposed to disarm there. Secretary Monroe wrote to Mr. Adams November 16:

> It is evident, if each party augments its force there with a view to obtain the ascendency over the other, that vast expense will be incurred and the danger of collisions augmented in like degree. The President is sincerely desirous to prevent an evil which it is presumed is equally to be deprecated by both Governments. He therefore authorizes you to propose to the British Government such an arrangement respecting the naval force to be kept on the lakes by both Governments as will demonstrate their pacific policy and secure their peace. He is willing to confine it, on each side, to a certain moderate number of armed vessels, and the smaller the number the more agreeable to him; or to abstain altogether from an armed force beyond that used for revenue. You will bring this subject under the consideration of the British Government immediately after the receipt of this letter.

In accordance with these instructions, Mr. Adams brought the matter to the attention of Lord Castlereagh on January 25, 1816. He called his attention to the fact that Canada had been the source of disagreement in the past, and that it might be a source of "great and frequent animosities hereafter, unless guarded against by the vigilance, firmness, and decidedly pacific dispositions of the two Governments." The proposal of Adams to disarm on the lakes was well received by Lord Castlereagh. He said that everything beyond what was necessary to prevent smuggling was "calculated only to produce mischief;" but he was cautious, and was inclined to look further than to the pacific disposition which was manifested. As at Ghent, he still thought that the lakes should belong to one party, thereby rendering armaments unnecessary. Looking with suspicion to the advantage of the Americans in being near to the lakes, he still thought that England, as the weaker party, should have controlled them, and that in order to preserve peace they should have been made a "large and wide natural separation between the two territories." He feared

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that an engagement for mutual disarmament would give the United States too much advantage in case of war. To this Adams replied that the engagement would be in favor of Great Britain; that the United States would have her hands tied until the moment of actual war; and that it was impossible for war to arise suddenly without a condition of things which would give Great Britain sufficient time to get ready to build armaments on the lakes at the same time with the United States.

Lord Castlereagh proposed to submit the proposals to his Government for its consideration, but after the conference had ended, Mr. Adams had little hope for even an arrangement to limit the force to be kept in actual service. While Bathurst was the only real warlike man in the ministry, the apparent disinclination of Lord Castlereagh, who was probably better disposed than the rest of the ministry, did not leave a favorable indication. Adams felt that the British ministry suspected some strategic point to be at the bottom of the proposition. The "frank and unsuspecting confidence" in which the idea originated had not been appreciated. He desired that peace should be cemented by "that mutual reliance on good faith, far better adapted to the maintenance of national harmony than thejealous and exasperating defiance of complete armor." On March 21 he renewed the proposal to "mutually and equally disarm upon the American lakes;" and, with the hope that it might be entertained in the same sincerely friendly spirit in which it was made, he emphasized the fact that there were abundant securities against the possibility of any sudden attack upon the colonies which a "guarded and cautious policy of Great Britain might fear."

But the debates in Parliament gave little evidence that the proposal would be considered. They were upon the principle of preserving peace by being prepared for war. An element in both countries was urging this policy, not because there was any danger of war, perhaps, but rather to keep up with other lines of development. Mr. Goulburn, who had been one of the British commissioners at Ghent, wrote to Mr. Clay (March 8, 1816) as follows:

> You are fighting the same battle in America that we are here, i. e., putting peace establishments on a footing not unbecoming the growth of population and empire in which they are to be maintained. It is impossible that either country should feel jealous of the other so long as the aug-

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mentation does not exceed the necessity of the case, and I have not heard an argument anywhere to prove that it does so exceed in either case. I can relieve your apprehensions as to the hostile movement of England in any part of the globe.

This was certainly a friendly statement of the case. Mr. Adams, however, did not take the same view of the matter. He was watching the speeches of the "Jingoes," and they were more than a nightmare on his mind. In a letter to Mr. Monroe on March 30 he said:

In all the late debates in Parliament upon what they call their military and naval peace establishment, the prospect of a new war with the United States has been distinctly held up by the ministers and admitted by the opposition as a solid reason for enormous and unparalleled expenditure and preparation in Canada and Nova Scotia. We hear nothing now about the five fir frigates and the bits of striped bunting. The strain is in a higher mood. Lord Castlereagh talks of the great and growing military power of the United States. The Marquis of Lansdowne, an opposition leader, and one of the loudest trumpeters for retrenchment and economy, still commends the ministers for having been beaten into the policy of having a naval superiority upon the lakes. And one of the lords of the Admiralty[1] told the House of Commons last Monday that bumboat expeditions and pinchback administrations would do no longer for Canada; that Englishmen must lay their account for fighting battles in fleets of three-deckers on the North American lakes. All this is upon the principle of preserving peace by being prepared for war. But it shows to demonstration what will be the fate of the proposal for disarming.

Adams, in his letter to Lord Castlereagh on March 21, had shown the evil effects of an armed peace on the lakes. Besides the expense, it would "operate as a continual stimulus of suspicion and of ill will" between the people on the frontier. He believed that the "moral and political tendency of such a system must be to war and not to peace." The condition of affairs was certainly not such as to encourage him to expect much consideration of his proposal.

The crisis in Parliament appears to have been passed soon after April 5. On that day Adams wrote that even the murmurs against large establishments had nearly ceased. He was therefore much surprised, a few days later, when Lord Castlereagh requested an interview to inform him that the British Government was ready to meet the proposal of the United States "so far as to avoid everything like a contention between the two parties which should have the strongest force" on the lakes, and that they had no desire to have any ships in commission or active service except what might be

[1] Mr. R. Gordon.

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needed "to convey troops occasionally." It appears that Lord Castlereagh was prepared to enter into an agreement upon the subject, but Adams did not feel like concluding the arrangement without further instructions. For this reason it was agreed that the negotiations be transferred to Washington, and that power and instructions should be sent to Mr. Bagot, the British minister to the United States. Adams wanted all the effects of a positive arrangement to begin at once, however. In fact, his letter to Monroe on April 15 shows that he understood that it was "agreed that no new or additional force should be commenced upon the lakes on either side for the present." But no notes were exchanged to this effect. The United States Government would probably, at this time, have been willing to let the force remain unchanged in order to stop the danger of further increase. This evil was the first one to be avoided. Monroe referred to its "dangerous tendency" in a letter to Adams on May 3; and on May 21, before he had heard of the decision of the British Government to meet the proposal to disarm, in another letter to Mr. Adams, he said that while that proposal expressed the views of the President, he would, nevertheless, be "satisfied to prevent the augmentation of the force, leaving it on both sides in the present state, and when it is considered that Great Britain has the ascendency on Lake Ontario, which appears more immediately on Canada, and that the United States have it on Erie and Huron, which is important only in relation to the savages within our limits, it is not perceived on what ground it can be refused."

Late events on the lakes, however, soon made it apparent that more efficient measures should be adopted. On June 8 General Cass sent the news that British naval officers at Malden had been boarding American vessels which passed there, in search of deserters. None had actually been taken, and the conduct was "presumed not to have the sanction of the British Government," but it was none the less a violation of the rights of the United States, and Adams was asked to present the matter for the early attention of the British Government.[1]

After his interview with Mr. Adams on April 15, Lord

[1] J. Graham (acting under Secretary Monroe), in a letter to President Madison on June 25, threw the mantle of charity over the affair by saying that "possibly the measure was adopted more with a view of preventing their men from going on board United States vessels than with any serious intention of violating rights of the United States."

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Castlereagh was prompt in notifying Mr. Bagot of his power to act in the matter of arranging naval forces as well as the matter of fisheries. When the news reached America of the apparently sudden change in the attitude of the British Government, there was some speculation as to the probable cause. Was the prosperity of England on the decline? Or was England acting from purely humanitarian motives? Or did she fear some new trouble? Dallas wrote President Madison on June 26 that "Lord Castlereagh's overtures to arrange the question of armament on the lakes are probably suggested by the apprehension of a new commotion in Europe."

In the early part of July Mr. Bagot gave Secretary Monroe information of the new powers which had been given him, but did not enter into a full discussion. Monroe wrote Adams on July 8 that he had not yet learned the "nature and extent" of his power. He had written to President Madison the day before, stating that Bagot had informed him that he would enter upon the subject of naval force after the question of fisheries had been arranged. In his own mind the adjustment of the lake armaments was first. Thinking some new ideas on the subject might have been suggested to the President's mind since he had approved the instructions sent to Adams, Monroe asked him for his sentiments, as well as directions, in the matter. Mr. Madison responded promptly on July 11. He did not see why Mr. Bagot should desire to suspend an arrangement of naval forces until the subject of fisheries had been disposed of. He saw no connection between the two; and he said that "an immediate attention to the former is the more necessary, as it is said an enlargement of the British forces, particularly on Erie, is actually going on." He said it would be far better to suspend this enlargement till negotiations concerning it were concluded. To him it now seemed expedient to stipulate: "(1) That no increase of existing armaments should take place; (2) that existing armaments be laid up; (3) that revenue cutters, if allowed at all, be reduced to the minimum of size and force."

On the latter point he thought there might be advantage in communication with Governor Cass, or with others who were acquainted with it. He asked: "What is the practice with respect to jurisdiction on the lakes? Is it common to both parties over the whole, or exclusive to each on its own side of the dividing line?" He suggested that the regulation of revenue cutters might be influenced by the question of jurisdiction.

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Monroe, probably feeling that there was no chance of making any immediate arrangement with Mr. Bagot, had gone down to Loudoun for a few days to rest from the cares of public toil. It does not appear that he ever communicated with General Cass in regard to the question of revenue cutters. During the absence of Mr. Monroe in the country it seems that Mr. Bagot had given the matter of naval forces some consideration, and was more ready to discuss the subject. He wrote a letter to Mr. Monroe, and Mr. Graham sent it to the President on July 13, to get his opinion before Mr. Monroe should give his reply upon his return. The substance of this letter is not found at the Department of State, but the following letter from Madison to Monroe on July 21 will indicate that there had been further discussion of the subject:

I have received yours of the 21st.[1] I hope Mr. Bagot, if willing to arrange in any mode a reciprocity on the lakes, will immediately issue instructions to discontinue augmentations or preparations of force on the British side. The state of the size on our side will correspond without instructions; but a communication to the proper officer of what may be the British intentions will be proper. There can be no inconvenience to Mr. Bagot in taking such a course. The measure suggested may be provisional till a more formal arrangement be made, or converted into a permanent arrangement, as may be found best.

After Monroe's return from London, he had several conversations with Mr. Bagot upon the subject of the naval armaments upon the lakes, and he "thought at one time that they would agree;" but when Monroe put his ideas in writing and sent the papers to Mr. Bagot informally, the latter would not subscribe his name to them. As a reason, he intimated that there was some difficulty as to his powers. Monroe, seeing there was "little probability of his being able to do anything immediately with Mr. Bagot" in relation to the fisheries and to the reduction of naval forces, decided to leave again the hot miasmatic atmosphere of the capital and to return into the country. Under the circumstances it seemed unnecessary for him to remain in Washington to wait for Bagot's reply. The reply came soon after the departure of Mr. Monroe. Mr. Graham sent a copy of it to the President on July 29, and said:

This was forwarded to Mr. Monroe, and by his directions I now send it to you. His answer will be sent here by the next mail and is to be forwarded to you before it is sent to Mr. Bagot.

[1] Mistaken date.

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This "reply" was, doubtless, Mr. Bagot's letter of July 26, which formally opened the negotiations at Washington by stating that in relation to the naval armaments on the lakes, the Prince Regent, "in the spirit of the most entire confidence," was ready to adopt "any reasonable system" which would contribute to economy, to peacefulness, and to the removal of jealousy. The "answer" which Monroe was to send "by the next mail" was, therefore, his letter of August 2, in which he submitted the "precise project" which was desired. The details of the proposal were given as follows:

I have the honor now to state that the President is willing, in the spirit of the peace which so happily exists between the two nations, and until the proposed arrangement shall be canceled in the manner hereinafter suggested, to confine the naval force to be maintained on the lakes on each side to the following vessels, that is: On Lake Ontario, to one vessel not exceeding 100 tons burthen and one 18-pound cannon, and on the upper lakes to two vessels of like burthen and force, and on the waters of Lake Champlain to one vessel not exceeding the like burthen and force; and that all other armed vessels on those lakes shall be forthwith dismantled, and likewise that neither party shall build or arm any other vessel on the shores of those lakes.

That the naval force thus retained by each party on the lakes shall be restricted in its duty to the protection of its revenue laws, the transportation of troops and goods, and to such other services as will in no respect interfere with the armed vessels of the other party.

That should either of the parties be of opinion hereafter that this arrangement did not accomplish the object intended by it, and be desirous of annulling it, and give notice thereof, it shall be void and of no effect after the expiration of * * * months from the date of such notice.

Monroe stated that immediate effect might be given to this project by convention or by interchange of notes, or that if Bagot had to wait for the sanction of his Government, a provisional reciprocal arrangement might be made. He also stated that, in case Mr. Bagot's powers were not adequate to do more, he would be willing to concur in the suspension of further augmentation or equipment of vessels for the lakes named.

Mr. Bagot had no objection to any of the details of the proposition, but he announced his lack of authority to conclude definitely an agreement as to details without first submitting it to his Government for its consideration of "points connected with the internal administration" of the provinces, and as to the naval assistance necessary for the ordinary business of a peace establishment. In the meantime, he was unwilling to

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give effect to a mutual suspension of construction, equipment, and exertion on the lakes.

Monroe now proposed (August 12) in order that the arrangement should be equal, to adopt the detailed project of August 2 as a "provisional arrangement." But Bagot did not feel "authorized to make, even provisionally, any precise agreement as to the exact manner" of limiting the forces on the lakes. His power appeared to be limited, as Monroe wrote to Adams (August 13), "to a right to agree to suspend the further augmentation of the naval force on those waters, without fixing its maximum by any rational standard to the number of vessels which might be necessary."

Mr. Monroe stated to him, in his note of August 4, that if his power did not extend further than this, the United States Government would, upon receipt of a statement of the British force on the lakes and an assurance that it would not be further augmented, confine the United States force to the same limits. Mr. Bagot agreed the next day to furnish the statement of the force as soon as he could get information on the subject, and closed his note by saying: "I can, in the meantime, give you the assurance that all further augmentation of it will be immediately suspended."

Since the specific proposition had to be referred to Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Monroe thought it probable that the conclusion of the negotiations would revert to Mr. Adams. In his letter of August 13, to Adams, he spoke of the obvious advantage of this as he (Adams) was "already authorized to treat on other important subjects." Adams was not inclined to see any advantage in it. It came in the nature of another surprise to him. When he received Mr. Monroe's letter he appears to have been inclined to question the sincerity of the existing Cabinet, whose policy appeared to him to be one of subterfuges, or refusals to negotiate, "or of expedients having all the features of refusal except its candor." He was tired of delays and surprises and uncertainties upon this subject. It was a jugglery of "now you see it, and now you don't," and he feared that the Americans were the credulous auditors who had been made fools in the game. When, on January 25, he made his proposal "for disarming, or at least for limiting armaments upon the lakes," he was convinced from the manner in which it was received that it would not be accepted. But in April he was "assured" by Lord Castlereagh that the Government

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was disposed fully to meet the proposition, and that Mr. Bagot should immediately be authorized to enter into formal stipulation for the purpose. And as it now appeared probable that Bagot's power would terminate in a reference back to his own Government, Adams was lead to suspicion that England was simply amusing the United States while preparing her defenses. He wrote Monroe September 27 that, "while Mr. Bagot was negotiating and receiving your specific proposition to be transmitted here, 52,000 tons of ordnance stores have been dispatched to Canada with the avowed purpose of arming their new constructed forts and new built ships upon the lakes." Monroe agreed with Adams (November 14) that it appeared that the British policy was to amuse, and was aware of the supply of cannon and munitions of war to Canada, but his recent communication with Mr. Bagot gave him more confidence in the sincerity of the British Government. By the close of the year there was more evidence to give assurance of good intentions and growing promptness. Its disposition of prompt activity in preventing actual conflict on the border may be here noticed.

On August 29 Mr. Adams had called Castlereagh's attention to the improper conduct of the commander of the British armed vessel *Tecumseh* in permitting men from his vessel to board several United States vessels upon Lake Erie in an improper manner. Castlereagh, fully "persuaded that measures no less reciprocal" would be taken by the United States, at once issued positive instructions to the civil, military, and naval authorities in North America to discourage by every means such proceedings in the future, and to pursue a conduct showing an amicable disposition. Even before Adams had presented this complaint to Lord Castlereagh, other similar acts had been committed, and it was inferred that they were "in compliance with a system" which the British commanders in Canada thought it their duty to pursue.

On July 26 General Cass wrote Monroe (General McComb also wrote to the Secretary of War) complaining of the improper conduct of a British officer of the British armed vessel *Huron* in boarding an American vessel, the brig *Union*, and searching her on the strait near Malden. It had also been represented to Cass that the act was supported by officers at Malden, who placed cannon in position to bear on the American vessel. Secretary Monroe thought (as Adams was also convinced in

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the case of the *Tecumseh*) that the British officers had mistaken the policy of their Government. This was doubtless true. On August 14 he called the attention of Mr. Bagot to this act of irritation and injustice, with full confidence that he would take measures to prevent a similar recurrence. The latter was justly aware of the dangerous tendency of these acts, and proceeded at once to have the Governor-General of Canada and the chief of the naval forces on the lakes direct inquiry into the matter.[1] On November 18 he informed Secretary Monroe that no cannon had been placed in position at Fort Malden as was represented, but that it appeared from the reports sent him that the officer commanding on Lake Erie had "misconceived the nature of his instructions" and considered that all vessels passing under Fort Malden should be visited. The commander in chief on the lakes revoked such orders at once, and every means was taken to prevent a similar occurrence. The orders sent by the influence of Lord Castlereagh had also reached Canada by this time, and the consequent restraint on the conduct of the officers on the lakes would tend to secure peace and tranquillity in that quarter. All these measures doubtless produced the salutary effect intended by them.

Mr. Madison was highly pleased with the promptness shown by Mr. Bagot and at the prompt measures taken at his instance by the commanders in Canada and on the lakes. Mr. Bagot was assured (November 29) that corresponding orders had been given and would be repeated and enforced by the United States Government.

In the meantime (November 4) Mr. Bagot had furnished the Secretary of State with "an account of the actual state of His Majesty's naval force upon the lakes," and stated that further augmentation was suspended until the British Government

[1] Monroe, now apparently for the first time, informed Cass of the President's discussions with Bagot, resulting in a "provisional arrangement for the present, to suspend the further augmentation of the naval force of Great Britain in those waters, and to confine our force within the same limit." He also told Cass that Bagot expected an enlargement of his power. He sent him in confidence a copy of the correspondence which had passed. He did this because it would be satisfactory and useful for him to know it. Under a similar injunction of "confidence" he was authorized to communicate correspondence to Major-General McComb. He was also advised to consult with the Governor of Canada himself after this (August 15).

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reported upon the proposal of August 2. Mr. Monroe at once (November 7) furnished the former with the statement of the United States naval force in the same region, and had orders given "to prevent any augmentation of it beyond the limit of the British naval force on those waters. Mr. Bagot noticed that no force for the upper lakes was given in the statement sent him, but was informed that it had been included in the force mentioned for Lake Erie. It appears that there was no further correspondence between Bagot and Monroe concerning the matter.

The reciprocal and definite reduction of the naval force on the lakes did not occur until after Monroe had become President the next year. The Prince Regent having, in the meantime, agreed to the proposition of August 2, 1816, Mr. Bagot notified Mr. Rush (who was acting as Secretary of State until Mr. Adams could arrive from Loudon), and on the 28th and 29th of April, 1817, a formal agreement was entered into by exchange of notes. It was practically the same as the proposed project of August 2, and could be annulled by either party's giving a six months' notice. The British Government had already issued orders to the officers on the lakes directing that the limited naval force should be restricted to such services as would "in no respect interfere with the proper duties of the armed vessels of the other party." By the request of Mr. Rush (April 30), orders to the same effect were issued on May 2 by Mr. Crowninshield, Secretary of the Navy, to the American commanding officers at Erie, Pa.; Sacketts Harbor, N. Y.; and Whitehall, N. Y. By these orders the schooner *Lady of the Lake* was assigned to Lake Ontario, the schooners *Porcupine* and *Ghent* to the upper lakes, and the galley *Allen* to Lake Champlain.

The agreement between Rush and Bagot became effective at once upon the exchange of notes. There is no evidence that Great Britain gave to it the formalities of a treaty, and it was not till April 6, 1818, that President Monroe formally notified the Senate of the United States of the arrangement and submitted it to its consideration whether it was "such an arrangement as the Executive is competent to enter into by the powers vested in it by the Constitution, or is such a one as requires the advice and consent of the Senate, and, in the latter case, for their advice and consent, should it be approved." The approval and consent of the Senate was given

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on April 16, with no dissenting vote, and it was recommended that the arrangement be carried into effect by the President. The agreement was proclaimed by President Monroe on April 28, and appears in the National Intelligencer of April 30, as follows:

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A proclamation.

Whereas, an arrangement was entered into at the city of Washington, in the month of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventeen, between Richard Rush, Esq., at that time acting as Secretary for the Department of State of the United States, for and in behalf of the Government of the United States, and the Right Honorable Charles Bagot, His Britannic Majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, for and in behalf of His Britannic Majesty, which arrangement is in the words following, to wit:

"The naval force to be maintained upon the American lakes by His Majesty and the Government of the United States shall henceforth be confined to the following vessels on each side, that is—

"On Lake Ontario, to one vessel, not exceeding one hundred tons burden, and armed with one eighteen-pound cannon.

"On the upper lakes, to two vessels, not exceeding like burden each, and armed with like force:

"On the waters of Lake Champlain, to one vessel not exceeding like burden, and armed with like force.

"All other armed vessels on those lakes shall be forthwith dismantled and no other vessels of war shall be there built or armed.

"If either party should be hereafter desirous of annulling this stipulation, and should give notice to that effect to the other party, it shall cease to be binding after the expiration of six months from the date of such notice.

"The naval force so to be limited shall be restricted to such service as will in no respect interfere with the proper duties of the armed vessels of the other party."

And whereas the Senate of the United States have approved of the said arrangement and recommended that it should be carried into effect, the same having also received the sanction of His Royal Highness, the Prince Regent, acting in the name and on behalf of His Britannic Majesty;

Now, therefore, I, James Monroe, President of the United States, do, by this my proclamation, make known and declare that the arrangement aforesaid, and every stipulation thereof, had been duly entered into, concluded, and confirmed, and is of full force and effect.

Given under my hand, at the city of Washington, this twenty-eighth day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eighteen, and of the Independence of the United States the forty-second.

JAMES MONROE.

By the President:

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, *Secretary of State.*

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It was the impossibility of getting the vessels from the lakes to the sea which made it necessary to dismantle them on the lakes. This work appears to have been done promptly. Soon only the pieces of hulks were left as a reminder of the former warring fleets. In fact, the forces on each side declined to "almost complete disappearance." By 1820 feelings of danger had decreased so far that the House of Representatives refused to consider a resolution which proposed a Western depot for arms "convenient to those points which are most vulnerable to the enemy." In 1822, Mr. Cooke, in the House, understanding that most of the vessels on the lakes were sunk and "none fit for service," though it seemed that the salaries of officers and men did not have a corresponding decline, desired an inquiry into the subject. By 1825 public vessels had practically disappeared. In 1826 affairs were so "entirely safe" with Great Britain that the Detroit garrison was removed.

This article can only briefly indicate the later history connected with the agreement. In 1838, the British temporarily increased their force on account of threatened invasions of unlawfully organized bands of armed men from the United States. The continuation of this force by the British caused Congress to make an appropriation in 1841 for the building of the *Michigan*, which was put together at Erie in 1844. For nearly half a century, excepting a brief period in 1864–65 when Confederate attempts from Canada made it necessary to temporarily engage other vessels, this has been the only naval force on the lakes. Since the civil war it appears that there has been no necessity for a greater force. In 1870 when a movement for an invasion of Canada from the United States was reported, and when the revenue cutters on the lakes were laid up, the *Michigan* was the only public vessel that could be put into active service to stop such acts, but fortunately no invasion occurred. In 1878, when the question of the fisheries was prominent, Secretary of the Navy Thompson thought it would be well to sell this vessel and apply the proceeds to building a new ship for special purposes, but his recommendation was not acted upon. In 1890 various memorials and petitions, especially from Chicago, asked that this "antiquated vessel should be replaced by a modern one that would not excite the ridicule of foreign visitors to the World's Fair;" but these memorials were left to sleep in the basement of the Capitol, and there was placed on exhibition at Jackson Park only a

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brick model of a ship of war. The *Michigan* still makes its annual cruise on the upper lakes.

There has been some doubt as to whether the arrangement has been in existence since 1865, from the fact that in February of that year both Houses of Congress ratified a notice for its termination which had been given some time before by President Lincoln. This notice was afterwards withdrawn through the Department of State, but without any action on the part of Congress. In 1878, Mr. Thompson, Secretary of the Navy, said that "whether the arrangement remains in force since 1865 must rest upon the decision of Congress." The State Department has considered it as still in force. Congress would probably do the same. In 1892 there were very few members in Congress who would have voted for its abrogation.

Several points may here be considered in regard to the interpretation of the arrangement which secured this sudden decline and long-continued insignificance in naval armaments:

1. At different times questions have arisen in the minds of different persons as to whether it applies to all the Great Lakes; such questions have been asked of different Departments in regard to each of the lakes—Erie, Michigan, and Superior. It has not only been treated as applying to all these lakes, but would probably also be interpreted as applicable to the streams which flow into the various lakes included in the meaning of it.

2. The arrangement makes no provision in regard to revenue vessels, but both parties seem to consider that these are not a part of the Navy and are not included under the limitations of the agreement. The original intention of President Madison, however, was to reduce cutters to the "minimum of size and force, if allowed at all."

3. By the construction placed by the Navy Department upon the clause "no other vessels of war shall be there built or armed," the bids upon gunboats by lake builders have been rejected. They could have been accepted under the liberal interpretation that a hull would not be a war vessel until after she had received her armor and guns, but it has not been thought best to give this interpretation. It appears probable that the Navy Department may have been guided in its action chiefly by the fact that the vessels after being built would have to pass through a long stretch of exclusively

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Canadian waters in order to get them to the sea. Permission has been readily obtained at various times to take vessels through these waters, but it has probably been considered a bad policy to ask such a favor of a neighboring nation.

Edward Atkinson, of Boston, says of this arrangement that it is "the greatest step in progress toward the maintenance of peace, and without precedent in history." Although it was secured by the earnest solicitation of the United States Government, it has proven to be equally satisfactory to the British. Mr. Cobden, who once sat on the naval committee in Parliament, said in 1850 that "from the moment of the existence of that treaty both parties have totally disregarded the maintenance of the force altogether, and there is not, at the present time, more than one crazy English hulk on all these lakes." Mr. Walsh, in a speech in the House of Commons February 10, 1865, spoke of the arrangement as a "treaty" which had been in force for half a century, and stated that "to it must be attributed the peace and tranquillity which during that period has existed between the two countries." The London Times of the same year spoke of the agreement between the two great kindred communities as far in advance of the spirit of that age, and added that "no wiser act was ever agreed upon between two nations than the limitation of the naval force on the lakes."

The sentiment seems almost unanimous that from the standpoint of international relations, the effect of the agreement has been entirely wholesome. The wisdom of the measure was apparent, and bore fruits from the first. The "era of good feeling" had now taken the place of quarrels, oppression, and misunderstanding; and peace began to exist in fact, as well as in theory. The prompt orders sent out by Castlereagh to the naval officers on the lakes, suspension of constructing vessels in that quarter, and finally, the agreement to limit the force of each side on the lakes, increased the confidence of the Americans in the intentions of their British kin. It was a fortunate circumstance that the heads of affairs in both countries were not men with stronger prejudices than they had reason. Castlereagh was probably in advance of public opinion in England in making favorable concessions to the United States, and Bagot, though very cautious, was inclined to any reasonable measure for securing friendly relations. Both were held in high esteem by the American people. Mr. Bagot was highly

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honored at Washington. He was much liked by both Madison and Monroe. He and his wife took pleasure in spending several days of the autumn of 1817 at Montpelier, the home of Mr. and Mrs. Madison. The scene around the dining table in that old Virginia home may be typical of the new feeling which was beginning to grow up. After Mr. Bagot's return to England, Lord Castlereagh showed great satisfaction at the friendly feeling toward him in America, and said they desired to send him back if his health would allow it. It was felt to be a time for the adjustment of questions that contained the seed of future misunderstandings or controversy, and for a while the Americans hoped to see England yield on the question of impressment, as well as others of great moment in their bearings upon harmony between the two nations.

Old causes of animosity were being removed at home. Monroe, on his visit to the North and West, helped to remove party and national prejudices, and when he returned from the lake journey in September he had broader views of the future of his country. Society appeared to be weary of strife. The dangers of future quarrels were even less than was thought by some who were seeking to guard the Republic against future occasions of strife. Mr. Madison thought that if the question of impressment was settled, the remaining danger to a permanent harmony would lie in the possession of Canada. On November 28, 1818, he wrote Monroe that "the only reason we can have to desire Canada ought to weigh as much with Great Britain as with us. In her hands it must ever be a source of collision which she ought to be equally anxious to remove." He thought that even if Canada should not become independent, in time, she could be of no value to England when at war with the United States, and would be of equal value when at peace.

But time has proven that with the safeguards which the spirit of the fathers provided there has been little danger from that source. That the fathers in this respect "builded even better than they knew" is seen from the fact that the vast extent of commerce which floats upon the bosom of the lakes has been, except at two brief intervals, "as fully protected from violence and wrong as if millions of dollars were spent upon naval armaments upon the water and forts upon the shores."

It is generally conceded that the arrangement has been

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advantageous in the past, and that the principle of it, at least, should continue—though it might be modified to meet modern conditions, especially as to the size of vessels in case they are actually needed upon the lakes. Any attempt to change, however, might meet with serious complications.

Notwithstanding the immediate advantage which England would have through the Welland Canal in case of possible future hostilities, it has long been conceded in Parliament that England can not compete with the United States in constructing gunboats upon the lakes.

In the long peace that has existed the tendency has been for the two countries to rely upon the good faith of each other. After the precautionary measures on the lakes in 1865, the United States Government expressed its desire to return to that same "full reliance," and there appears no reason to believe that either party has violated this spirit with reference to the lake defenses.

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XVII.—THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD FOR THE LIBERATION OF FUGITIVE SLAVES.

By Prof. WILBUR H. SIEBERT,
OF OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY.

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THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD FOR THE LIBERATION OF FUGITIVE SLAVES.

By Prof. WILBUR H. SIEBERT.

During several decades before the civil war there existed an "institution" for the liberation of slaves fleeing from bondage. The knowledge of its workings is fading rapidly with the disappearance of the older generation, especially of those persons who bore in the antebellum days the opprobrious name of Abolitionists. It is impossible to learn from the books upon the subject anything of value about the extent or political significance of this institution. In number, these books are only five; in character, they are mainly collections of incidents illustrative of the secret and clever methods pursued by the friends of the fugitive in three rather limited fields of action. These books are the Reminiscences of Levi Coffin; Underground Railroad in Chester and the Neighboring Counties of Pennsylvania, by R. C. Smedley; Underground Railroad Records, by William Still; the Underground Railroad, by Rev. W. M. Mitchell; Underground Railroad Sketches, by E. M. Pettit.

Considering the derision, assaults, and persecution of every kind which many of the friends of the runaway slave experienced, the risks they took in confronting the public opinion of their time, and in evading the law of the land relating to the restoration to their owners of slaves at large, it is easy to understand why the student who undertakes the investigation of the subject must needs have recourse to some other than printed sources, and also why he should be willing to accept the testimony of surviving abolitionists as valuable for the purposes of history. The memories of these persons are deeply impressed by the romance and the hardship attaching to a

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considerable period of their lives, and the images stamped upon their minds are in many instances still fresh. That they are reliable, is proved by the manner in which statements gathered from different localities articulate into a systematic account of the road and its ramifications.

From the nature of the case, it is difficult to tell where the underground road took its rise. It is, however, probable that "the first efforts toward any systematic organization for the aid and protection of fugitive slaves" occurred "among the Quakers in Pennsylvania." In one of the Johns Hopkins University Studies Mr. A. C. Applegarth notes the fact that General Washington sought to discourage, as repugnant to justice, the action of a society of Quakers in Philadelphia, in trying to liberate a slave who had escaped from a certain Mr. Dably, of Alexandria. General Washington, writing under date April 12, 1786, states that the society was "formed for such purposes."[1] The spirit manifest in this company was not changed certainly by succeeding events in Pennsylvania.

After the passage of the fugitive-slave law of 1793, a great number of cases of kidnaping for the purpose of enslaving free blacks aroused the people in the State, and, their "sympathies, once enlisted for the colored race, it was but a step to the aid of fugitive negroes."[2] For this step, as just indicated, there existed precedent in the Dably case.

There is good evidence that the work of befriending slaves in Philadelphia and also in the adjoining counties of Pennsylvania was continuously carried on down to the outbreak of the war of the rebellion. In other States underground methods seem not to have been practiced so early; yet Ohio was probably not far behind. On this point the testimony of Col. D. W. H. Howard, of Wauseon, Ohio, is interesting. (Colonel Howard was himself an early "agent" of the underground route of which he speaks.) He thinks the line with which he was connected began as early as 1816, and he describes it as crossing "the Ohio River near Northbend, thence on as direct a line as possible (following the streams practicable) to the upper Auglaize, and the Blanchard's fork of the Auglaize, passing near the Shawnee village where is now the city of Wapakoneta

[1] Johns Hopkins University Studies, Quakers in Pennsylvania, by Albert C. Applegarth, Ph. D.

[2] Fay House Monographs, No. 3. Fugitive Slaves, 1619–1815, by Marion Gleason McDougall.

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and to Occuenisies town on the Blanchard where is now the village of Ottawa, thence to the Grand Rapids of the Maumee (where the river could be easily forded most of the year), and at the Ottawa village of Chief Kinjeino, where all were friendly and the poor slave was treated kindly, thence by a plain trail north to Malden, Canada." This route is peculiar for its stations at Indian villages. In Indiana and southern Michigan underground service was being rendered as occasion demanded as early as in Ohio. From Chicago fugitives were sent by boat to Canada as early as 1838 and 1839; and Iowa and the New England States had developed underground routes by this time. In a word, there were no less than fourteen States about the irregular chain of the Great Lakes, whose wide expanse of territory was traversed by numerous and irregular lines of the underground system by the year 1840.

The direction of these lines varied from one State to another. In Iowa the routes ran almost due east from various parts of northern Missouri to Chicago. Through Illinois they trended largely in a northeasterly direction to the same place of deportation. In Indiana and Ohio the courses ran more northerly toward the great center, Detroit; so also in western Pennsylvania, although, of course, the boats carrying fugitives that had journeyed through this State frequently landed their passengers at Buffalo. In New York the line of march was northwestward and westward to Oswego, Rochester, and Buffalo. The liberty-loving slave moved northeastward across New Jersey to New York City; and through the New England States the route was by land up the Connecticut River valley to Montreal, or by a path farther east to some other Canadian resort. The journey by boat from New England ports terminated at St. Albans.

From the information gathered in regard to the channels of escape here roughly indicated, it is possible to map out with considerable detail the zigzag routes, with many of their branches and cross connections. Such a graphical display is valuable, for it enables the student of the present subject to realize with an approach to historical fairness the relative degrees attained by the various Northern States in the development of the conviction in favor of immediate emancipation. It shows in the zigzag character of its lines the roundabout paths marked out by the shrewdness of the friends of the runaway slave to avoid the recapture of the north-bound traveler

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and to lessen the chances of their own exposure to arrest. It shows that certain canals and railroads were used as means of escape for the fugitive under favorable circumstances. This statement demands some explanation, for it seems to run counter to the law of secrecy which was generally observed in all underground service.

The towpath of a canal northward through Ohio or some neighboring State offered itself as a providential highway to freedom for many a fugitive traveling under the cover of darkness. A letter from Mr. E. C. H. Cavins, of Bloomfield, Ind., states that he knows of his own personal knowledge that the Wabash and Erie Canal was a thoroughfare for slaves through western and northern Indiana. Railroads were used with great caution, and only when conditions were exceptionally favorable, as, for instance, when the complexion, intelligence, and experience of the fugitive warranted it, or the friendly disposition of the railroad corporation or some of its employees insured safe transportation. Mr. John Howard Bryant, of Princeton, Ill., supplies an illustration in the testimony he gives as to the employment of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad in carrying runaways to Chicago: "In this connection the names of Dr. C. V. Dyer, of Chicago, and Colonel Berrien, chief engineer of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad, should be remembered with gratitude as friends of the oppressed."[1] Other railroads carried underground passengers; for example, the Illinois Central, and in Ohio, the Cleveland and Pittsburg Railroad.

All the friends of the slaves were not on land. This fact would be shown by the map above mentioned. Some of the officers of the boats engaged in the coastwise traffic between Southern and New England ports were thorough believers in the aspirations of the blacks, and carried away slave passengers to Newport, Boston, Portland, and other maritime towns. Sometimes the runaway took passage on a freight boat as a hand, or perhaps was snugly stowed away by the colored cook and his assistants, who, later in the trip, saw their protégé safely landed. The dark-skinned travelers through Kentucky or western Virginia often eluded pursuit by paddling down the tributaries of the Ohio at night in canoes appropriated for the occasion. Thus they were enabled to land on the welcome soil of Ohio or adjacent States. If the wayfarer was on foot,

[1] Life and Poems of John Howard Bryant, p. 30.

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cautious inquiry soon discovered to him a black, or perhaps a white agent of the underground road ready to ferry him across the beautiful Ohio. This delivery out of bondage was accomplished in the night as a simple precaution. It was not an infrequent occurrence for those who had thus reached free soil in safety to find protection on a river steamboat, whence they landed in a short time at Pittsburg or some way station. However, the great majority of fugitives who reached the southern border of the free States took a less circuitous but more tedious route. They made their journey thenceforward across country, directed or guided by friends.

The demands of secrecy were always carefully observed by those connected in any way with underground emancipation. It is not strange, therefore, that records of the number of persons that gained their liberty by the underground method should be wanting. Such records would have been incriminating during the period of the black laws and the fugitive-slave law. Guesses as to the number of escapes vary from 40,000 to 80,000, but the lack of wide information on the part of those making the guesses renders their suggestions worthless. The statistics of fugitive slaves afforded by the official reports of the United States Government for the decades 1850 and 1860 seem inadequate when compared with the evidence gathered from numerous Abolitionists in all parts of what were once "the free States." These statistics make it appear that the annual immigration of fugitives into the free States did not exceed 1,000,[1] and that there was no perceptible increase in the number of refugees after the passage of the fugitive-slave law of 1850. The balance of testimony is distinctly against these conclusions. In the first place, the figures relating to the slave population in the border slave States presented in the United States Census Reports for the years 1850 and 1860 show a considerable decline in the number of slaves as compared with the whites during the decade; in the border counties of these Northern slave States the loss is distinctly greater, and in the Panhandle counties of Virginia (where emancipation sentiment was present and active on both sides of the long wedge of Virginian soil) the ratio of disappearance of slaves was greater still. In the second place, a basis for the computation of the number of fugitives that passed into Ohio

[1] United States Census, 1850 and 1860.

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between the years 1830 and 1860 is supplied in the fragment of a memorandum obtained by the writer in the Alum Creek settlement of Friends or Quakers of Delaware County, Ohio. This record covers the period from April 14 to September 10, 1844, and shows that 47 blacks were aided in this locality during an interval of five months. Numerically, the memorandum runs as follows:

Time.	Number of fugitives.	Time.	Number of fugitives.
April 14	4	August 16	4
May 8	2	August 21	1
May 10	1	August 24	7
May 25	4	August 25	5
May 27	3	August 28	1
June 3	2	September 2	1
June 4	4	September 4	2
June 15	1	September 8	2
August 12	2	September 10	

Under the concluding date we find the entry that explains the blank in the last column. It is this: "One yellow man from Kentucky caught near Cratty's and carried back." Now, it is fair to consider the Alum Creek "station" as a representative station on a representative thoroughfare. It is safe to say there were not less than twelve important lines of travel in Ohio. The period during which these roads were in operation is bounded by the years 1830 and 1860. Here, then, we have the elements for a computation applying to the State of Ohio alone. When made, the calculation indicates that no less than 40,000 slaves were aided by Ohio Abolitionists in their efforts to escape. That the number of refugees after 1844 did not decrease is indicated by the statement that during one month in the winter of 1854–55 60 fugitives were "harbored" by one member of the Alum Creek settlement. It is to be remembered that several families of the settlement were engaged in this work. In southeastern Pennsylvania this secret method had developed much earlier than in the more western States. An idea of the great activity in the region mentioned can be derived from the following extracts taken from R. C. Smedley's book. Mr. Smedley says:

> The residence of Elijah F. Pennypacker was the most eastern station in Chester County, and the point where the three most important routes converged. * * * From Elijah F. Pennypacker's the fugatives were sent to Philadelphia, Norristown, Quakertown, Reading, and to various other stations, as occasion demanded. * * * It is recalled to mind that in

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one year 43 were passed over within a period of two months. From this the reader may form some idea of the amount of business conducted at this station, bearing in mind, however, that all fugitives were not passed along these three lines. Hundreds were sent to many branch stations along interlacing routes, and hundreds of others were sent from Wilmington, Columbia, and stations westward direct to the New England States and Canada. Many of these passed through the hands of the vigilance committee connected with the antislavery office in Philadelphia.[1]

It is not to be supposed that all the slaves thus receiving aid went to Canada. Many of them sought and found safe oblivion in the great and populous cities of the North; many gained a trembling security in the vicinity of localities where colored people lived, or where lived Quakers, Covenanters, Wesleyan Methodists, or other friends.

The political significance of the underground road ought not to be lost sight of. It contributed largely to bring about those conditions which led Mr. Clay as Secretary of State to enter into diplomatic negotiations with England during the years 1826–1828 with a view to securing the return of the former slaves of the South, and "to provide," as Clay himself said, "for a growing evil." The fugitive-slave law of 1850 was the embodiment of Clay's mighty effort to stop this growing evil. Its provisions proved odious to the North. Pursuit was constantly interfered with and mobs resulted. In Ohio, Cincinnati and Oberlin were not the only localities that had their severe mob experiences on account of abolition sentiment. The attempted arrest of underground passengers gave rise to mobs in Columbus, Granville, Bellefontaine, Marysville, Toledo, Marion, Troy, Dayton, Mechanicsburg, Putnam, Wooster, and many other of the 225 and more places in and near which underground stations were located.

That such episodes were object lessons of a valuable sort is a statement which scarcely requires illustration. If, however, an example is desired, it is readily found in the case of the Granville mob, April 27, 1836. In this case the remonstrance of seventy-five men in the village led the anti-slavery people, who were about to hold a State anti-slavery convention in the village, to hold their meeting outside of town. The opposing party objected even to this conciliatory arrangement. During the morning session of the convention they proceeded to work themselves up into a frenzy, and in the afternoon they indulged

[1] History of the Underground Railroad in Chester and the Neighboring Counties of Pennsylvania, by R. C. Smedley, M. D., pp. 208, 209.

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in a disgraceful attack upon the Abolitionists. Almost immediately afterwards there occurred a revulsion of the community's feelings, and "the Abolition party received great accessions by that day's work." A man who had witnessed the scene was heard to remark, "'If that is the way, I am henceforth an Abolitionist,' and the next heard of him he was an agent of the underground railroad."[1]

The frustration of the purposes of those in pursuit of fugitives, and the threats and demonstrations made by them while seeking their lost property, created distrust and hatred on both sides. This was especially true after 1850, when Abolitionists became more energetic in accomplishing their humane work than ever before. That their increased labors were producing a corresponding sense of loss in the South can be doubted by no one that observes the greater frequency and distinctness with which the complaint of injury and loss through abolition efforts was uttered at the South, both in and out of Congress. By the beginning of the war these complaints had clearly formulated themselves into one of the chief grievances of the South.

The escape of fugitives was, however, important from another point of view. Mr. Williams, the author of The History of the Negro Race in America, indicates this when he points out that it was the "safety valve of the institution of slavery. As soon as leaders arose," he says, "among the slaves who refused to endure the yoke, they would go North. Had they remained, there must have been enacted at the South the direful scenes of San Domingo."[2]

Another significant effect of the underground road appears in the double relation it sustains to the famous historical novel, Uncle Tom's Cabin. Actual service in the underground cause, and association with men and women equally zealous in the same work, fitted Mrs. Stowe to write her powerful book. At the same time the fugitive, by his flight, his scars, and his aspirations, had been preparing the way for years in a thousand communities for the reception and just appreciation of Mrs. Stowe's great novel. The remarkable political influence often ascribed to Uncle Tom's Cabin, must be freely shared with the underground railroad.

[1] The History of Granville, Licking County, Ohio, Chap. XLVI, pp. 297-309.

[2] Williams, History of the Negro Race in America, Vol. II, pp. 58, 59; quoted also in Fugitive Slaves, by M. G. McDougall, p. 64.

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XVIII.—SOME BOLD DIPLOMACY IN THE UNITED STATES IN 1861.

By GEN. MARCUS J. WRIGHT,
OF THE WAR RECORDS OFFICE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

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SOME BOLD DIPLOMACY IN THE UNITED STATES IN 1861.

By Gen. Marcus J. Wright.

The interesting incident here related happened in July, 1861, during the great excitement of our civil war, and the papers connected with it were relegated to the pigeonholes of the State Department. I have lately examined the papers, and offer this article as an account of one of the most remarkable achievements of American diplomacy on record. In July, 1861, two American missionaries, Messrs. Lansing and Barnet, were stationed or were dwelling at Osiut (or Osiout), the capital of Upper Egypt. These missionaries had in their employment, for the distribution of Bibles, a Syrian physician named Faris-el-Hakim. Faris was a man of considerable learning, and while not technically an American protégé, having no certificate from the consul-general, he had previously had certificates and necessary authorizations from a former American consul. A Christian woman of Osiut, whose husband was a Mohammedan, had been forced to abandon her religion and make profession of Mohammedanism. She was very unhappy in consequence, and endeavored to procure the aid and advice of the Coptic bishop. The bishop being absent, she was advised by some Christian friends to lay her case before Faris, who was known and recognized as being connected with the American missionaries. Faris was well known in and about Osiut, not only as a learned man and agent of the missionaries, but his skill as a physician had given him the title of El Hakim, which is the Arabic title for doctor.

The woman accordingly called on Faris, and stated that she was of Coptic origin; that she had been forced some four years previous to become a Muslimeh; that she had returned to her native religion, and had fled from her husband to avoid his anger and to seek protection. She desired Faris to act as her

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counsel, which he consented to do. Faris drew up a paper containing a declaration of his acceptance of the attorneyship, and of his having placed her in charge of the agent of the Coptic bishop of Osiut. When these facts became known, a number of fanatical Mohammedans persuaded the woman's husband to take his case before the authorities and ask for the delivery of the woman, charging that Faris had enticed her into becoming a Christian. He was arrested and arraigned before the cadi. Faris wrote to the American missionaries, giving an account of his trial, from which the following extracts are given:

On the occurrence of the death of Abd-el-Medjih and the accession of Abd-el-Aziz they thought in their vain fancies that the proper time had come for bringing forward the case, presuming that the weakness of the Mohammedan law in enforcing the execution of its own decisions was now a thing of the past, and that it would now use its old license in the reenforcements of its religious and civil laws, and that all freedom in the matters of religion has been abolished by the new Sultan. They accordingly urged upon the husband of the woman to present his case to the Government and to complain of the detention of the woman in the bishop's house by my permission, and that the woman had been enticed by me into the infidel Christian religion. When the case was presented, his excellency the mudir wrote thereon to the chief of the Government police that Faris should be summoned, and that the woman and her daughter should be demanded of him and delivered up to justice.

When the chief of police made this demand to me and I brought the woman with her daughter, he sent me to the police court. On entering I found about sixty men present and a number of the ulama (learned doctors), together with the cadi and the mufti. I seated myself (in the lowest place) on the lower end of the divan, upon which the secretary of the cadi reproached me and said, "Sit upon the ground." From this insult, and from its being so different from their ordinary treatment of me, and especially from the irrelevant questions put to me, I understood their evil purpose, and therefore answered them to the utmost of my ability in the most civil and respectful manner.

Finding that they had not accomplished their purpose of exciting me to say something rash or improper, they stirred up the ignorant people to insult me with reproachful language. On this I attempted to leave the court, which, when they perceived, they prevented me, and the cadi said, "Why have you come hither?" I replied, "If your lordship will have the goodness to read the petition and judgment of his excellency thereto annexed, you will understand the cause of my appearing before you." The secretary then read the petition and judgment (order for my appearance) and said, "Why do you detain the woman with you?" I remained silent, whereupon the cadi said, "Why do you not answer the secretary?" I replied, "May it please your lordship, I am her attorney and not her detainer, and therefore I abstained from answering, seeing that the order annexed to the petition which is in the hands of his honor (the secretary)

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orders the appearance of her attorney, not her keeper." The cadi then said, "We do not acknowledge your right of attorney." On this I thanked him for relieving me of my obligation. He then said, "It is not for this that we reject your right of attorney, but because you are an infidel, and have occasioned infidelity in our town." I then said to him, with all respect, "I should think your lordship could not believe that a person like me is able to originate either infidelity or faith, seeing that it is a matter in the hand of God." Whereupon the mufti said, "Oh, thou accursed one! Thou infidel! Thou pig! Thou polluted one! Dost thou revile the religion of the cadi?"

He then stirred up some of the crowd, which had now increased to about two hundred persons, to beat me; whereupon the brother of the cadi came forward, spat in my face, and struck me on the head. The cadi then said, "Beat him," when a man came forward called Ayyrib Kashif, who said, "Oh, thou accursed infidel! Dost thou think that Abd-el-Medjih lives? He is dead, and with him has died the Christian religion and also the reproach of Islam; and in his place has arisen Abd-el-Aziz, who has brought back to the religion of Islam its ancient honor." So saying, he struck me with a staff on my hand, spat in my face, and kicked me in the stomach.

There was then a general rush made upon Faris from the outside, and he was beaten with shoes and stones, spat upon, and reviled by the mob. He bore all this without complaint. The cadi then ordered instruments of torture to be brought from the police office, and when they were brought he said, "Cast him down and put on him the felakah"—a species of foot rack. After this they commenced to bastinado him, and cried out, "Let every one who loves the Prophet beat this accursed one." The beating lasted about half an hour.

Faris being in a fainting condition, the crowd desisted, though some of them passed by and kicked him on the head. The cadi was not satisfied with the punishment and urged the mob to continue their beating. One cried out, "If we continue to beat him he will die." To this the cadi responded, "Kill him; let him die, and there will be no blame upon any of you; and if any investigation is made concerning this dog, I will be responsible for the affair." Thereupon a second beating occurred, when Faris swooned away and seemed to be in a dying condition. During this cruel treatment Faris cried out, "Oh, Jesus, save me!" Kashif, who was one of the persecutors, replied, "Become a Muslim, accursed one, and thou shalt be saved."

He was then taken to the palace of the governor, but the mudir being absent, he was remanded to the police station. On entering the police court, when he attempted to sit down,

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Sheik-el-Gusi, who was in company with the Muslin Ulema, or learned man, raised his staff and cried with a loud voice, "Beat him! kill him! burn him!" Here again he was told if he would confess the Mohammedan faith he would be spared, but he firmly refused. Some Christians came in about this time, but were at once expelled from the court and told, "If you wish to know what has happened, it is that your Faris, your champion, we have taken his life from him, and when we have done with him, we shall finish up that with you; O, ye infidels! O, ye accursed ones!" After another beating he was taken to the prison and bound with an iron chain.

Soon after his imprisonment, Wasif-el-Khayat, the American consular agent, sent a telegraphic dispatch to the American consul at Cairo, giving information of the cruel treatment and imprisonment of Faris. Some Christian friends wrote a letter to the mudir, informing him of Faris's condition, and he at once ordered Mohammed Effendi to set him at liberty, and sent his own physician to attend him. The mudir visited him in person and reproved the cadi and all who were present aiding and abetting in his punishment. He also asked of Faris a full written statement of the whole affair, which was promptly furnished. The American missionaries promptly forwarded Faris's letter to Mr. W. S. Thayer, United States consul-general at Alexandria. Mr. Thayer proved to be "the right man in the right place," as the sequel will show. Previous, however, to the receipt of this letter, Mr. Thayer had received the dispatch, elsewhere mentioned, from the United States consular agent at Osiut. He at once wrote to Zulficar Pasha, the minister of foreign affairs in Egypt, demanding the immediate release of Faris and a full investigation of his case. The minister on the same day replied that he had just telegraphed for full information as to the facts, to the mudir or governor of Osiut, and on receiving a reply would at once communicate it to Mr. Thayer.

Two days later the minister informed Mr. Thayer that the mudir reported that neither he nor the United States consular agent at Osiut had the least knowledge that Faris was an American protégé, but that he would order an inquiry and report. Mr. Thayer afterwards received a letter from the United States consular agent at Osiut inquiring as to the title of Faris to protection from the United States authorities, to which he returned a peremptory order to give him all the official aid

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which his circumstances might require. He then called on the minister of foreign affairs, in company with Mr. Robert Wilkinson, United States vice-consul at Cairo, and Mr. Lansing, an American missionary and one of the employers of Faris. After reciting the matter relating to the treatment of Faris at Osiut, he requested the use of a Government steamer to convey himself or his agent up the Nile to insure an impartial investigation of the matter.

The minister said he would present the request to the Viceroy, but as to the punishment of those who had assaulted Faris, he could give no opinion, as it had not appeared that Faris was an American protégé. Mr. Thayer replied that it was quite immaterial to his purpose whether Faris was or was not an American protégé in the usual sense of the term. Faris was the agent and representative of two American citizens engaged in a lawful missionary enterprise. An outrage on him was an outrage on them, and he would demand satisfaction as urgently as if they and not their representative had been maltreated. He did not consider it a case to be settled by diplomatic technicalities, but on its substantial merits and on the principles of justice and common sense.

Next morning a verbal message was received by Mr. Thayer from the minister of foreign affairs saying that a Government steamer would go to Osiut in a few days. Mr. Thayer, despairing of a prompt settlement of the matter with the foreign affairs office, called directly upon the Viceroy and stated his case and his demand. Mr. Thayer told the Viceroy that not only his own Government, but millions of Christian people would await his decision with great interest. Not only the numerous and influential religious associations of Christendom, but the friends of civilization everywhere would hold this to be a test question as to the progress of just government and religious toleration in Egypt. He further said that if His Highness were to reconquer Syria and repeat in his own person the military triumphs of his father, Mehemet Ali, he would not gain such a degree of his confidence of foreign nations in the strength and justice of his Government as by a satisfactory settlement of this affair. The Viceroy said it would be difficult to enforce the doctrine of toleration in Upper Egypt, and allowance should be made for the peculiar opinions of those people. Mr. Thayer replied that he would willingly rest his case on the report of the Viceroy's officer, the mudir of Osiut.

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In a few days after this, Noubar Bey, a high functionary of the Egyptian Government, called on Mr. Thayer and informed him that the Viceroy had removed and degraded the officers of the cadi's court at Osiut, but did not wish to punish the other offenders without further investigation. Mr. Thayer replied that this mode of procedure was too dilatory. He desired immediate action and thought no further investigation necessary. He further declared that he demanded the punishment of every one engaged in the maltreatment of Faris, and a fine to go as compensation. The result was the punishment of the thirteen men engaged in the outrage on Faris by one year's imprisonment and a fine of $5,000, which was handed over by the Government to Mr. Thayer as compensation to Faris. The woman remained under the protection of the Coptic bishop and was not further disturbed.

On communicating the facts in this interesting case to the Government at Washington, Mr. Thayer received a letter approving and commending his acts, and an autograph letter from President Lincoln to be presented to the Viceroy of Egypt, as follows:

Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America, to his Highness, Mohammed Said Pasha, Viceroy of Egypt and its dependencies, etc.:

GREAT AND GOOD FRIEND: I have received from Mr. Thayer, consul-general of the United States of America at Alexandria, a full account of the liberal, enlightened, and energetic proceedings which, on his complaint, you have adopted in bringing to speedy and condign punishment the parties, subjects of Your Highness in Upper Egypt, who were concerned in an act of persecution against Faris, an agent of certain Christian missionaries in Upper Egypt. I pray Your Highness to be assured that these proceedings, at once so prompt and so just, will be regarded as a new and unmistakable proof equally of Your Highness' friendship for the United States, and of the firmness, integrity, and wisdom with which the Government of Your Highness is conducted.

Wishing you great prosperity and success,

I am, your good friend,

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President:

WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *Secretary of State.*

WASHINGTON, *October 9, 1861.*

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XIX.—THE BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG.

By HAROLD P. GOODNOW,
OF CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

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THE BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG.

By HAROLD P. GOODNOW.

I.—INTRODUCTORY.

The contending armies in June, 1863.—Confederate Army of Northern Virginia, Gen. Robert E. Lee commanding, at Fredericksburg, on the southern bank of the Rappahannock. The Union Army of the Potomac, Maj. Gen. Joseph Hooker commanding, at Falmouth, on the northern side of the river, opposite Fredericksburg.

Organization of the Army of Northern Virginia.—Infantry: In three army corps, under Longstreet, Ewell, and A. P. Hill, each corps consisting of three divisions, which comprised in all thirty-seven brigades. Cavalry: One division, under Maj. Gen. J. E. B. Stuart, consisting of six brigades. Artillery: Sixty-two batteries; number of guns, 287. Total number of fighting men, about 80,000.

Organization of the Army of the Potomac.—Infantry: In seven army corps, under Reynolds, Hancock, Sickles, Meade, Sedgwick, Howard, and Slocum; consisted of nineteen divisions and fifty-one brigades. Cavalry corps: Commanded by Pleasonton; had three divisions, under Buford, Gregg, and Kilpatrick. Artillery: Under Brig. Gen. Henry J. Hunt; fourteen brigades. Number of batteries present at Gettysburg, 65; of guns, 370. Total number of fighting men, about 82,000.

Both armies had been reorganized since the battle of Chancellorsville. After this victory the Confederates determined to invade the North, in the hope that an energetic campaign and a decisive battle would bring the war to a speedy close and would induce the recognition of the Confederacy by foreign powers.

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II.—OPERATIONS IN VIRGINIA.

General Lee intended to invade Pennsylvania in the direction of Chambersburg, York, or Gettysburg, choose his battlefield, and there meet and defeat Hooker. He selected the valley of the Shenandoah as a line of operation, and on the 3d of June the movement began. Leaving Hill's corps in observation at Fredericksburg, the cavalry and the remainder of the infantry were concentrated near Culpeper Court-House. A cavalry battle at Brandy Station on June 9 revealed this concentration to Hooker and confirmed his suspicions as to Lee's plan of campaign.

On June 10 Ewell left Culpeper Court-House, passed through Chester Gap, surprised the garrisons of Winchester and Martinsburg, and in five days cleared the Shenandoah Valley of Federal troops. These preliminary operations of the campaign were conducted with ease and rapidity. Lee now had an open valley for the march of his forces; and the invasion, begun under such favorable circumstances and with such bold strategy, gave every assurance of a successful issue.

In the meantime Hooker left Falmouth and advanced toward Leesburg, in order to cover and protect Washington. Longstreet left Culpeper on June 15, advanced along the eastern base of the Blue Ridge and occupied Ashbys and Snickers gaps; and Hill, as soon as the Federals left Falmouth, broke up his camp and followed Ewell down the valley to Shepherdstown. Stuart's cavalry kept to the right of Longstreet to protect Lee's flank by holding the Bull Run Mountains. In this he was foiled, for he met the Union cavalry near Aldie, and after a series of engagements he was forced to retire to Ashbys Gap, which he succeeded in holding. Longstreet then followed Hill down to the Potomac. Stuart now received permission to leave two brigades of his command to do outpost duty for the army in Virginia, and with the remaining three brigades to gain Hooker's rear, cross the Potomac between his main body and Washington, and join Ewell north of the Potomac. In this Lee made the first mistake of his campaign, and it cost him the service of his best three cavalry brigades under Stuart during the invasion. When, after eight days of severe marching, Stuart again joined Lee at Gettysburg, on July 2, his men and horses were nearly worn out, and he was too late to be of any service except on the last day of the battle; and all he had

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to show for it was the capture of a wagon train, which was a serious burden on his hands.

III.—INVASION OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Ewell had already entered Pennsylvania and was marching on Harrisburg with the intention of capturing that city. His progress rendered it necessary that the rest of the army should be within supporting distance. Longstreet and Hill therefore crossed the Potomac on June 24 and 25, advanced into Pennsylvania and encamped on the 27th near Chambersburg.

General Hooker conducted himself entirely with reference to the main body of the Confederate army. He crossed the Potomac near Leesburg on June 25 and 26, and advanced toward Frederick and the South Mountain passes. He now desired to unite the Twelfth Army Corps with the garrison of Maryland Heights and move upon Lee's communications. But General Halleck refused to permit the abandonment of Maryland Heights, and Hooker, finding that he was not allowed to manage the campaign without interference, made application to be relieved of the command of the army. His resignation was accepted, and Maj. Gen. George Gordon Meade was appointed to succeed him.

Meade assumed command of the Army of the Potomac on June 28. He made no attempt to work upon the Confederate rear, but started toward the northeast in order to intercept their march and bring on a battle.

In the absence of his cavalry, Lee had remained in ignorance of the movements of the Federal army, and it was not until the 28th of June that he learned from a scout that the Federals had crossed the Potomac and were approaching the South Mountains. He immediately saw that his communications were threatened, and in order to prevent the Union army from advancing farther west he determined to concentrate his own forces east of the mountains. He recalled Ewell from Harrisburg, and gave orders that Hill should march from Chambersburg toward Cashtown on the 29th and Longstreet should follow on the 30th.

Thus the two armies, each unconscious of the other's actions, were moving almost at right angles and were rapidly approaching each other. A collision in the lapse of a short time was inevitable.

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IV.—GETTYSBURG—THE FIRST DAY.

On the evening of June 30 Meade's farthest advance was Buford's division of cavalry in the town of Gettysburg. The Federal commander had, as yet, no intention of fighting a battle at that place, for he knew nothing of the military advantages of the position. But in occupying it with his advance he was laying hold upon a point which was of prime strategic importance to General Lee. Equally distant from Chambersburg, Carlisle, and York, it was the most convenient place for the concentration of his scattered forces; and from it ran good roads to all points between the Susquehanna and the Potomac. The possession of it was necessary to enable him to operate at will in any direction.

On June 30 General Heth, commanding a division of A. P. Hill's corps, sent Pettigrew's brigade to Gettysburg to obtain a supply of shoes. On nearing the town Pettigrew found it occupied by Buford's cavalry. He therefore withdrew to Cashtown. Hill then resolved to march to Gettysburg the next morning and dispose of the Union force in possession of the place. But General Reynolds, in command of the left wing of the Union army, was that night with the First Army Corps, encamped only 5 miles from Gettysburg, and under orders to advance and occupy the town the following day. Thus, as if by a preconcerted arrangement, the hostile forces were to march on the same point, and their meeting was to determine the locality of the most momentous conflict ever waged on American soil.

The town of Gettysburg is situated in a fertile farming district of southern Pennsylvania. From the north of the town diverging roads lead to Carlisle and Harrisburg; toward the east are the York pike and Hanover road; on the south, the Baltimore pike, Taneytown and Emmitsburg roads; and on the west roads lead to Hagerstown via Fairfield and Chambersburg via Cashtown. Ten miles west is the majestic South Mountain range, a blue wall against the sky. West of the town, at the distance of half a mile, is Seminary Ridge, named from the Lutheran Theological Seminary which stands upon its crest midway between the roads to Chambersburg and Fairfield. Five hundred yards farther west there is another low ridge, on whose summit stand the McPherson farm buildings. This ridge inclines toward the northeast and intersects

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Seminary Ridge in a lofty eminence known as Oak Ridge, which commands the country toward the south.

At the foot of McPhersons Ridge, on the western side, Willoughby Run flows south into Marsh Creek. North of the town the country is mostly flat and open, inclining slightly toward Rock Creek, which flows south and passes Gettysburg on the east side at a distance of about half a mile. Due south of the town, on the summit of a hill between the Baltimore and Taneytown roads, is the village cemetery, which has given a name to the whole ridge of which the hill is a part. The general shape of Cemetery Ridge has been likened to that of a fishhook. The shank begins at Round Top and runs north for about 2 miles; it then curves around toward the east, along the crest of Cemetery Hill, and the barb of the hook is formed by Culps Hill, a rough and rugged peak southeast of the town. The eastern slope of Culps Hill is steep, covered with bowlders of all sizes, and heavily wooded. Its foot is washed by Rock Creek. Cemetery Hill is separated from Culps by a deep depression. Its crest is open and affords advantageous positions for the location of artillery. It is elevated high above the town, and commands the country beyond.

Cemetery Ridge runs in a line nearly due south from the crossing of the Taneytown and Emmitsburg roads. For about 2,100 yards, as far as George Weikert's stone farmhouse, it is smooth and well defined. At this point it is lost in a great mass of rough ground covered with rocks, woods, and heavy undergrowth. For half a mile to the south, and nearly as far east and west, the ground has this rugged and uneven character. Then we come to the mountain which constitutes the most prominent feature of the landscape, Round Top, whose massive form rises like a giant out of the earth and dominates the country for miles around. On its northern side protrudes a rugged shoulder called Little Round Top, and around its western base are several spurs of lesser altitude. The summit of Round Top is distant 3 miles, as the eagle flies, from the Central Square of Gettysburg, and Little Round Top is $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the same point. The sides of Round Top are steep and rocky, and it is covered with a heavy growth of oaks and pines. Little Round Top is of the same character, but the woods were cleared away from its western slope the year before the battle.

A little stream called Plum Run drains the land between

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Cemetery Ridge and the Emmitsburg road. It flows along the base of Little Round Top and receives a small branch from the west. In the angle between these streams is the Devils Den, one of the most rugged hills on the battlefield. Its summit is 500 yards due west of Little Round Top and 100 feet lower. A crossroad runs north of Little Round Top, passes the Devils Den and connects the Taneytown and Emmitsburg roads. The latter road runs diagonally between Cemetery and Seminary ridges, and rises gently to its intersection with the crossroad from the east; and here in the angle between the roads is the famous Peach Orchard of the Gettysburg battlefield. The ground at this point is high and open, and the roads fall away in three directions. The angle at the Peach Orchard is also formed by the intersection of two ridges, one along the Emmitsburg road, the other from the Devils Den.

The heights of Seminary Ridge extend south from the seminary to a point about 1,100 yards north by west of the Peach Orchard. Here the ridge is cut by a little stream which flows west through a deep glen. Beyond this division another wooded range, sometimes called Warfields Ridge, reaches off toward the south and is crossed by the Emmitsburg road 1 mile south of the Peach Orchard. Behind Warfields and Seminary ridges, and entirely hidden from view by the woods which skirt the heights from north to south, is a fine open valley, where Longstreet and Hill had almost unlimited freedom to perform their maneuvers in forming the line of battle.

The remarkable military advantages of Cemetery Ridge, flanked by the rocky fastnesses of Culps Hill and the Round Tops, could not be perceived, of course, at a single glance; but as Buford saw Pettigrew's Confederate column withdraw from before Gettysburg, on the afternoon of June 30, he appreciated the importance of his position in the van of the Union army. He knew that this respite was only temporary, and would be followed by an advance on the following day. He therefore prepared to hold the town. Scouting parties were sent out to gain information, and a line of pickets was established on the west and north from the Fairfield road to Rock Creek. Early on the morning of July 1 the advance of Heth's division on the Cashtown road was reported, and Buford immediately formed his line of battle on McPhersons Ridge. Here the battle opened, and here from 8 to 10 o'clock Buford's troopers held their ground against the Confederate infantry.

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On receipt of Buford's report that the enemy were approaching Gettysburg in considerable force, General Reynolds hastened to the front with Wadsworth's division of the First Corps, and ordered Doubleday with the remainder of the First, and Howard with the Eleventh Corps, to follow. Reynolds had no orders to bring on a battle, but as he came up the Emmitsburg road at full speed on that eventful morning, his fine military eye doubtless took in the chief features of the Round Tops and the Cemetery Ridge. He saw that this was the one place to fight a great battle, and he resolved to interpose his force before the advance of Lee's column and hold it in check until Meade should have time to concentrate the Army of the Potomac on the heights in the rear. To this instant decision of General Reynolds, and to the promptitude and gallantry with which he acted upon it, is due the credit for the choice of Gettysburg as a battlefield.

The infantry of the First Corps began to arrive at about 10 o'clock and was formed on McPherson's Ridge, relieving the cavalry, which withdrew to the seminary. The first success of the day was the repulse of Archer's Confederate brigade and the capture of several hundred prisoners, including General Archer himself, by the "Iron Brigade" under Meredith. Just at the beginning of this action General Reynolds fell, killed by a Confederate bullet. Thus, at the very opening of the battle, Meade lost the one man of all who was best fitted to succeed to the command of the army in the event of injury to himself, and upon whom he had placed the greatest reliance in view of the impending battle. The chief command now devolved upon General Doubleday, who continued to direct the engagement until the arrival of General Howard. Soon afterwards the rest of the First Corps arrived and was formed in line of battle with one division in reserve. On the Confederate side Hath received the reenforcement of Pender's division.

Toward noon General Howard arrived in advance of his corps, which was approaching on the Emmitsburg road. He assumed command and took up his headquarters on Cemetery Hill. He then sent a message to General Meade, whose headquarters for the day were at Taneytown, 11 miles distant, reporting the death of General Reynolds and asking for assistance.

Meantime Ewell's corps, in accordance with Lee's plan of concentration, was moving toward Gettysburg from the north. As soon as the Eleventh Corps arrived, Howard directed

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Schurz to advance to Oak Hill, but the Confederates under Ewell got there first and thus gained an important advantage. As the battle grew in dimensions things began to wear a serious aspect; the two small corps of the Union army present numbered only 18,000 men, and they were matched against more than double their number of the enemy. The Union lines, by necessity too much extended, were at length forced back to Cemetery Hill, where Howard had kept Steinwehr's division in reserve. Here the men were rallied by the strenuous efforts of General Howard and his staff.

Just at this time General Hancock arrived upon the field. He had come from Meade's headquarters, at Taneytown, with orders to take command at Gettysburg and to form the line there, if he thought it a suitable place to fight a battle. His appearance on the field was the signal for a revival of the spirits of the men who had been fighting all day, for his form and features were well known and his arrival was received as a token that reenforcements were close at hand. He immediately saw the natural strength of the position and made dispositions to hold it. This he did by strategy. Leaving the main body on Cemetery Hill, he sent Wadsworth's division of the First Corps to Culps Hill, and instructed Buford to parade his cavalry on the extreme left. In this way he made a greater show of force than was warranted by the facts and succeeded in giving the impression that heavy reenforcements had come up.

General Lee arrived on the battlefield near the close of the action, and from a post of observation on Seminary Hill he watched the final stages of the battle. He was deceived by the apparent strength of the Federal position, and in consequence of information obtained from prisoners, who said that the rest of the army under General Meade was approaching Gettysburg, he deemed it inadvisable to continue the attack. General Lee has been severely criticised for not following up his advantage, for when the Federals retired to Cemetery Hill he had the superiority of numbers and his men were flushed with success. His chances of carrying the position were greater at that moment than at any time afterwards during the battle. But he had only just arrived upon the field, a large part of his army was still on the march, and he would not have been justified in continuing the attack upon a position of such great natural strength without more definite information as to the proximity of the rest of the Army of the Potomac. This delay saved Gettysburg for the Union arms.

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V.—GETTYSBURG—THE SECOND DAY.

General Lee had not intended to fight a general battle at such a distance from his base unless attacked, and then he expected that the time and place would be of his own selection. Now, however, he found himself suddenly confronting his antagonist, and the mere force of circumstances in a measure constrained him to fight. He already had the advantage of superior concentration and the successful issue of the first day's conflict gave hope of a favorable result. General Longstreet advised him to turn Meade's left by a flank march on the Emmitsburg road and by menacing the Federal communications or interposing between Meade and Washington to force him to attack the Confederate army. But Lee, without doubt, saw that it would be a hazardous and difficult thing to attempt such a movement in the absence of his cavalry, and that it could not be executed with sufficient promptness to surprise Meade, who would not be laid under any necessity of attacking the Confederates, but would simply fall back to some position nearer his base, leaving the issue of battle to be tried on some other field. Moreover, in the immediate presence of the main body of the Union army it would soon become difficult for Lee to obtain supplies for his large force. He would have to scatter his army in order to subsist it, but by simple demonstrations Meade could compel him to keep it united and thus oblige him to attack sooner or later. Meade might choose to play a waiting game, but Lee could not afford to do so.

General Meade arrived upon the battlefield at 1 a. m., July 2, and made an inspection of the lines. In the morning, as the various commands of the Union army arrived, they were formed as follows: The Twelfth Corps (Slocum) was placed on Culps Hill to the right of Wadsworth. The Eleventh and First remained on Cemetery Hill. The Second Corps (Hancock) was assigned to Cemetery Ridge on the left of the First, and Sickles, in command of the Third Corps, was directed to prolong Hancock's line to Round Top. The reserve artillery and ammunition train were parked in a central position, and the Fifth Corps (Sykes) was held in reserve near the same point. The Sixth Corps, the largest in the army, was obliged to make a forced march of 34 miles from Manchester, Md. It began to arrive at 2 or 3 o'clock in the afternoon.

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The left wing of the Confederate army was formed by Ewell's corps, which extended from the hills east of Rock Creek through the town to the seminary. Hill's corps occupied Seminary Ridge. The position assigned to Longstreet was on Warfield's Ridge, continuing Hill's line to a point opposite Round Top.

The principal advantages of the Union position on the Cemetery Heights arose from the convex shape of the ridge, which effectually sheltered everything within, and enabled troops to reinforce any part of the line rapidly by moving along chords of the arc, while their movements were screened from the view of the enemy. The Confederate army, on the contrary, had a concave order of battle, and in order to support any part of the line, it was necessary to make a long march around on the circumference of the circle, consuming much valuable time; orders could not be transmitted rapidly, and it was almost impossible to secure the cooperation of the different corps.

Lee ordered Longstreet to make a determined assault on the Federal left, and instructed Ewell as soon as he heard the sound of Longstreet's guns to make a demonstration to be converted into a real attack if opportunity offered. Hill was ordered to threaten the Union center, and to cooperate with his right division in Longstreet's attack. Longstreet experienced many vexatious delays in getting his troops in position. He was not ready to advance in battle formation until 4 p. m. Meanwhile, the opportunity of taking the Federal army at a disadvantage slipped away, for every hour's delay strengthened Meade and diminished the chances of a Confederate victory.

In the meantime some changes occurred in the formation of the Union line. The ground which Meade had assigned for the occupation of the Third Corps included that rough portion of the field south of Weikert's house. Sickles was not pleased with the position, and seeing the elevated ground at the Peach Orchard he decided to move his corps forward to that point in order to gain its advantages and prevent the Confederates from seizing it. The new position extended along the Emmitsburg road to the Peach Orchard, where the line was refused and ran back to the Devil's Den. This change was made without the authority of General Meade, who disapproved of the movement afterwards. There is not time to give this point a full discussion, and I will merely indicate the reasons why

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Sickles's movement must be considered a great error. In the first place, the new line was so long that it would have required a much larger force than Sickles possessed to occupy it in sufficient strength. Second, by placing his corps in that position Sickles isolated himself three-fourths of a mile in front of the rest of the army, with both his flanks in the air. Again, Little Round Top, the key of the battlefield, was left unoccupied. And lastly, the new line presented at the Peach Orchard a salient angle, the worst device in warfare. If the enemy once gained possession of that point, the rest of the line would thereafter be rendered untenable.

Lee's plan of attack was what is known as an oblique order of battle. Longstreet's line, formed obliquely to that of Sickles, would march straight forward, continually breaking in the end of the Union line and rolling it up toward Cemetery Hill. As the assault progressed from right to left, Hill's corps would join in the action, and thus the movement would gradually increase in magnitude as column after column took part in the effort to carry Cemetery Ridge. The great difficulty, as we shall see, was to secure the necessary cooperation between the various units of the attacking force.

The attack began at 4 o'clock, and was at once met by a stubborn defense. Sickles was reinforced by two divisions of the Fifth Corps, which Meade had ordered to take position on the left, and by Caldwell's division of the Second. But the long Confederate line overlapped Sickles's front by two brigades, which, meeting no resistance, moved directly toward Little Round Top. I have said that Little Round Top was unoccupied, but at this moment General Warren, in his capacity as chief of engineers, was examining the line at the left. His practiced eye at once saw that Little Round Top was the key to the Union position. At the same time he detected the flank movement of the Confederates, and riding down the hill at full speed he detached Vincent's and Weed's brigades of the Fifth Corps to defend the position. They reached the summit not a moment too soon, for the Confederates were already ascending the opposite slope. The struggle at this point was very severe, and cost the lives of several distinguished leaders. The Confederates made every effort to gain the summit; again and again they renewed the attack, but every charge was repulsed with terrible slaughter, and at nightfall they gave up the attempt. It may well be said that had it not been for

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Warren's prompt, though unauthorized, action the story of Gettysburg would be written as a Confederate victory.

In the meantime the rest of Longstreet's corps was pressing hard upon Sickles, who was soon borne from the field with a shattered leg. Even with the reinforcements which it had received the Third Corps was unable to hold its ground, and after desperate fighting the Peach Orchard fell into Confederate hands. The Union lines were then forced back to the main crest of the ridge. The Confederates pursued closely, but their strength was spent and their further progress was stayed by the firm front presented by several brigades of the Sixth Corps, which had been formed in line, and by a brilliant charge of the Pennsylvania Reserves. Toward the right, where the Union lines had been weakened by sending Caldwell's brigade to the front, two Confederate brigades, those of Wilcox and Wright, almost succeeded in piercing the center. But they were not properly supported, and were driven back by countercharges under the direction of General Hancock. Shortly afterwards the line was made secure by the arrival of reinforcements from the First and Twelfth corps.

Later in the evening two brigades of Early's division made an attempt to carry Cemetery Hill by storm. They were driven back with the assistance of Carroll's brigade, which Hancock sent over from Cemetery Ridge to aid Howard. The Confederates lost heavily, but succeeded in carrying off about 100 prisoners and four stands of captured colors.

Ewell's demonstration on the Union right was delayed until the action on the left was nearly over. Johnson's division then assaulted Culps Hill, and as a part of the Twelfth Corps had been drawn off to support the Union center, he succeeded in obtaining a foothold within the Federal intrenchments. This brought his division dangerously near the Baltimore pike, but the night was dark, and he failed to see the advantage almost within his grasp.

Thus closed the action of July 2, an action which in effect had decided nothing, for the battle on the left had resulted merely in strengthening the integrity of the Union lines on Cemetery Ridge; the ground which the Confederates had won was never meant to be held by Meade, and he would gladly have withdrawn from it without a fight if there had been time; and Ewell's foothold on the right, while it threatened danger to the Union army, was of no importance to Lee unless it

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could be followed up. Yet the results of the battle induced Lee to believe that with proper concert of action he would ultimately succeed, and he accordingly determined to continue the attack on the following day.

In the evening General Meade held a council of his corps commanders; their decision was practically unanimous to remain and rectify the lines so far as possible, and to await Lee's attack at least one day.

VI.—GETTYSBURG—THE THIRD DAY.

At early dawn Meade took the offensive against Ewell, and after a severe contest, which raged for seven hours, the Confederates were driven out of the Union works.

The rest of the morning was spent in preparation. Lee ordered an assaulting column to be formed of Pickett's, Heth's, and part of Pender's divisions. The charge was to be made on Cemetery Ridge and was to be preceded by a powerful cannonade, by which he hoped to silence the Union artillery and to shake the infantry, so that it could not withstand the great attack to follow. Pickett's division comprised in all fifteen Virginia regiments, the very choicest soldiery of the South. They had not yet been engaged in the battle, having arrived on the field only the day before. Now they were chosen to the glory of leading the column of attack. Pickett placed Garnett's and Kemper's brigades in the fighting line and Armistead in support. He was joined on the left by Heth's division under Pettigrew. Two brigades of Pender's division, comprising ten North Carolina regiments, were formed in the third line behind Pickett and placed under the command of Major-General Trimble.

While the column of attack was forming, the artillery, which was to prepare the way for the assault, was going into position, and when the arrangements were completed, there were 138 cannon ready to train their concentrated fire on the Union lines. All the eligible ground from the Peach Orchard to the Hagerstown road was planted thick with cannon, which, as seen from the Union position, stretched in one unbroken line from right to left as far as the eye could see. This was the display, magnificent in proportions and military grandeur, but terrible as to what it might portend, which greeted the eyes of the veterans on Cemetery Ridge.

The limited extent of the Union position made it possible

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to use only 80 guns at a time; and the main burden of the defense must be shared between the artillery of the Second Corps, commanded by Captain Hazard, and McGilvery's command of 39 guns, posted on Cemetery Ridge and supported by Caldwell's infantry.

Promptly at 1 o'clock two cannon shot in quick succession broke the stillness of the summer air. This was the Confederate signal for beginning the cannonade. In another minute all their guns were at work. Pursuant to General Hunt's orders, the Union artillery opened slowly and carefully, in order to do as much damage as possible without wasting ammunition. This artillery duel attained the height of all that is grand and magnificent in war. The field was soon covered with smoke, through which cannon were continually flashing; the air seemed filled with flying projectiles; shells were constantly exploding and throwing their iron hail in showers upon the ridge; the earth was plowed up as the missiles buried themselves in its bosom; and the deafening roar of over 200 cannon smote upon the ear without cessation or interval.

The Confederates generally overshot their mark; their missiles passed over the heads of the troops and swept the open ground on the reverse slope of the ridge; but toward the front were seen only the long thin lines of infantry, lying upon the ground in open ranks. Here they clung to the shelter of stone walls and breastworks and awaited the end of the great combat, well knowing what it foreshadowed. After two hours General Hunt gave the order to cease firing, so as to give the guns time to cool and to save his ammunition for the attack of infantry. Those batteries which had suffered most were withdrawn and fresh guns were sent to take their places.

The cessation of the Union fire was followed by quiet on the part of the Confederates, for General Lee thought that he had silenced the Federal artillery. The supreme moment had come; the order was given, and Pickett's assaulting column advanced to the attack. First a line of skirmishers sprang lightly out of the woods; then a first, a second, even a third line of battle moved down the slope of Seminary Ridge, and displayed the full length of its gray ranks and gleaming bayonets to the waiting Federals. On they moved with the disciplined steadiness of troops on parade. The ground over which they must pass is an open plain nearly a mile in width, and as they

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approach, they offer a tempting mark to the Union artillerists. McGilvery opens a destructive oblique fire and plows great furrows in Pickett's ranks; Rittenhouse's rifles on Little Round Top also do remarkable service in enfilading the Confederate lines.

Now is seen the effect of the wasteful use of ammunition on the part of the Confederates and the good results of the economy previously imposed on the Union batteries. The Confederate guns have not enough ammunition left to render the necessary support to the attacking party. The Union artillery neglects their fire entirely and devotes all its attention to the infantry in the plain below. Still the undaunted Confederates advance, closing up the gaps as fast as they are made. Their march is directed upon Gibbon's division of the Second Corps, which is posted behind a low stone wall that extends along the ridge near a little clump of trees. The batteries of the Second Corps are obliged to remain silent until the foe is at close quarters, for their supply of long-range projectiles was exhausted during the grand cannonade; but, as the Confederates approach, Hazard again opens fire and pours a deadly stream of canister into their ranks. At two or three hundred yards the infantry delivers its first volley, and the fight at once becomes fierce and general.

Pettigrew's division is soon overpowered and retreats in disorder, leaving 15 colors and 2,000 prisoners in the hands of Hays's division. But Pickett's Virginians continue to advance, returning the fire with great spirit. Their right flank is attacked by Stannard's Vermont brigade and doubled in confusion upon the center. Still the main body presses on. The moment of collision is at hand. Gibbon's front line is driven back, the flag of the Confederacy waves over the wall, and the troops, imagining that the position is carried, rush in to fill the breach. There among the Federal batteries the mighty struggle continues. From all sides the Union troops rush upon the enemy and wall in the head of his column with a mass of men which in regular formation would stand four ranks deep. The strain can last only a short time. One mighty effort is made, accompanied by a general advance of the colors; the troops press firmly after them and close with the enemy. A few minutes of fierce hand-to-hand conflict with bayonet and clubbed musket, and the Confederates who have crossed the fence throw down their arms and become prisoners of war, while the remainder break and flee in disorder across the plain.

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Now the Second Corps springs forward to gather in the fruits of victory. Thirty-three standards and over 4,000 prisoners were taken, and thus did they get their "revenge for Fredericksburg." But this great victory was not won without heavy losses. Hancock and Gibbon were severely wounded. The number of casualties among the field officers was unusual, some of the regiments losing them all. Of the Confederates, Kemper, Trimble, and Pettigrew were wounded; Garnett was killed, and Armistead was left mortally wounded within the Union lines. Scarcely a field officer of Pickett's division escaped unhurt. The division itself was practically annihilated; the ground over which they had charged was covered with the slain, and 42 of those who had crossed the fence lay dead upon the ridge.

During the afternoon of July 3, two cavalry fights took place. Kilpatrick, with Merritt's and Farnsworth's brigades, charged the right of the Confederate line west of Round Top. Little was accomplished, but the losses were numerous, the most lamented being that of the brave and accomplished Farnsworth, a young officer who only a few days before had been made a brigadier-general and had not yet received his commission.

General Stuart had received orders to move to the right of the Union army with the object of reaching the Baltimore pike and striking the rear of the Federal troops in cooperation with Pickett's attack upon the center; but the movement was met and frustrated by two brigades of Gregg's division, assisted by Custer's brigade. After a severe battle, Stuart was forced to retire from the field. Among the wounded was Gen. Wade Hampton, commanding one of Stuart's brigades.

According to the official records the losses in the Union army during the three days of the battle at Gettysburg were: Killed, 3,155; wounded, 14,529; missing, 5,365; total, 23,049. Those of the Confederates amounted to 2,592 killed; 12,709 wounded; 5,150 missing; total, 20,451. But the returns for the latter army are incomplete; some commands are not reported, and in the case of others the regimental returns show larger losses than do the brigade totals, from which these figures are compiled. General Meade reports the capture of 13,621 prisoners, which would bring the casualties of the Confederates up to nearly 30,000; and this figure may be taken as a close approximation to their actual losses.

The cause of the Confederate defeat has already been men-

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tioned. It was the difficulty of securing unity of action in converging columns of attack at a distance of several miles from each other upon a central force. In such cases they almost invariably strike their blows in succession and are beaten in detail. General Lee's concave order of battle was a great disadvantage; it gave his lines too great an extension and rendered communication between the flanks slow and difficult. And from first to last he failed to obtain that unity of action upon which his success depended.

VII.—RETREAT OF THE CONFEDERATE ARMY.

The next day, July 4, General Lee drew in both his flanks to a defensive position on Seminary Ridge. Here he stood at bay for twenty-four hours, as he had done at Antietam, inviting rather than fearing the attack of his victorious opponent. A heavy storm set in during the day, and at nightfall the retreat of the Confederate army began. Lee's immense wagon train, bearing the wounded, moved by way of Greenwood and Greencastle under the escort of Imboden's cavalry, and the main column marched on the direct road to Hagerstown, where they arrived on the 7th of July.

The Union cavalry at once started in pursuit. Kilpatrick marched by way of Emmitsburg, and succeeded in getting in front of the main body. He fought a sharp and successful battle with Stuart at Monterey, and another at Hagerstown.

Buford's division of cavalry, aided by Kilpatrick, came near capturing Williamsport with Lee's transportation train. Imboden made a brave defense, and the opportune arrival of Stuart and Fitzhugh Lee with reenforcements compelled Buford and Kilpatrick to retire.

When Lee reached the Potomac, 40 miles from Gettysburg, he found that the tremendous rains had raised the river far above the fording stage, and as the Federal cavalry had destroyed the bridge at Falling Waters, he was unable to cross. He therefore threw up intrenchments to defend himself against attack, while he proceeded to reconstruct his bridge and waited for the river to fall.

Meade did not follow Lee by the direct route, but went around by way of Frederick and the lower passes of the South Mountains. The fearful condition of the roads made his progress slow and laborious; artillery and wagons were stalled in the mud; large numbers of his men were barefooted, and a

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halt had to be made at Middletown to provide clothing and rations. On July 12 Meade approached the Confederate position. He made an examination of their works and resolved to attack them the next day. That night, however, he called a council of war, which voted to postpone the attack until a further reconnoissance had been made. This occupied the following day; but as the weather was misty, not much information was obtained. Nevertheless, Meade issued the order for a general advance to be made the following morning, July 14; but when day broke the enemy had disappeared. The river had fallen so as to be fordable at Williamsport, and the bridge of pontoons had been completed the day before. Ewell's corps had crossed by the ford, and the others by the bridge. The broad Potomac flowed between the hostile forces, and the invasion of the North was at an end.

VIII.—RESULTS OF GETTYSBURG.

History speaks of the battle of Gettysburg as the decisive battle of the war for the Union. It can not be considered decisive in the same sense in which Tours or Waterloo was decisive. The American civil war presents no parallel for those famous conflicts. But a general review of the war shows that Gettysburg was the turning point of the great struggle, and in that sense it was the decisive battle of the war. From that day the Federal cause maintained its supremacy and the fall of the Confederacy was assured.

One can not fail to notice the fact that the Union armies in the West were almost uniformly successful, while those in the East, previous to the battle of Gettysburg, were almost uniformly unsuccessful. The capture of Forts Henry and Donelson, the battles of Shiloh and Murfreesboro, and the fall of Vicksburg mark successive steps by which the Federal supremacy in the West was established. But in the East there were for a long time no decisive results. McClellan's efforts to take Richmond in 1862 were abortive and proved total failures. The defeat of Pope's army opened the way for Lee's first invasion of the North. The battle of Antietam resulted in his retreat into Virginia, where he remained until the following summer. But during this time the Union army experienced a series of reverses, which culminated in the unparalleled disaster at Chancellorsville.

Lee now undertook the formal invasion of the North. He

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had nearly the largest and by far the best organized and equipped army which the Confederacy ever placed in the field. He had frequently defeated the Army of the Potomac before with an inferior force. It was not unreasonable for him to expect to do so again, when he had an army equal in strength to that of his antagonist and inspired with the enthusiastic spirit of invaders and conquerors. It must be admitted that with the ample means at Lee's disposal the hopes entertained by the Confederate government were not extravagant. Rarely does any military operation present greater assurance of success than Lee had at the beginning of his Pennsylvania campaign.

The height of the Federal success at Gettysburg must therefore be measured by the boldness of the Confederate plans. They had hoped to defeat the Army of the Potomac, capture Washington, and compel the North to sue for peace, as the results of this campaign; and they also expected that the recognition of the Confederacy by foreign powers would follow a military success. All these hopes were now dashed to the ground.

The battle of Gettysburg was decisive of the result of Lee's campaign in Maryland and Pennsylvania; it settled the fate of the invasion. It put at rest forever all plans for an aggressive movement against the loyal States; the enterprise was never more attempted. Indeed, the Army of Northern Virginia was never again in condition to undertake such a movement, for never thereafter was Lee able to muster upon any field an army equal in size or in vigor and enthusiasm to the force which followed his standards in June, 1863.

The political and moral effects of Meade's victory were even more important and extensive than the military effects. It resulted in a complete loss of confidence, a feeling of depression and exhaustion throughout the South. Her fighting resources were rapidly being drained away; even the inexorable conscription failed to fill the ranks of her armies, and the losses sustained at Gettysburg, whether viewed merely in the light of a numerical count or in consideration of the quality of the men spoiled, were irreparable. Not yet, however, did she give up; and although the farsighted ones among her statesmen and civilians, as well as military men, must have foreseen the final result of the war, she still went on with a sort of grim despair, cherishing the vain hope that she would

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yet be able to tire out her adversaries and secure separation from and peace with the United States.

The very opposite effect was to be observed in the North. Her drooping spirit was revived; once more she became confident of success. The joy of a great deliverance filled every loyal heart. The mills of industry turned with busier hum, and the energies of the people were bent to supplying the sinews of war. So far from being spent or exhausted, the material resources of the nation even increased while the strain of war was upon them. The Administration became more popular than ever, and the war party daily increased in strength. The Presidential election of 1864, in which Lincoln received 2,213,665 votes to McClellan's 1,802,237, is a sufficient index of the effect which Gettysburg and the later military successes had upon the politics of the country. Many causes contributed to produce this great victory at the polls, but chief among them was the successful prosecution of the war.

By a singular coincidence the negotiations for the surrender of Vicksburg were concluded almost at the same moment when Lee met his final repulse at Gettysburg. All the effects of the one victory were augmented by those of the other, and the two together mark the crisis of the war. Nearly two years of sanguinary conflict followed, but the backbone of secession was broken by the defeat of Lee and the fall of Vicksburg. From the date of those twin disasters the star of the Confederacy declined.

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XX.—HISTORICAL TESTIMONY.

By DR. JAMES SCHOULER,
OF BOSTON.

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HISTORICAL TESTIMONY.

By Dr. James Schouler.

Our common law, which is not given to flattery, pays a delicate compliment to writers of history in permitting their works to be cited in court with something of the authenticity of official documents. This privilege, which books of art and science have not yet attained, and books of speculation never can, should confirm us in the conviction that the truth of history is, above everything else, what historians should strive after; that the accurate and diligent presentation of past events, of past public facts, of past manners and customs, must constitute, after all, the basis of their permanent renown and usefulness. Opinions change from age to age, but facts well interpreted once are interpreted forever. Hence the deductions, the moral lessons of history, one should hold subordinate to a candid, conscientious, and courageous exploration for the truth and the whole truth; all hypotheses should be kept under curb; the writer's imagination ought to be like that of a painter whose model is kept before his eyes. We should not seek unduly to stir the passions of our readers, nor to color artfully for effect; it is enough if we can interest and gain their sympathy. Fancy, theorizing, false ideals, and false inferences have no place in such sober efforts. Conjecture should not supplement study, nor ought the fagots of study to be piled as fuel for that ignis fatuus, the philosophy of history; for the realm of the historian is the actual, and his art should be to reproduce life's panorama.

Not only, then, does every historical writer who goes into print owe it to the public to be as accurate as possible from the commencement, but errors or omissions of fact and misleading deductions which he afterwards discovers should be

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promptly and heroically corrected. He can not afford to set up for a guide and remain to the end a false one. That which he has once published ought to be published under his tacit pledge to make afterwards all needful correction; and he may fairly ask to be judged by his work only as he finally leaves it. There should be vision and revision. Not a single monograph which clears up minor particulars where he had not personally searched should be wasted upon his notice; not a criticism by one competent to correct, however harshly and unfeelingly expressed. It is better, of course, to be wholly right at first; but that is not easy. Knowledge, which in a measure we must all of us gain at secondhand, can not be infallible; and the best we may promise is to purpose right and maintain that purpose. So positive is it, as Cicero has eloquently stated the maxim, that each historian should dare to say whatever is true and fear to record a falsehood.

Nor can we, I think, pay the common law a better compliment in return for its flattering confidence than to adapt to our own use for investigation some of its familiar rules and methods for the right eliciting of truth from testimony. Historical scholars are investigators; and they should be trained to investigate—to weigh and measure together the authorities and not merely to collate and cite them. We relax, of course, as we must, that rigid distrust which the old common law showed in excluding from the witness stand all interested parties. We adopt that better rule of modern tribunals which hears all testimony founded upon direct knowledge of the matter at issue, applying a strict scrutiny, however, and a searching cross-examination to each individual witness. We ask his means of knowledge, his character for truth and veracity, the bias or prejudice under which he testifies. We reconcile contradictions, balance probabilities, consider presumptions and the burden of proof, compare and adjudicate. What is deliberately written down we prefer for exactness to the oral; primary authorities to secondary; what one admits against himself to what it suits him to declare; testimony solemnly given under oath or upon the deathbed to the careless and casual utterances of everyday life; that which is corroborated to that which is unsupported or denied; the probable to the improbable. Whatever one says when the event is recent we trust sooner than that which he says far subsequent, in reliance upon a too treacherous memory; and for ourselves we choose,

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wherever we may apply it, the observation of our own immediate senses to that hearsay upon which in spite of himself, each investigator of the past, each historian or chronicler, must so greatly rest.

The scholarship, then, and the reputed honesty of every writer whose works we are to study become of prime consequence in judging of his credibility; and so, too, though perhaps in a less degree, the conscious or unconscious bias under which he wrote. Patriotism itself gives to each loyal citizen a bias or prejudicial direction; and this is sure to affect historical narrative, since one does not easily separate his task from the lesson he has in view. This bias becomes very strong where one's country or State was a belligerent, or his immediate fellow-citizens engaged in civil war. The prepossessions of religion and politics have also an immense influence. You do not expect a Macaulay to do entire justice to Tories, nor an Alison to Frenchmen, nor a Lingard to Protestants and the English Reformation, nor a Gibbon to the Christian religion. Our American school histories glorify without stint the heroes of 1776 and the American Revolution; over the causes and course of our latest civil strife they become politic enough. What American youth, however, is trained to apologize for the King and Parliament that strove patriotically to maintain the integrity of British dominion? Or to do honor to our colonial loyalists who remained loyal? One of the most valuable contributions to American history, of recent years, embraces a narrative of the Mexican war as the Mexicans wrote it. Will the time ever come, in the advance of race education, when the negro or the red man may compose a history of this continent and its civilization from the standpoint of his own race experience?

Impartial treatment and the effort to deal fairly by all races and all nations, and all men, are qualities praiseworthy in any writer; yet we must confess that a cold and colorless narration fails of effect, and that each one of us dearly desires the applause of his own countrymen and constituency. There are special risks to be run, therefore, when writing of times and contentions which have not yet cooled down and solidified, so to speak; and here it is that they have the advantage as narrators, who, like the British Gibbon and Arnold and perhaps our own Prescott and Motley, devote their literary skill and scholarship to describing some period of the distant past, and

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to countries and civilizations only remotely connected with their own. Or if, like Freeman of the one country, and Parkman of the other, or like Guizot of France, and the great investigators of modern Germany, they search into the institutions of their own native land, they stake out some period for their toil far enough back to admit of a passionless perspective. And yet, after all, the vivid delineators of their own times and countries have hitherto enjoyed the surest posthumous confidence, especially when, like Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, and Cæsar, the writer describes scenes and events of which he has personally partaken.

In biography, again, where history is seen teaching by example, we find an obvious bias of the writer to ascribe all the influence possible to the hero of his tale—to make him, if he can, the radiator of events, the center and sun of the system, around which all other luminaries of his age revolved. The official biographer, more especially, to whom family papers are confided, is apt to be one of the family seeking to keep up the ancestral renown, or some family friend trusted for the pious duty; and hence the laudatory strain, the panegyric, the effort to revivify the dead man's friends and to slay his slain, that we not unfrequently witness in such narratives, with amiable emotion, but withal a little skeptical. More candor, certainly, we look for in a family biography than in an epitaph or a funeral oration; but we should be disappointed enough not to find from such a biographer the strongest defense of his hero, as to all controverted points of his career where public opinion had been in suspense or misinformed; and we should expect, moreover, a fair peep into the private portfolio for family letters and confidences, which history would feel free to appropriate in its own way as its own authentic material, regardless of the family injunction. All filial prepossessions, all that personal partiality which close intimacy exacts as its tribute, let us treat with reverence, provided we are left to estimate for ourselves and to supply the corrective that justice to others may demand.

For my part I do not envy the man who is too callous to become intimate at all; who can explore a kindred human heart as though he held a surgical instrument in his hand; who can enter the recesses of a noble soul, whatever its human shortcomings, without one throb of emotion. Love, compassion, need not, of course, be that emotion in every instance;

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there is the earnestness of sympathy in one biographer and the earnestness of antipathy in another. Let us, however, have earnestness; for the writer, historian, or biographer to be most distrusted is he, in my opinion, who gains no earnestness at all from his subject, but remains wholly neutral, negative, and external—critical, quizzical, or cynical, as the mood may move him; or extending the arm of judicial patronage, like some self-chosen Rhadamanthus who practices before the looking-glass.

There is still another bias to which all literary authorship is peculiarly liable, now that our great purchasing public supplants the influential patron to whom a book was formerly dedicated. I mean that of pampering, for the sake of immediate circulation and profit, instead of writing out what one thinks at heart and supplying to those who seek knowledge the strong meat of correct information. So immense has become the power of fiction in the community of late, that facts themselves are too readily accepted with a fictitious embellishment, and readers, even of the more solid books, will, many of them, ask chiefly to be amused or excited, and not to have their own complacency disturbed. Publishers often seek what is popular, what will sell readiest and coin money, and their mercenary estimates may distort the views of an author so as to hinder him from remaining constant to his best ideals. God forbid that an author should not make himself interesting if he can, or write books that are salable; but the higher grade of scholarship will refuse to suppress or misrepresent for the sake of popularity or to make the unripe fruits of study look tempting by applying the high polish of a brilliant style. He will not degenerate from historian into a gossip, nor, like a gossip, shift his views of men and measures to suit his trivialities.

Here let us distinguish, as the law of evidence bids us, between the two great classes of authorities offered in testimony, the primary and the secondary. No one should investigate into historical facts without this fundamental distinction well borne in mind. Under primary authorities we comprehend, of course, all public records and documents, official reports, every original source of information; and we may fairly refer to the same head for ourselves, the private and contemporaneous statements and correspondence of those who were actors or eyewitnesses in the events or experiences

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which they describe; and, furthermore, though with cautious reserve, reports of the contemporary press from contemporary observation. Secondary as to classification, and quite subordinate and subsidiary to all this, let us reckon newspaper comments and generalization and the literary remnants, materials, and memoranda of those who simply relate what others have told them. All such materials are but secondary; and so, necessarily, are those other narratives, however trustworthy, which we are compelled to consult, more or less, under any circumstances, because primary evidence is not accessible, or our own power and opportunity for research are limited.

Works of travel afford much coloring matter for history, but only so far as the traveler tells what he saw with his own eyes. The very book we toil upon with pains and put forth, whatever our own primary sources of information, becomes but secondary proof to our readers so far as we have not stated facts as eyewitnesses. Hence, in historical studies, you may separate quotations from the context for trustworthy matter, or accord to the same writer more credence in one connection than in another. Quotations may be verified, and with the help of citations we may go over the whole original ground for ourselves, though we are not likely to do so. Writers themselves like to be trusted; they can not turn the processes of their own investigation inside out, nor display to the reader all the testimony which the res gestæ afforded them. Time enters into the essence of all human labor; and one would hardly be a laborer himself if he did not hope to save labor to others.

Primary evidence, then, under some such classification as I have endeavored to indicate, should in all cases be preferred by the investigator to secondary, whenever available; for in spite of what literary indolence may claim to the contrary, you gain thus not only greater moral satisfaction, but often an economy of time besides. You are saved a comparison of collateral statements with the added danger of restating errors. Fill your pitcher at the fountain head, and you need not scoop and scrape farther down among a hundred rills. Seek original records, original reports, original letters, original documents, or the authentic publication of them—not content with mere extracts or abstracts which others have made—and you will be often surprised to find how some suggestive phrase or turn of expression which did not attract the writer who read the whole

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instrument before you—since his standpoint was a different one—will flash out from the dull verbiage with a new and forcible application; for the standpoint of the present does not coincide with that of former times, nor does the array of facts that immediately interests, or the desired application of past experience to present action, cease to vary with varying eras.

How different must be the method of historical research among primary documents which illustrate our present annals from those of earlier centuries! Far behind us lie the chronicles, the musty archives, the rare manuscripts of those feudal governments which flourished when printing was unknown and the literary appliances rude. We live in the parting radiance of a great century of popular development, looking toward the horizon of a new and, as we hope, a greater one. Government, once conducted in secret councils, now pursues its routine out of doors, observed by all men, until the official evidence of the times becomes an overwhelming mass. Public documents are printed, multiplied, scattered broadcast from the press, so that you may burn or make pulp of the share which falls to your own use, and yet leave copies behind in superabundance for the information of posterity. Current literature, current journalism, current reading matter, good and bad, swell the stores elsewhere accumulating for that ideal personage the future historian, besides those official publications, state and national, executive, legislative, and judicial, which overflow the huge public reservoirs built to hold them.

On yonder hill[1] legislation, one department of government alone has stretched far its marble wings northward and southward, and at length added great catacombs down deep underneath the foundation walls of its temple to hold the buried treasures of Congressional committee rooms. There rest in a common tomb the corpses of bills safely delivered and of bills stillborn, shrouded petitions and the reports upon petitions; this immense mass displaying for posterity's information the whole embryo process of legislation—all the minutiæ, in short, that political science might ever wish hereafter to exhume—except, indeed, the mysterious lobbying and logrolling that may have so often influenced their delicate creation. To historically reconstruct the earlier centuries, it might be enough to compare the meager secondary authorities extant, or through

[1] Capitol Hill, in Washington, D. C., where this paper was read.

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official favor gain access to lean archives mysteriously locked; but to reconstruct this nineteenth century, you must winnow out the golden grains from storehouses, already crammed with chaff, whose doors stand open.

Besides that keenly discriminating scent for the useful among old rubbish, our future historian will need, like us earlier brethren of the craft, habits of careful comparison as to whatever materials, whatever evidence, he admits into his case; not mingling primary and secondary proof indiscriminately, as though of equal value; not taking any witness upon his *ipse dixit*, apart from his means of knowledge, his probable bias, and his general worthiness of credence; not deciding issues by numerical count of the authorities, like that old Dutch judge who summed up in favor of the litigant producing the greater number of persons on the stand; not interpreting a great constitutional document as some would interpret Shakespeare, so as to make it the text of their own fanciful inspiration; but reading all authors, all testimony, in the light of the age in which they existed, and illuminating the whole pathway of past events with the fullest luster of surrounding circumstances.

Furthermore, on weighing and determining where witnesses contradict, as they often must, and the truth of events is not clear, our scholar will consider the presumptions proper in each case; he will not reject that which has passed into established belief, for the sake of novel and ingenious estimates without putting the burden of proof where it belongs, and taking the new proof for simply what it is worth. Nor will he disdain that popular verdict, always deliberately and upon good evidence rendered, and always presumptively correct, though liable, of course, to final reversal, which is known as the judgment of history. Some important element in the formation of a country's earlier civilization or some individual influence may have been overlooked or too lightly regarded in posterity's estimate; happy, then, is the historical scholar who can produce new testimony and set opinion right; but he asks more than the law of presumptive evidence will grant him when he undertakes, on the strength of that testimony aided only by conjecture, to set the past judgment of history wholly aside and reconstruct past civilization upon his new theory, as though the burden of proof did not rest still upon his own shoulders.

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XXI.—A PLEA FOR THE STUDY OF THE HISTORY OF NORTHERN EUROPE.

By PROF. A. C. COOLIDGE,
OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

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A PLEA FOR THE STUDY OF THE HISTORY OF NORTHERN EUROPE.

By A. C. Coolidge.

The earlier history of northern, or more especially of north-eastern, Europe has as yet attracted but small attention from western scholars. In England and America the ignorance about it is most profound, and the students who have contributed anything of value in this field could be counted on one's fingers. To be sure, the Germans have been too near the scene of action to neglect it entirely, while the French have at one time or another illuminated the history of the north with works ranging all the way from the most brilliant literature to the best fruits of modern scholarship. Thus, it is hardly too much to say that the reputation of Charles XII in the west is due rather to the famous biography by Voltaire than to his own character and actions, and most of the best foreign authorities on Russia to-day are to be found in France. Still little enough is generally known about such subject. The educated public has a vague idea that Gustavus Adolphus suddenly appeared from a hitherto unknown country, like a deus ex machina, to save the cause of Protestantism, and that Peter the Great forcibly converted a nation of barbarians, with no past worth troubling about, into a state with at least the superficial semblance of a civilized power. Even historians seldom realize that the interference of Gustavus in Germany may have been, from a Swedish point of view, "a serious blunder."[1] His previous campaigns in Poland, though accidentally connected with the Thirty Years' war, and serving as a preparation for his part in it, were due to entirely independent circumstances, and would have taken place if

[1] Charles XII, by Nisbet Bain.

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the rest of the world had been at peace. Peter the Great, likewise, had predecessors who paved the way for his reforms, while the Russia he turned into new channels can only be understood by a careful review of her previous history.

There are plainly three reasons which may make the study of northern Europe of value to us. On the first of these, the importance of Russia in the world to-day, we need not dwell, for everything connected with the development and conditions of such a mighty Empire is obviously worth our attention. Its inhabitants, too, are a gifted people, destined to play more and more a leading part in the future of mankind—the truth of this, though insufficiently realized, is too evident for discussion. For her part Scandinavia, which is holding her own well in literature and art, still has to be counted in politics. We must remember also the great questions of the past that are by no means all settled. The antagonism of the German and the Slav is as intense as ever; the dominion of the Baltic is as undetermined as that of the Mediterranean; Poland is dead, but the Polish nationality is full of life, gaining rather than losing strength in a way that makes its ultimate fate difficult to predict.

In the second place, we have to consider the influence the Scandinavians and Slavs have had on the western countries. We must begin by admitting that, as regards institutions, this has been but slight. It is true that in Holstein the Dane has been but recently dislodged, and in the manners and life of the inhabitants of Pomerania, Brandenburg, or Austria traces of Slav predecessors may reward the patient investigator, but, generally speaking, the interchange of ideas between the German and his more barbarous neighbor has been one-sided. On the other hand, no one can be well versed in the history of Germany without a study of the Drang nach Osten. For the fortunes of the Teutonic race the battle of Tannenberg was more momentous than that of Legnano, and the results of the colonization of the lands beyond the Elbe and the conquest of Prussia outweigh the brilliant, but transitory, glory of the struggle between the Empire and the Papacy. Even a survey of German civic institutions is incomplete without a knowledge of their workings or influence in Stockholm, Riga, and Cracow. If we pass to Rome and the Church we perceive that in the plans of the Jesuits and other leaders of the Catholic reaction Poland and even Sweden at one time held a foremost place,

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while the dreams and enterprises of the Holy See in her dealings with Russia since the council of Florence form a curious yet unfinished chapter of history. It was a pope that suggested and brought about the marriage between a Tsar of Moscow and the heir of the last Emperor of Constantinople. Indeed, the Catholic Church has always looked to the East as well as to the West, more than once making concessions in the former quarter that she has sternly refused in the latter. On its side the North, after the beginning of the seventeenth century, on several occasions interfered decisively in the general affairs of Europe, in which it took a more and more active part. Gustavus II of Sweden arrested the progress of German Catholicism after Christian IV of Denmark had failed in the attempt to do so; the ministers of the boy King, Charles XI, joined the Triple Alliance which checked the policy of Louis XIV, while the Pole Sobieski dealt him a serious blow by saving Vienna from the Turks; the intervention of Charles XII, which at one time seemed probable, might have turned the balance either way in the war of the Spanish succession; Elizabeth of Russia was the most successful adversary of Frederick the Great, and Alexander I triumphed over Napoleon.

When we turn to the history of Scandinavia, Poland, and Russia for those peculiar features, or workings of great principles, that make a third reason for study and comparison, in view of the endless variety of detail, we have to be on our guard against the dangers of hasty generalization. All I shall attempt to point out here is a few salient features that call for attention.

One of the most important of these is the fact that we do not meet with the unity that so long prevailed in western Europe; no pope or emperor was recognized, however imperfectly, as the head of the community of Christendom. On the contrary, from the first we have the bitterest conflict of race and religion. The feeling of nationality seems always to have been intense, except for a time in the upper classes under the cosmopolitanism of the eighteenth century. The Russian, the Pole, the Dane, and the Swede were actively hostile to one another as such, if not at an earlier date chronologically, at least at an earlier stage in their development than we find was often the case in the lands to the west of them. Each of these four nations had its day when the primacy of the north belonged or seemed on the point of belonging to it. Each is even now

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hardly reconciled to its rivals. The fusion of conquering and conquered peoples was apt to be exceedingly slow, thus nearly seven hundred years of German predominance over inferior races has left the Germans and the Germanized with hardly more than 8 per cent of the population of the Baltic provinces. True, there were instances of peaceful absorption of Slavs by Germans, as in Pomerania and Silesia, but this process was checked in Poland by a distinct national reaction in the beginning of the fourteenth century; nay, long before this, when their country was first converted to Christianity, the Poles, unable as yet to furnish their own clergy, called in foreigners from France and Italy rather than from their near neighbor the Empire. Even Panslavism was preached by the Servian monk Kryzhanich, two hundred and fifty years ago. It would be easy to multiply such examples of national consciousness. In Moscow it reached a degree of oriental isolation unsurpassed by the Chinese, and yet, like the Chinese, the Muscovites have shown a remarkable capacity of peacefully assimilating foreign elements. The reasons for these phenomena are complicated enough; indeed, to the student of the difficult and fascinating questions of why one race or language tends to prevail over another, the history of northern Europe is full of problems of the deepest interest.

This is equally true when we come to matters of religion. Russia is the one mighty Empire converted to the Greek orthodox form of faith. She offers us the best chance to examine the effect of the ideas and the belief of Constantinople imparted to a fresh, uncivilized people. After the fall of the Rome on the Bosphorus, Moscow was hailed as the third Rome, that was to rule the world, and its ruler as the one monarch who maintained the true belief undefiled by Latin heresies. Here we find no conflict between the state and a clergy, which was kept in a state of Byzantine subservience to its sovereigns; yet the hold the Church had on the people was tremendous. In the time of trial they clung to it with unwavering steadfastness. Western Protestantism never had an influence upon Holy Russia itself until recent years, though it made a few converts among the Russian nobles of Lithuania, and against the many open or insiduous attacks of its ancient foe, Roman Catholicism. Orthodoxy also held its own. Ivan III with all his people, rejected scornfully the reconciliation effected by the council of Florence; and the

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dreams of so many popes, of winning over the northern power, have always been chimerical. We see, too, in the north of Europe, even more than elsewhere, the close, if subtle, connection between religion and nationality. To the Russian peasant of to-day the Protestant is a German and the Catholic a Pole, as naturally and inevitably as the Mussulman is a Turk or Tartar.

Poland, for her part, has been the greatest battle ground of the Greek and Latin faiths. Her eastern division, Lithuania, was chiefly inhabited by orthodox Russians, in fact it appeared at one time as if the pagan Lithuanians themselves would soon accept the same creed, till a marriage for political reasons, the first step in the persevering policy of the Polish aristocracy, changed the natural course of affairs. By the conversion of Jagello, of Lithuania, and his marriage to Hedwiga, of Poland, in 1386, the two states were drawn together by a bond that was continually tightened till they were merged into one by the union of Lublin in 1569. White and Little Russia were long separated from Great, and became part of a country in communion with the west, their nobility in time adopting more and more the Polish language and belief. For a space, indeed, Poland herself seemed as though she would be untrue to Rome, for Protestantism spread rapidly and superficially among her nobles, greedy for church wealth, and took deeper root in the German portion of the population; but when the day of reaction came, when the Jesuits, who had been brought into the land, set to work with marvelous skill and activity, Protestantism, except among the Germans, vanished after a feeble resistance. Against Greek orthodoxy, however, the ability and learning of the Jesuits, supported by all the intolerance of king and noble, had a far more serious conflict. The Catholic Church only triumphed by a compromise such as it had refused to the reformers of Germany. The United Greeks were not only allowed to have married priests, but kept their Slav liturgy; yet even the attempt to impose this compromise was perhaps the chief cause of the desperate insurrection of the Cossacks ending in the loss of Kiev and the Ukraine, which marks the beginning of the fall of Poland.

The rôle of Sweden in the religious history of Europe needs no comment. We shall but note that the Reformation, complete as was its success, was not in answer to any popular demand, but was peaceably brought about by an able ruler for worldly reasons.

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Turning now to questions of government and constitutional development, here, also, we find much to interest us, including examples of many kinds, with striking cases both of similarity and contrast. Take, for instance, Poland and Russia. In the tenth century we behold them settled by tribes of the same race, at the same primitive stage of development, with the same general political organization and institutions. The lands inhabited by the two peoples were similar, with hardly a pretense of natural geographical divisions where one should end and the other begin. Compare this with the two nations six hundred years later, when not only was one ardently Catholic and the other the sole great orthodox power, but Russia had become an Eastern despotism where the proudest boiar called himself the slave of the Tsar, while in Poland the authority of the King had sunk to a shadow, and the nobility, under the name of "golden liberties," had gradually elaborated the most impracticable constitution ever found in a civilized country. Among other distinctive features in Russia we have also the brief but instructive history of states generals, that at one time had a very real authority; in Poland the tale of the long conflict between the Magnates and the Szlachta, or democratic gentry; in Denmark we find the aristocracy, by its privileges and unpatriotic selfishness, crippling the State at the most critical moments in a way that was only less fatal than was the case in Poland; in Sweden the contest between the nobles and the Crown had more vicissitudes than anywhere else, even if they were not always marked by great bitterness of feeling. During the three centuries from Gustavus I to Gustavus III the balance of power changed from one side to the other eight times, with the varying fortunes of Sweden and the ability of her sovereigns, which, long, was far above the average.

It is true that in the domain of local government we meet with less variety; the cities of Poland had mostly Magdeburg or Kulm rights, and German influence was equally strong in Scandinavia. In Russia, on the other hand, we find a totally independent development. The Veche or popular assembly, of which we must remember there is no trace in Poland, existed from early times in most if not in all of the towns. The history and character of Novgorod the Great, of her younger sisters Pskov and Vlatka, are well worth the attention of students of civic institutions.

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Finally, to those who are interested in the influence of physical geography on character and history; to the investigators of the life, conditions, and progress of all classes of society at different ages; to the lover of folklore, dramatic incidents, picturesque biography and military stategy, as well as to the student of political economy, commerce or literature, the history of northern Europe offers a field that will richly repay the labor devoted to it.

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XXII.—THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AS SEEN BY THE AMERICANS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

By PROF. CHARLES D. HAZEN,
OF SMITH COLLEGE.

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THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AS SEEN BY THE AMERICANS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

By CHARLES D. HAZEN.

That the French Revolution was not a purely local movement at any time, that it refused to be compressed within the boundaries of France, that it expanded as naturally and inevitably as does a heated gas, is one of the platitudes of history. Crossing the Channel, crossing the Rhine, scaling the Alps and Pyrenees, the forces to which we give this name came down into the different countries of Europe to become factors of the first magnitude in their political life, both internal and external, for a long time to come. Nor did these forces affect merely those countries that lay in the immediate neighborhood of the land of their genesis. Thrown forth by the impulsion, inherent in their very nature, they found the ocean no more difficult to cross than the river Rhine, and a far-away, pioneer, undeveloped country as ready for their play as the old complicated societies of Europe. It was just as this turbulent, tumultuous period was coming on that our new National Government was being instituted.

The conflict generated in France was one between the old and the new, the established order and an improved order that men hoped to establish, respect for the conservative restraints of the past and the demand for much wider individual freedom. In the wars that soon broke out England and the allies stood for the former, France for the latter. These different conceptions quickly found points of attachment in America. "Freedom and order," says John Quincy Adams, in his Lives of Madison and Monroe, "were also the elementary principles of the parties in the American Union, and as they respectively predomi-

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nated each party sympathized with one or the other of the combatants. And thus party movements in our own country became complicated with the sweeping hurricane of European politics and wars. The division was deeply seated in the Cabinet of Washington. It separated his two principal advisers and he endeavored without success to hold an even balance between them. It pervaded the councils of the Union, the two houses of Congress, the legislatures of the States, and the people throughout the land."[1]

But this division did not exist at first. The outbreak of the French Revolution was hailed in America with expressions of ardent enthusiasm and lively sympathy, almost unanimous, broken only here and there, in widely isolated cases, by some subdued utterance of distrust or doubt. France and America were united by a close friendship, born of a political alliance and maintained by feelings of gratitude and by the interest awakened in both nations by years of intimate association with each other. During the latter part of the eighteenth century the influence exerted by each of these widely separated and widely different nations upon the other had been most marked. France had given to America her philosophy and her military aid. America had rendered the thought of revolution familiar to France, and stood forth herself as the successful living embodiment of certain great conceptions of liberty, equality, and self-government, to the attainment of which for themselves Frenchmen were more and more aspiring. These two nations were deeply interested in one another, and thus a condition favorable to proselytism was at hand.

That Frenchmen were influenced by American thought and American experience has been well and abundantly shown by Mr. Rosenthal in his "America and France." That Americans followed the tragedy that was unrolling itself in France with the most absorbing interest is shown in a multitude of ways; by the politics of this country, which were largely Gallican or Anglican for a number of years; by the writings of our ministers to France, Thomas Jefferson and Gouverneur Morris, which display with vividness and generally with accuracy the course of the Revolution from the meeting of the notables in 1787 down through the Reign of Terror; by the literary productions of the period, whose themes and thoughts betray on

[1] J. Q. Adams, The Lives of James Madison and James Monroe, 1850, pp. 243–245.

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every page the influence of the Revolution. The works of Joel Barlow, an American, living in Europe at this time, who wrote in the most radical republican vein upon the most burning topics of the day, those directly connected with the Revolution; the works of Noah Webster, classmate of Barlow at Yale, who, besides editing a leading New York daily, published in 1794 a critical review of the Revolution; of William Cobbett "Peter Porcupine" an Englishman, residing in Philadelphia, who wrote in 1796 a scathing History of American Jacobinism, and who daily castigated the Democrats of the country; the satirical poems of the Hartford Wits, published under the title The Echo; the poems of Robert Treat Paine, delivered at Harvard commencements, his speeches, his Jacobiniad, as well as the works of many other obscurer men who dipped their pens or tuned their lyres in commemoration of Revolutionary events, are sufficient evidence of the absorbing interest that centered in this subject.

If we seek still further evidence of this interest we may examine the newspapers, we may run over the advertisements of the booksellers for a clue as to what men were reading, and the answer is decisive. The French news fills more columns in the papers of the day, I think it is safe to say, than does the American. Among the books that were widely advertised and evidently widely read were Mirabeau's Speeches, Memoirs of Dumouriez, Rabaut's History of the French Revolution, Robespierre's reports, translations of the different French constitutions, Paine's Rights of Man, Barlow's The Conspiracy of Kings, and Advice to the Privileged Orders.

A study of the history of the American theater will but confirm the impression already made. The stage became political and democratic. "Tammany," one of the earliest American operas, and one which at this time enjoyed great popularity, was a "mélange of bombast," and was "seasoned high with spices hot from Paris," as Dunlap, the historian of the American theater, asserts.[1] Helvetic Liberty, or the Lass of the Lakes; Liberty Restored; The Demolition of the Bastile; Tyranny Suppressed; Louis XVI (William Preston's tragedy), were plays that were on the rude and shaky American stage of this period, and that show the temper of the time. And if we seek still further to know this temper we find the present

[1] Quoted by Seilhamer, History of the American Theater, 1895, pp. 85, 86.

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thesis confirmed by the descriptions of travelers—notably those of La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt.

It was natural enough for America to take a keen interest in the Revolution from the very beginning, looking upon it, as she did, as destined to spread abroad her own political and social ideals and institutions. "Liberty," exclaimed the Boston Gazette, when the first news began to be wafted over here in 1789, "liberty will have another feather in her cap. The seraphic contagion was caught from Britain; it crossed the Atlantic to North America, from whence the flame has been communicated to France."[1] That a nation should rise from centuries of unconditional slavery to a high state of freedom "on a sudden, in the twinkling of an eye," is, it says, "an event to be contemplated with wonder,"[2] and it predicts that "the ensuing winter will be the commencement of a golden age."[3] Quotations like these, which might be multiplied indefinitely, faithfully represent the attitude of buoyant enthusiasm for the French cause, which was well-nigh universal here during the first years of the Revolution, and which with multitudes of men could not be shaken by all the excesses and apparent failures of the movement.

Not only did most Americans contemplate the Revolution with feelings of pleasure and pride as destined to spread abroad their own ideas, but many of them eagerly welcomed it as an ally in the propagation of doctrines in which they themselves believed but which had not yet won general acceptance at home. Already the movement had swung into being for the democratization of the country, which was to be so powerfully reinforced by Jefferson, to attain so complete a triumph with Jackson. America might well be the teacher of her elder sister in some respects, but these men thought that she might equally well be her pupil in others. That the soil was being rapidly prepared for those French leveling principles which were so soon to be transplanted was abundantly shown by the uproar occasioned by the etiquette and ceremonial that Washington preferred to throw around the Presidency, and by the debates in the First Congress on official titles. This democratic ideal which was so long of attainment, this incipient and vigorous distrust of everything not strictly popular in charac-

[1] Boston Gazette, September 7, 1789.
[2] Ibid., September 28, 1789.
[3] Ibid., October 30, 1789.

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ter, is shown at its best in the pages of William Maclay, whose particular bête noire was Vice-President John Adams. Writing September 18, 1789, he says:

> By this and yesterday's papers France seems travailing in the birth of freedom. Her throes and pangs of labor are violent. God give her a happy delivery! Royalty, nobility, and vile pageantry, by which a few of the human race lord it over and tread on the necks of their fellow-mortals, seem likely to be demolished with their kindred Bastile, which is said to be laid in ashes. Ye gods, with what indignation do I review the late attempt of some creatures among us to revive this vile machinery! O, Adams, Adams, what a wretch art thou![1]

Thus, for a variety of reasons, Americans were interested in the Revolution from its very beginning. But when the Monarchy was completely overthrown and the Republic definitely established all America was thrilled, excitement became intense, and when toward the close of the year 1792 the invading allies retreated, the Revolution seemed so far accomplished as to demand a public manifestation of joy on the part of Americans. Then began a year utterly without parallel, so far as I am aware, in the history of this country, when Americans gave themselves up to a most extraordinary series of celebrations in honor of the achievements of another country, which in no way directly concerned them and did not need directly to affect them.

The news of the retreat of the allies reached this country about the middle of December. At once the celebrations began. One was held in Baltimore, the first of which I find any record, on the 20th of December, when "a numerous and respectable company of gentlemen, friends of the rights of man," as the report runs, met at "Mr. Grant's Fountain Inn for the purpose of celebrating the late triumph of liberty over despotism in France" and who, after "partaking of an elegant dinner," drank fifteen republican toasts.[2] In its next issue Freneau's Gazette said that it was desirable "that the other capitals on this continent should imitate Baltimore in her convivial meetings to celebrate the glorious successes of France over the despotic combination."[3] The imitation began forthwith—had indeed already begun, for in New York, December 27, bells were rung, a liberty pole erected, and the Tammany Society had held a most enthusiastic banquet in the Wigwam.[4]

[1] Journal of William Maclay, p. 155.
[2] Freneau's National Gazette, December 26, 1792.
[3] Ibid., December 26, 1792.
[4] Ibid., January 9, 1793.

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The Civic Feast held in Boston, January 23, 1793, so often described by historians, may serve as the type of these festivals, but is only one of an almost interminable series, itself marked by no greater extravagance, though perhaps by more elaborateness, than others.

These celebrations were not local; they occurred in the South, in the North, in the Middle States. Nor were they limited to the cities—the capitals of this continent, as Freneau was pleased to call them. The cities did but give the word and set the tone for similar demonstrations in the towns of which they were the natural foci. Some of these were semireligious in character, as, for instance, one held in Plymouth, Mass., on the 24th of January, 1793, a contemporary description of which reveals strikingly the state of men's minds. "The serene and beautiful morning of the 24th," so runs the report in the Columbian Centinel, "was ushered in by a discharge of 15 cannon. At 10 o'clock the inhabitants repaired to the Meeting-House to hear an address which the Rev. Dr. Robbins was requested to deliver upon the occasion. A well adopted Prayer and Hymn of Praise preceded the Address, which, though composed in haste, was sensible, animated, and eloquent. A brief but connected sketch of the principles and leading events of the French Revolution led the people to understand wherefore they had come together; while everyone was delighted with the happy eloquence of the speaker, and cordially united with him in adopting the sublime and striking language of the prophet Daniel, 'Blessed be the name of God forever and ever; for wisdom and might are his: And he changeth the times and the seasons: he removeth kings.' After the Address Billings' Independence * * * was sung by a select choir, who performed their part with energies suited to the subject. 'Down with these earthly Kings,' thundered the majestic bass. 'No King but God' was the sublime response. After the church service there was a parade, during which at proper intervals an Ode to Liberty, which Citizen J. Croswell composed in a moment of happy inspiration, was repeatedly sung. * * * The company retired seasonably in the afternoon, satisfied with themselves, with each other, and with their country. * * * A cheerful ball closed the enjoyment of this agreeable day."[1]

Such was one of these numberless celebrations, celebrations

[1] Columbian Centinel, January 30, 1793.

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conducted in an atmosphere that was heated, overcharged, scented with spices fresh from France. There was much talk of the rights of man, of hydras, and despots and cleansing of Augean stables. Every supposed lover of liberty, from Cato to William Tell and Thomas Paine, was toasted at a hundred convivial boards. Many were the wishes expressed that "the rays of liberty, with the rapidity of light, might penetrate the remotest corners of the earth;" that "the reign of philosophy might succeed to that of superstition and only end with time;" that the banner of freedom might wave not only over Vienna, Berlin, and Warsaw, but also over Petersburg and Constantinople, and even Ispahan.[1]

Nor could the enthusiasm of Americans exhaust itself in one round of festivities. Repeatedly during this and succeeding years they came together in honor of their magnanimous allies, and to drink to those radiant abstractions to which men were fond of drinking in those days. They celebrated the President's birthday often with less attention to the President than to the French. February 6, the date of the French Alliance; May 1, St. Tammany's Day; the anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill; the 4th of July; the 14th of July; the 10th of August; the 22d of September (these latter days of no direct significance to America); Thanksgiving Day, and the anniversary of the surrender of Yorktown, were often celebrated, and in a thoroughly French spirit.

It would be difficult to color too highly the picture of the enthusiasm for the cause of France that found expression in this country in 1793, stimulated and intensified, no doubt, though by no means caused, by the ebullient Genet. It was the real French frenzy. It was then that men flocked together on every occasion to drink to the Rights of Man. It was then that liberty poles, surmounted with caps of freedom, were seen to arise in the heart of staid old American towns. It was then that democratic clubs, reflections by no means pale of their great Jacobin original in Paris, were formed in a hundred places—in the large cities and in the sparsely settled country districts; in Charleston, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Boston, in little Kentucky hamlets, in the remote villages of Vermont—from which issued a great cloud of circulars and addresses couched in the current political vernacular of France. Then it was that new terms were introduced into our political life

[1] Columbian Centinel, February 6, 1793.

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by the handful, whose origin they themselves betray. Aristocrats, monocrats, mobocrats, anarchists, Jacobins, clubbists, Anglomen, Gallomen, democrats, were soon flowing easily from the pens of the newspaper men, adding picturesqueness, if not dignity, to our political discussions. "Mirabeau," "Condorcet," "Sieyès," "Respublica," "Friend of the Rights of Man," "Ça ira," became popular as noms de plume.

Then it was that French leveling principles came surging in. Men objected to having "the tympana" of their ears grated by such terms as "his honor the judge," "his excellency the governor," the "honorable Member of the House." These, says "Diogenes," in the American Daily Advertiser, are "diabolical terms" and "are surely repugnant to the divine principles of a republican government."[1] The title "reverend," exclaims the Boston Gazette, when given "to any man, be he who he may, is not only anti-republican, but absolutely blasphemous; reverend only belongs to the Supreme Being. We read, 'Holy and reverend is his name.' No more of your reverends among poor frail mortals."[2] Even the apparently inoffensive title "Mr." was courageously attacked, and men were urged to adopt as a substitute for this odious badge of distinction the "social and soul-warming term 'citizen;'"[3] and the amazing thing is that this was extensively done. Hundreds of examples might be given showing the same supersensitive, silly, trivial, maudlin state of mind prevailing among a large section of the American public as prevailed in France, and which was derived largely from France.

Evidences of royalty were attacked. A medallion of George III on a Philadelphia church was ordered removed by the Democrats, because to their knowledge it had a "tendency to keep young and virtuous men from attending public worship." Streets were rebaptized. A square in Boston, whose name reminded of royalty, was henceforth to be called Liberty Square.[4] The corporation of the city of New York changed the name of Queen street to that of Pearl; Crown to that of Liberty. In vain did the editor of the Minerva suggest satirically that, if any name were to be changed, "this vile

[1] Quoted in the National Gazette, December 26, 1792.

[2] Boston Gazette, quoted in National Gazette, January 16, 1793.

[3] Quoted from American Daily Advertiser in National Gazette, December 26, 1792.

[4] Independent Chronicle, January 26, 1793.

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aristocratical name New York" should be, so redolent with royalty. In vain did he inquire what would become of the liberties of those unlucky persons named King, if their names remained unchanged.[1] Not only did Americans express their approval of the French Revolution by eagerly adopting its way of thinking, its characteristic phrases, but also by adopting its other modes of expression—its songs, its dances, its cockades, its clubs, its destruction of reminders of royalty. Thus imitation, the sincerest form of flattery, shows to what an extent went the admiration of a considerable section of the American people for everything French.

It was the introduction of just these follies in America, coupled with the famous Genet incident and the President's firm stand on neutrality, that caused many men to pause and consider what this Revolution really was—to examine its course with greater discrimination. Enthusiasm waned perceptibly. The conservative elements of society generally rallied in opposition. The number of hostile critics now increased greatly. The Revolution had had opponents here from its very commencement, notably the Adamses—John and John Quincy—who had published the Discourses on Davila and the essays of Publicola. A cleft in the unanimity of enthusiasm for France had begun to show itself with the adoption of the first French constitution, which was criticised by many of the ablest American political thinkers. But now the opposition became more outspoken, more general. Men opposed the Revolution on the ground of its violence, its hostility to religion, its attention to matters of trivial importance, its doctrine of complete equality.

Most of the violence up to the execution of Louis was criticised but lightly here. Even that event was extenuated by some, even publicly applauded by others. "Louis Capet has lost his Caput,"[2] is the caption of an article in one of the leading papers. But that event and others like it horrified and antagonized more. "When will these savages be satiated with blood," exclaimed John Adams.[3] Oliver Wolcott, sr., wrote to Oliver Wolcott, jr., that he experienced heartfelt sorrow at the murder of Louis, for such he believed it might properly be called.[4] Patrick Henry, republican par excellence,

[1] Minerva, April 19, 1794.
[2] National Gazette, April 20, 1793.
[3] John Adams, Life and Works, II, 160.
[4] Gibbs, Memoirs, I, 91.

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was loud in reprobating the execution of the King.[1] As the Revolution proceeded its growing violence increased the number of its hostile critics here.

Another feature of the Revolution that looked most doubtful to American eyes was its hostility to religion. John Adams wrote, in 1790, that he knew not "what to make of a republic of thirty million atheists."[2] Patrick Henry, who thought that even deism was "but another name for vice and depravity," was bound to look with disfavor upon a certain class of revolutionary deeds.[3] This, too, was an important consideration with Hamilton, as is shown in a fragment which he left behind, in which he criticised the Revolution vigorously and relentlessly.[4] It also influenced Noah Webster's thought, who preferred the old-fashioned philosophy of Cicero, which said that religion ought never to be despised, that the foundations of the state ought to be laid in religious institutions, to the "latest French fashion" of philosophy, which asserted that "religion in no country is founded in truth," and that "death is an everlasting sleep."[5] Webster asserts that the French, far from being the true liberals that they claim to be, are in reality the most implacable persecutors of opinion, and he goes on to argue that the Revolution is necessarily fatal to morality; that by removing all religious restraints it has increased violence, which will in time "decivilize" the people, and is fast doing so, as is shown in the September massacres, the war against Lyons, Toulon, the actions of the Revolutionary Tribunal.

Another ground of hostility to the Revolution was the character of some of its doctrines, which were unacceptable to many conservative Americans, particularly the doctrine of equality. This was one of the points in Hamilton's indictment of the Revolution to which I have just referred. Gouverneur Morris satirized it. "What folly is it," exclaimed Chauncey Goodrich, of Connecticut, "that has set the whole world agog to be all equal to French barbers?"[6] "By the law of nature," wrote John Adams, in contempt of this doctrine, "all men are men

[1] Conway's Randolph, p. 153.

[2] Adams, Works, Vol. IX, p. 563; letter to Dr. Price, April 19, 1790.

[3] William Wirt Henry, Life, Correspondence, and Speeches of Patrick Henry.

[4] Lodge, Hamilton's Works, Vol. II, p. 570; Vol. VII, pp. 374-377; no date.

[5] Noah Webster, The Revolution in France Considered in Respect to its Progress and Effects, 1794, 70 pages, title-page.

[6] Gibbs, Memoirs, Goodrich to Wolcott, February 17, 1793, Vol. I, p. 88.

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and not angels,—men, and not lions,—men, and not whales,—men, and not eagles—that is, they are all of the same species. And this is the most that the equality of nature amounts to. But man differs by nature from man almost as much as man from beast. The equality of nature is moral and political only, and means that all men are independent. But a physical inequality, an intellectual inequality of the most serious kind, is established unchangeably by the Author of nature, and society has a right to establish any other inequalities it may judge necessary for its good."[1] Thus the doctrine of equality, preached so fervently by the fiery French, was a hard and impossible teaching for many Americans of the eighteenth century.

And another reason why many Americans turned from the Revolution was "its despicable attention to trifles." These are the words of Noah Webster, and they form one of the three capital charges in his arraignment. He candidly admits that much of the violence of the Revolution may be attributed to the opposition of despotic powers whose aims were unjustifiable. "But there are some proceedings of the present Convention," says he, "which admit of no excuse but a political insanity—a wild enthusiasm, violent and irregular, which magnifies a molehill into a mountain, and mistakes a shadow for a giant." "The Convention," he adds, "in their zeal for equalizing men, have, with all their exalted reason, condescended to the puerilities of legislating even upon names." That they should abolish titles of distinction along with the privileges of the different orders was natural, and such titles as "Monsieur" and "Madame" are literally terms of equality, not of distinction; yet these titles, which, in Webster's words, had "no more connection with government than the chattering of birds," became the subject of grave legislative discussion, and their use was officially forbidden. "The cause of the French nation," says he, "is the noblest ever undertaken by men. It was necessary, it was just," and as long as the legislators of France confined themselves to the correction of real evils they were admirable, "the most respectable of reformers;" but when they stooped to legislate upon trifles, they became contemptible. "What," he adds, "shall we say to the legislature of a great nation waging a serious war with mere names, pictures,

[1] Life of John Adams, by J. Q. Adams, Lippincott, 1871, II, pp. 185–189; letter to Mrs. Adams, December 19, 1793.

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dress, and statues? Is this also necessary to the support of liberty? There is something in this part of the legislative proceedings that unites the littleness of boys with the barbarity of Goths."[1]

Such, then, are some of the reasons that influenced Americans in their attitude toward the French Revolution, and we see that, whichever side they adopted, they adopted it with vehemence. Their attitude toward it was apparently marked by no greater moderation than that of the English or the French themselves. The French Revolution left no one indifferent either in the Old World or in the New.

[1] Webster, Review of Revolution, p. 89.

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XXIII.—NAPOLEON'S CONCORDAT WITH POPE PIUS VII, 1801.

By Prof. CHARLES L. WELLS,
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NAPOLEON'S CONCORDAT WITH POPE PIUS VII, 1801.

By CHARLES L. WELLS.

I.—INTRODUCTION.

We are told in one of Hegel's oft-quoted remarks that "the condemnation which a great man lays upon the world is to force it to explain him." Every great man is the meeting point of two contradictory forces, and the process of explanation divides those who make the attempt into two opposite parties, the strength of whose partisanship for or against is in proportion to the greatness of the man.

It is so with Napoleon. Few men have been assailed with such bitterness and criticised with such unsparing severity, while few have been lauded with such inordinate praise, and reverenced—one might also say worshiped—with such unbounded devotion, and this, too, not only during his lifetime, but even now, after over three-quarters of a century of intervening life and history. It seems still almost impossible—it surely is impossible, judging from the attempts—to pass a calm, critical, and dispassionate judgment upon the man or upon any of his deeds, for the moment one gets near enough to make an estimate the blood flows faster, the pulse beats more quickly, and one feels drawn irresistibly into the magic circle of his influence, and stirred to unqualified praise or excited to unmitigated blame.

The consideration of the present subject has been still further complicated by religious feelings and prejudice. These latter difficulties, however, we may hope to avoid.

In order to understand clearly the significance of the Concordat of 1801, its position in French ecclesiastical history, and the relations of church and state which it involves, it will be necessary to notice, very briefly, some of the most important events in the preceding history.

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The deepening and extending papal domination found a strong resistance in the Church of France from the time of Hincmar to the sixteenth century. This is evidenced chiefly in the pragmatic sanction sometimes ascribed to Louis IX in 1269, and also in the pragmatic sanction of Bourges in 1438, by which France secured the concessions and liberties won at the Council of Basel. This latter instrument was repealed by Louis XI in 1461, but the French "Parlement" refused to indorse his action, and he did not insist. Afterwards, however, it was annulled by Francis I in 1515, and a concordat drawn up with Leo X, in which Pope and King shared between themselves the ancient privileges of the Gallican Church. Then came the Protestant movement, which bade fair to extend far into France. The night of St. Bartholomew, 1572, was Catholic France's answer to that, and even Henry of Navarre, who ascended the throne as a Protestant, was obliged, in order to retain his crown, to yield allegiance to Rome in 1595, though three years afterwards he put forth the Toleration Edict of Nantes. This edict was, however, revoked by Louis XIV in 1685, and France was handed over to the Roman domination.

In a dispute regarding the regalia, a council of the French clergy was called in 1682, and by the eloquence of Bossuet, the King secured the declaration of the "four propositions"—the famous Gallican liberties. The first confined the Pope's jurisdiction to purely spiritual matters; the second maintained the supremacy of general councils; the third declared that the Pope was bound by the regulations and usages of the Gallican Church; the fourth asserted that the decisions of the Pope, without the ratification of the Church, were not unalterable.

Innocent had them burned immediately by the public executioner, and withheld the bulls of ratification from newly appointed bishops in France. In consequence, Louis, in 1692, was obliged to allow them to disown the four propositions and to promise to treat them as if they had never been passed.

"It is true," says Gieseler, "that the French Church did not on this account relinquish these principles, but the court was obliged to withdraw its support from their defenders that the good understanding, which once more existed with the Pope, might not be disturbed."[1] The King also suppressed the defense which he himself had commissioned Bossuet to prepare.

[1] Gieseler, Vol. V, p. 172.

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Then came the French Revolution, which overthrew all existing institutions of whatever sort.

At the very opening of the National Assembly, in 1789, all the possessions of the Church were declared to be national property, and as such were to be sold, the financial scheme of the assignats being based on their value as security. The salaries of ecclesiastics were to be paid by the state, at lower rates for the bishops and with some slight increase for the parish priests. Monasteries and nunneries were abolished, and the whole ecclesiastical system placed under a so-called "constitution civile" of the clergy, which went into effect in July, 1790. This roused the bitterest opposition and even bloodshed, and when, on November 27, 1790, was decreed the oath of submission as an essential condition of holding any position, an irreconcilable schism was effected and the clergy divided, not only into Protestant and Catholic, but the latter into assermentés and insermentés, those who had taken the oath being excommunicated by the Pope.

So things went from bad to worse until, in the famous, or infamous, '93 Catholic worship was suppressed and every form of Christianity ridiculed. All churches were closed, and "no concealment was made of the purpose to destroy every vestige of the Catholic religion, which was regarded as the enemy of the new Republic."[1]

By the laws of the 11th Prairial (May 30, 1795) a new oath, under the fallacious title of "promise of submission" to the laws and the Government, was exacted, and the churches were to be given up provisionally to the communes under certain restrictions, but no one was allowed to officiate in them until he had performed the act of submission. But, in spite of this, the worship was reestablished in many rural communes. As is usual in such cases, the people had not observed the rules of the Convention against public religious worship, nor did the local authorities themselves enforce the decrees in many of the communes. And when, as we have already seen, some of the churches were given up to the communes, their preference was invariably given to nonjuring priests. "Naturally enough," says Von Sybel,[2] "because these had proved the conscientiousness of their convictions by their endurance of a deadly persecution, while a number of abandoned rabble

[1] Gieseler, Vol. V, p. 218.

[2] Von Sybel, the French Revolution, Vol. IV, p. 294.

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had found their way into the ranks of the constitutional clergy." What added to the confusion was that there were at this time "three classes of priests, all at enmity with each other: First, those who had taken the oath required in 1790, the constitutional clergy; second, those who had refused this oath, nonjurors, but had since promised submission to the laws; third, the so-called refractory priests, who had not taken the oath in 1790 and still refused to yield."[1]

The coup d'état of 18th Brumaire was not the end, though it was the beginning of it. One of the first acts of the Consulate was to substitute for the constitutional oath and the other like subterfuges the simple formula, "I promise fidelity to the constitution." Thus gradually the change took place, the laws were more and more relaxed, and a closer approach made to a system of toleration by the Government. But the difference between Protestants and Catholics and the strifes and dissensions between the three parties of the Catholics still kept religious France far from peace.

It was in such a condition of affairs, and in order to restore peace and harmony in the religious world, as he had done in the social and political state, that Napoleon entered upon the negotiations with Pius VII, which led to the signing of the Concordat on the 15th day of July, 1801.

II.—THE CONCORDAT.

The consideration of the policy, motives, and aims of Napoleon is perhaps the most difficult and at the same time the most emphasized and least important part of the subject. Yet, it is interesting as giving us a little glimpse of the man in one of the most important and difficult details of his career.

As to any strong, purely religious motive on the part of Napoleon, that was almost out of the question. He had too openly boasted in Egypt of his victory over the Pope, and in his private correspondence of his "cajoling the priests,"[2] to permit us to think that he had much reverence for the Church or for anything else, God or devil, except so far as useful in the support of his power and authority. "Treat the Pope," said Napoleon to Cacault, his chief agent in the negotiations at Rome, "as if he had 200,000 men." "Thus," naïvely

[1] Gardiner, The French Revolution, p. 247.

[2] Letter to Joubert, March 15, 1797, quoted by Lanfrey, p. 337.

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remarks Artaud, "the Pope had almost the power then conceded to Prussia estimated in this monnaie militaire."[1] If, however, he was to treat the Pope as he treated Prussia, there would be little evidence of any very high regard.

Napoleon did not enter rashly or ignorantly upon his task. He collected quite a theological library, of few books indeed, but well chosen, relating to the history of the church and its relations with the state; he also had the Latin writings of Bossuet on this subject translated for his use. All these he had mastered in the short intervals which the direction of state affairs left to him, his keen intellect seizing the main points in a flash, and his creative genius supplying that of which he was ignorant, till, as in the matter of the Civil Code, he astonished everybody by the justness, the extent, and the variety of his knowledge on the subject of worship and religion. Thus he was able to refute, one after the other, the erroneous and inexpedient systems proposed to him, and this he did with arguments clear, brief, and decisive.[2]

De Pradt speaks of the religious restoration accomplished by Napoleon as "at once a mark of genius in its conception and a work of might in its execution, the result of lofty thought and most judicious administration."[3] It could be little else in view of the chaos which confronted him. The statement that he ever said that the Concordat was the greatest mistake of his reign or that he ever for a moment regretted it is declared false by his own authority.[4]

It is undoubtedly true, however, that Napoleon realized what an enormous power could be exercised through the Church and what a supreme authority would flow from the concentration of the power of both state and church in the hands of one man. Bignon says somewhere that Napoleon's object was to make of the clergy a sort of holy police force (gendarmerie sacrée).

The story of the drawing up of the Concordat is interesting in the extreme, but must not detain us now—the eagerness, credulity, fear, and helplessness of Pius, contesting every point, yet willing to yield everything, as the issue shows, in order to avert the anger of Napoleon and to keep his armies

[1] Artaud, Histoire du Pape Pie VII, T. I, p. 118.
[2] Thiers, Le Conssulat et l'Empire, T. III, p. 212.
[3] De Pradt, op. cit., T. II, p. 80.
[4] Montholon, Mémoires, T. V, p. 115.

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out of Italy; and in the hope, as expressed in the preamble to the Concordat, that it will not be long "waiting for the greatest good fortune and the supreme glory to be attained by the establishment of the Catholic worship in France, and by the individual profession of it which will be made by the Consuls of the Republic."[1] Then, too, the almost child-like confidence, yet observance of everything, the delicate finesse, the refined and consummate tact of Consalvi, to whom, says Crétineau-Joly, the diplomats applied the words of Sixtus V in praise of Cardinal d'Ossat in 1589, "to escape the keen penetration of Ossat, it is not enough to keep silence before him; one must not even think in his presence."[2]

On the other side, the remarkable skill and diplomacy of Napoleon, calling to his aid every resource of his wonderful genius, not less great in the council chamber than on the field of battle, now cajoling and flattering, now threatening and storming, making the most imperious demands accompanied with the strongest protestations of esteem and regard, conscious of his power, taking advantage of every sign and element of weakness and helplessness, never yielding a point save to gain a more important one, intimidating, overawing, fascinating, and overcoming. Acting as his aids, Cacault, in Rome, and Bernier in Paris, artful, winning, smooth, and polished, acting as a perfect foil and background for Napoleon's moods, real or imaginary, like a perfect rod and reel and line in the hands of a consummate angler.

Indeed, we have here a piece of work which seems to bring out in all their details the chief features of Napoleon's character and moods. His firm determination and unwearying persistence in reaching an end once proposed, his irresistible power and unscrupulous use of it, his farsighted keenness of vision, and his wonderful energy, which would brook no obstacles and made everything yield to his indomitable will and to his insatiable ambition.

One who is at all familiar with the history of the papacy can but wonder at his power and the extent of the concessions won by him from Rome, and when one thinks of the "forged decretals" and "false donations," of the papal usurpations and self-aggrandizements, of emperors holding the stirrups for the Pope to mount, and of kings with their crowns on

[1] Hélie, Les Constitutions, pp. 651, 652.

[2] Mémoires du Cardinal Consalvi, p. 329, note 1, by editor, Crétineau-Joly.

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their heads waiting upon the Pope at table, of the humiliation of Henry of Germany at Canossa, of Frederick Barbarossa at Venice, and of Henry of England at the tomb of Becket, one can not restrain a feeling of a just retribution in the abasement of Pius VII and his cardinals at the feet of Napoleon. The First Consul never allowed the Pope to forget the case of England and Henry VIII, and threatened, if the Concordat were not signed, to lead all Europe in a revolt against the Pope, ascribing all blame to papal obstinacy. "Ah, well," he said, "Monsieur Cardinal, you wish to break off. So be it; I do not need Rome; I will act by myself; I do not need the Pope. If Henry VIII, who had not the twentieth part of my power, knew how to change the religion of his country and to succeed in his project, much more shall I know how and be able to do it. In changing the religion of France I will change it in almost all Europe, wherever the influence of my power extends."[1] And the poor cardinal, in terror and dismay, labored, sometimes for twenty-four hours at a sitting, to find points of agreement. When at last the instrument was signed, not without suspicions of treachery and sharp practice on Napoleon's part, Consalvi was hurried off to Rome to gain the Pope's consent and the issue of the necessary bulls, that it might be formally declared. Yet, after all, Napoleon himself delayed its issue for ten months, that he might join with it the so-called Organic Articles, which reasserted the Gallican liberties and seemed to win back the little that the Pope had gained.

But we must turn to an outline of the Concordat itself.

The chief points to be noted in it, and in the Organic Articles which go with it, although the latter were utterly repudiated by the Pope, are the following:[2]

1. The Roman Catholic apostolic religion is recognized by the Government of the Republic as the religion of the great majority of French citizens. (Preamble.)

2. It shall be freely exercised in France. Its worship shall be public, while conforming to the regulations of police which the government shall deem necessary for the public tranquility. (Art. I.)

3. There shall be a new division of dioceses, and the old titular bishops (the insermentés émigrés) are to resign their

[1] Mémoires du Cardinal Consalvi, pp. 387, 388.

[2] Hélie, Les Constitutions, pp. 651–659.

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sees at the request of the Pope. New ones will be named by the First Consul, and the Pope will confer the usual canonical institution. They are to promise fidelity and obedience to the Government and watchfulness for the public peace and order. (Arts. II–VIII.)

4. The bishops will make a new division of the parishes and name the curés with the consent of the Government. All churches not alienated and which are necessary for their worship will be put at the disposal of the bishops. (Arts. IX–XII.)

5. The Pope declares that neither he nor his successors will in any way trouble those who have acquired the alienated ecclesiastical property. (Art. XIII.)

6. The Government guarantees a suitable salary to bishops and curés, and will allow endowments in the Church's favor. (Arts. XIV, XV.)

7. The Pope recognizes in the First Consul the same rights and prerogatives formerly inhering in the old government. (Art. XVI.)

ORGANIC ARTICLES (GIVEN AS ORIGINALLY NUMBERED).

1. No official papal communication of any sort to be received or published in France without governmental authorization.

2. No papal legate of any sort, without governmental authorization, will be allowed to exercise his functions.

3. Decrees of foreign councils, even if general councils, must receive government sanction.

10. All privileges and exemptions are abolished.

11. Cathedral chapters and seminaries to be established, all other ecclesiastical establishments to be abolished.

23. Teachers in the seminaries must subscribe to the declaration of 1682 and agree to teach the doctrine therein contained.[1]

TITLE III. No festival, except Sunday, can be established without the sanction of the Government. No religious ceremony can take place outside of churches consecrated to the Catholic worship. Special arrangements to be made for ringing church bells. In instructions given by the clergy there shall not be permitted any direct or indirect charges, either against persons or the other modes of worship authorized in the state. No marriage to be solemnized until proved to have been contracted before the civil officer.

SECTION 1. There are to be in France ten archbishops and fifty bishops.

SECTION 4. Churches formerly used for Catholic worship actually in the hands of the nation will be put into the hands of the bishops, and others will be provided in parishes where they have none.

The general feeling from the standpoint of the Roman Catholics was that the Church had made great sacrifices in order to

[1] Supra, p. 470.

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bring about the Concordat. Nearly every point was criticized in this way, and yet nearly all moderate Catholics agreed that it was the best that could be done if the Church desired any peaceable recognition in France.

Some of the émigrés and fanatical adherents of the old régime still held aloof, however, and would not be reconciled. De Pradt says of them: "Some priests wished to be more Catholic than the Pope. I have nothing to oppose as respects their virtues and intentions, but I have very little to say in favor of their judgment."[1] The recognition of Catholicism as the religion of the majority, instead of its establishment as the religion of the state; the subjection of its worship to police regulation; the calling for the resignations of the nonjurors, the very ones who had remained true to the papacy throughout the Revolution; and the indorsement by the Pope of the alienation of ecclesiastical property—these were the points to which it was difficult for the Catholics to reconcile themselves, and caused it to be said that, "at Rome, at the moment of ratification, the Pope experienced mortal pain and was filled with remorse." Nor was it the least bitter drop in their cup that the Protestant and reformed churches of Luther and of Calvin were similarly recognized alongside of their own.

It is worthy of note that most of the criticism from the Protestant standpoint is of recent years and often confuses the Concordat with events which have transpired since and for which it unjustly makes the Concordat responsible. Pressensé may be taken as the chief exponent of this criticism, which he bases upon two or three considerations:[2] First, that affairs were adjusting themselves, and should have been let alone; secondly, that there should not, and need not, have been any recognition of the Pope by Napoleon; and thirdly, that there need not, and should not, have been any renewal of the relations or connection between church and state. We will consider these positions more fully presently. It suffices to state them now, and to introduce a few quotations from the fourth volume of Sciout, Histoire de la Constitution Civile, to show how visionary, and without any basis in fact, they are.

"This peace settlement, so necessary, could only be obtained by a compromise; the simple proclamation, by the state, of a religious liberty forcibly maintained and held within certain

[1] De Pradt, op. cit., p. 81.

[2] Pressensé, Religion and the Reign of Terror, pp. 317–384.

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limits by reason of the irritation constantly aroused by the dissensions about ecclesiastical property, would have been evidently impotent in closing this open sore. The Government wished not only to give freedom of worship, but to bring about peace in the Church and in civil society by putting an end to the constitutional schism, which was becoming quite as much political as religious and had come to blows and warfare in the west," which Grégoire describes as "nothing less than veritable crusades of Christians against Christians."[1] Sciout proceeds: "Nor could Napoleon put the Catholics to defiance by upholding the constitutional church and making France think that the Revolution had a new and official state church."[2] The Protestants might say that it gave the Catholics too much. But, indeed, it gave them less than they ever had before; it only acknowledged a power actually existing, and at the same time it put upon it the most stringent limitations. Furthermore, they resisted it to the last, and many of them never yielded. The Pope sought to break it at the first opportunity, but the nation refused. Much more valid were the objections of the Catholics.

1. They would have gained more without it. Probable (see De Pradt).

2. It was extorted by necessity, force, fear, and diplomacy. True (see Consalvi).

3. Its provisions were unequal, and it only increased Napoleon's power at the expense of the Pope. True (see Sciout).

4. It did not establish the Catholic religion as the religion of the state, but only recognized it to rule it as one of several religions in the state. True (see Pressensé).

5. It was a thorough system of state control. True (see Thiers).

These are the main points of criticism from the Catholic and Protestant standpoints.

It remains to give a general criticism and estimate from the standpoint of the historian. At the outset two possible objections present themselves for consideration: First, while it decreed toleration, it seemed to have done little for the cause of religious liberty and spiritual religion. Secondly, it did not recognize the higher principle of the absolute separation of church and state.

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[1] Grégoire, Libertés de l'Église Gallicane, p. 204.

[2] Sciout, Histoire de la Constitution Civile, T. IV, pp. 804 ff.

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It is well, however, to ask at once if it were possible at that time to do more than Napoleon did, and if it would have been wise to do less.

The criticism by Pressensé and others implies that things could go on as they were. "'All the First Consul had to do,' they say, 'was to proclaim liberty.' But the constitutions of 1791, of 1793, and of 1795 had already proclaimed it—this liberty. It was necessary to carry it out in some more definite way. One may hold in theory the strict separation of church and state, but one can not have any regard for the established facts and hold that the Concordat of 1801 was useless and unnecessary. The Revolution had created a situation so complicated and so threatening that it was impossible to get out of it otherwise. Indeed, the opponents of the Concordat have the air of naïvely believing that on the morrow of the 18th Brumaire the religious situation of France was no more complicated than it was on the morrow of the Revolution of 1848."[1]

Napoleon himself seems to have spoken decidedly on this point in the notes dictated to the Comte de Montholon at St. Helena.

It is said "Napoleon ought not to have interfered in religious matters, but to have tolerated religion in the practice of its worship and in restoring to it its temples." Practicing its worship! but which? Restoring its temples! but to whom—to the constitutionals, to the nonjurors, or to the papal vicars in the pay of England?[2]

The statements of Fyffe on the subject of this Concordat can not be passed over unnoticed, not only on account of the reputation of the author and the wide use of his history, but also by reason of their incorrect and unhistorical character.[3] He speaks of the Concordat as "the greatest, the most critical victory which the Roman See had ever gained over the more enlightened and the more national elements in the Catholic Church."[4]

Now, Consalvi himself remarks that—

The Pope was reduced to content himself with the mere reestablishment of Catholicism in France without any of the prerogatives which he had formerly enjoyed and which he still possessed in all the other Catholic States.[5]

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[1] Sciout, Abrégé, pp. 593, 594.

[2] Mémoires de Napoléon, T. V, p. 116.

[3] Fyffe, History of Modern Europe, Vol. I, pp. 260–265.

[4] Fyffe, op. cit., p. 263.

[5] Mémoires du Cardinal Consalvi, p. 357.

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We have already seen how true this was.

Chastel says, in his justly praised History of Christianity, and he is a French Protestant:

> It does seem to be a great deal for a clergy but lately proscribed, and for a pontiff who had been only just then, and with great difficulty, reinstated in Rome; but it was very little in the eyes of a pontiff and clergy whose ambition had been excited by the return of popular favor, and who already dreamed of the return of the Church to its former domination.[1]

The Organic Articles and Napoleon's subsequent acts were not slow, however, in banishing this fair vision, and "by an imperial decree of 1810 the four articles of the Gallican Church (1682) were made laws of the Empire. Napoleon also afterwards proved himself," says Kurtz, a German-Protestant historian, "on every occasion ready to help the Protestants, and an appendix was attached to the Organic Articles securing to them liberty of religious worship and political and municipal equality with Catholics."[2]

Their clergy received the same support as the Roman clergy from the public treasury.

One of the charges made by the Pope against Napoleon's legislation was that of "criminal indifference, in that it gave the preference to no religion, thereby contradicting the spirit of the Roman Church, which could no more associate with any other church than Christ with Belial."[3]

And this is the Concordat which Fyffe calls "the most critical victory," and says, "it is to be charged with converting the Catholicism of France into the Catholicism which in our own day has outstripped the bigotry of Spain and Austria in welcoming the dogma of papal infallibility."[4]

A more erroneous statement or a greater misunderstanding of historical events could not well be found, as the sequence of history proves. Ultramontanism in France was due to other and very different causes. Indeed, Napoleon appears in history to be as strenuous an upholder of the Gallican liberties, and as anxious to check the extravagant claims of the Pope, as were any of his predecessors, and his Concordat, with its appendix, shows the high-water mark of governmental resistance to papal claims in France.

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[1] Chastel, Histoire du Christianisme, T. V, p. 159.

[2] Kurtz, Church History, Vol. III, p. 379.

[3] Gieseler, op. cit., Vol. V, p. 234.

[4] Fyffe, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 263.

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Glance briefly at the condition of affairs at the close of the Revolution. As soon as the persecution ceased a more reassuring policy began to appear. But this, by allowing the return and reappearance of all the various classes of clergy, also brought again to the light their disagreements and divisions, and made their separations only more apparent. In order to surmount the difficulty of the oath a simple promise of submission to the laws was substituted for it. But this, as we saw, only made another division in the "insermentés," as those who took the promise suffered also from the blight of suspicion. Each priest had, as it were, his own hierarchy. The constitutional priests obeyed the bishops elected under the civil constitution; but some had died, naturally or by violence, and their places had been filled by irregularly appointed bishops or by those who usurped their places without either legal or moral right. So, even from the civil point of view, their rights were subject to doubt and suspicion. Many had lost the confidence of the people, if not the dignity of their office. The orthodox clergy exercised an authority less public, but more real and quite as dangerous. Most of their bishops were émigrés, ruling their dioceses with a power more absolute than a normal state of affairs would have permitted, often under the influence of political passions and by means of grand vicars chosen by themselves and approved at Rome. Many had died during the ten years of chaos and anarchy, and their places had been filled directly from Rome. Here was one of the seeds of ultramontanism already taking root.[1]

There were three conceivable courses of action: First, Napoleon might refuse to take any hand in the settlement of affairs, maintain a position of indifference, and let them settle themselves. But affairs themselves, as we have seen, were not indifferent. Strong feelings were continually being aroused between the various classes, and violence had by no means altogether ceased. In spite of all Pressensé is able to say of the new hopes and the reviving religion of the closing years of the eighteenth century, truth compels him to add: "Though the two bodies were yet far from united, there is no reason to believe that, had the enjoyment of liberty been allowed, they would not have come to a speedy understanding. At all events, the Pope could have brought it about by fewer conces-

[1] Thiers, Le Consulat et l'Empire, T. III, pp. 197-204.

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sions than were eventually exacted from him in the Concordat. The first measures of Napoleon's government were of a beneficent character."[1]

Was it possible for Napoleon, was it possible for France, to go on without the formal acknowledgment of the Pope? It was not a question of creating the papacy or of giving it new powers, but it was the acknowledgment of that element in organized Christianity which had been inwrought in the mind and heart and conscience of the Christendom of the west for over thirteen centuries, and which many—probably, in very truth, a large majority—of the Christians in France in their hearts acknowledged and revered.

If some knowledge of the papacy, some "modus vivendi," was necessary—and the keen, far-reaching mind of Napoleon decided that it was—then that acknowledgment, as affirmed in the Concordat and the Organic Articles, was surely as slight and as limited as could well be made and exist at all.

Such a history as that which we have just read during the decade from 1789 to 1799 could not be without effect for years to come, and its results were alive with danger to religious peace, social order, and political stability. There was absolute need, not of indifference, but of strength, of foresight, and of understanding of the highest order if these dangers were to be overcome.

A closer investigation will show in many respects an even more serious and apprehensive state of affairs in the religious than in the political state of France in 1799, inasmuch as religious feeling is always deeper, more fanatical, and less tractable than political, while force can accomplish in the latter what neither force nor persuasion, nor both combined, can accomplish in the former.

Disputes in regard to the possession of churches and property were constantly being raised, necessitating frequent appeals to the civil authority.

Besides, the following of the constitutional clergy was steadily falling off, and those who had refused the oath and the promise had a constantly increasing, albeit secret, power, which, by its connection with Rome, threatened the integrity of the Government.

What, therefore, should be Napoleon's relations with the

[1] Pressensé, op. cit., p. 337.

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Pope, who must be reckoned with more than any other continental power of Europe, was even more of a political question than a religious one, yet one in which the two elements were inseparably united, and in such a way as to allow of its treatment only from the religious side.

As to establishing a national church or making France Protestant, it is no way to end a schism by creating a new one. As Thiers says, "it would have rendered Napoleon as odious as Robespierre or as ridiculous as Laréveillère-Lépaux."[1]

Even the Abbé Grégoire maintained the necessity of remaining in communion with Rome, though it may be remarked that on his principles he would have had a difficult task to keep up the connection.

People can not be forced into religion, and even if Napoleon had had the mind to attempt it he would have found a harder task than the subduing of Prussia or the maintenance of the "continental system."

In reality, Napoleon simply acknowledged things as they were, without raising new prejudices, and was merely trying to allay old strifes and remove their causes. It was the most wonderful exhibition of human power, foresight, and skill in the management of religious difficulties that the whole of church history can present.

Napoleon was ambitious, in the last part of his career criminally and almost insanely so; he was selfish, supremely; but there is no use in shutting our eyes to the real greatness, the wonderful power, and the farsighted wisdom of Napoleon, for he was truly great and wise and powerful, and it did sometimes happen that a wise and powerful measure lay in the line of his own selfish aims and ambitions.

III.—LATER HISTORY AND RESULTS.

That the Concordat brought about the nineteenth-century ultramontanism in France, and in any sense deserves the criticism of Fyffe to which allusion has already been made, is unanswerably disproved by the sequence of events.

We might as well ask if the Concordat brought about ultramontanism everywhere. The Vatican Council of 1870 was not the council of French bishops alone; indeed, there was quite

[1] The founder of the Theophilanthropists. Thiers, Le Consulat et l'Empire, T. III, p. 214.

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as pronounced opposition to its decrees by the French clergy as by those of any other country in Europe. Besides, the answer to this question will go far to answer the main question, How do we account for the general spread of ultramontanism everywhere in this century?

First, it was the next step in the papal policy, and was as inevitable as the coming of the fruit from the flower.

Secondly, and of supreme importance, the bull of 1814, "Sollicitudo omnium," reestablishing the order of the Jesuits, who since then have spread and flourished and increased with a power and rapidity never before known in their history, and whose sole aim is, as expressed in the vow which they alone take, the upholding of the papacy.

This would be enough, even if we had no more, to explain the spread of ultramontanism; and if the Concordat had been upheld in France the Jesuits could not have gained a footing there. But the first thing done by Pius VII on the fall of Napoleon was to restore the order of the Jesuits, which had been abolished in 1773.

The charter of the Bourbon restoration under Louis XVIII and Charles X made Catholicism the state religion. A new concordat, in 1817, abrogated Napoleon's of 1801 and the Organic Laws of 1802, and restored the state of affairs previous to 1789. Though this act failed to receive formal legislative sanction, it did show the difference between Napoleon's and the true papal policy. As we have seen, the whole attitude and policy of the émigrés bishops had strongly favored ultramontane methods and principles, and their letters were full of it. It was urged on by Louis in his attempt to uproot the old revolutionary spirit and the consequent irreligion, by reawakening a general religious faith and love of the Church and devotion to her interests.

Steadily favored by the Government, fostered and maintained by the Jesuits, it soon prevailed among the clergy to such an extent that any inclination to the Gallican liberties, which Napoleon had made the law of the Empire in 1810, was denounced as heresy, while intolerance of Protestantism was lauded as piety.

In view of these facts, it appears to be false and unhistorical to charge the Concordat with the later ultramontanism which it was especially framed to controvert, while, on the other hand, Napoleon in this act shows himself to be as strenuous

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an upholder of the Gallican liberties and as anxious to curtail the exorbitant pretensions of the Pope as were any of his predecessors, and his Concordat, with its appendix, shows the high-water mark of governmental resistance to papal claims.

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XXIV.—THE GERMAN IMPERIAL COURT.

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THE GERMAN IMPERIAL COURT.

By Oswald Garrison Villard, A. M.

Of the four important federal unions now existing, there is perhaps less material available about the German Empire for the American student of the all-important matter of government, than about any of the others. The history of the German struggle for liberty and a government representative of the people has called forth the efforts of eminent historians and is daily becoming better known and understood. But as to the fruits of the struggle which culminated so dramatically in the palace at Versailles in 1871, as to the actual practical working of the different parts of the vast governmental machinery which has brought Germany to the front rank of nations so quickly, there is little to be found in English or in German,[1] excepting only the clear and complete account of the Bundesrath, the Federal Council, of which Prof. James Harvey Robinson is the author.[2] Although there is no lack of able writers upon the theory of the German Constitution and its law, this lack of material is particularly noticeable when one examines into the working of the German judiciary; and to contribute toward supplying this gap, even if but slightly, has been my aim in the preparation of this account of the organization and working of the highest German judicial court. Nor would this have been possible had it not been for the kindness of one of the presiding justices of the court[3] in sending me many details of the work of himself and of his fellow-judges. Some of my other sources here have been the pamphlet of Dr. Henrici, a member of the court, published in 1885, the laws

[1] For instance, Westerkamp, in his well-known Staatenbund u. Bundesstaat, makes no mention of the Reichsgericht.

[2] Prof. J. H. Robinson, The German Bundesrath, published by the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1891.

[3] Dr. Julius Peterson.

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of the German Empire, Laband's standard Staatsrecht des Deutschen Reichs, and the American works of Burgess and Goodnow on comparative law and government.[1]

One of the legacies which the German Empire received from its predecessor, the North German Confederation, was a federal court known as the supreme court for commerce, with its seat at Leipsic, and a more important one was a strong movement for the codification and unification, by the Federal Government, of the laws of the Commonwealths.[2] The continued success of this movement and the putting in force of its first results by the law of 1874 made inevitable the expansion of this one-sided court into the supreme judicial court, for mention of which we look in vain in the Constitution of the Empire, which does not even establish an independent judicial department.[3]

The act of January 27, 1877, of the German Parliament reorganized the whole German judiciary and provided for an imperial court, the seat of which was fixed by the law of April 11, 1877,[4] while the details of its organization were settled by the chancellor and the Federal Council. Thus was established, six years after the founding of the Empire, what was then, and is to-day, the one federal German judicial court, for the minor courts are State organizations, and the Federal Council, of the greatest importance because of its executive, legislative, and judicial functions, is not to be considered as a true judicial organization, although in its province lies the decision of the great constitutional questions and of interstate relations.

It was not until October 1, 1879, that the imperial court began its activity in hired quarters in the city of Leipsic, the seat chosen for it after a hot debate, and settled upon principally because it had been the seat of the supreme court of commerce, and because of the fear that service in or for the Reichstag (Parliament) would absorb too much of the new court's time were it in Berlin.[5] The present year has seen the completion of a magnificent building in Leipsic for the use of the court, containing some three hundred and ninety-one rooms, among

[1] Dr. Paul Laband, Das Staatsrecht des Deutschen Reichs, second edition, 1888, Vol. I, 388.

[2] For other references, see list at the end of this article.

[3] J. W. Burgess, Ph. D., Political Science and Comparative Government, Vol. II, p. 347.

[4] For laws of 1877, see the "Reichsgesetzblatt" for the dates given.

[5] Dr. Henrici, Das Deutsche Reichsgericht, January, 1885, p. 29.

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them an official apartment for the chief justice—the whole a most imposing structure, which was for seven years in course of construction.[1]

To the American, accustomed to see the most vital judicial questions of seventy million people settled by a court of nine citizens, it is astounding to learn that the imperial court when organized was given a president and sixty-seven members; that this number was found so inadequate that it now has eighty-four members—a president, nine senate presidents, and seventy-four judges, arranged in six civil and four criminal senates,[2] and this despite the fact that what we consider our most important cases do not come within its jurisdiction. Attached to the court is a governmental law officer known as "Oberreichsanwalt," with four assistants, while the number of advocates allowed to come before the court is but twenty-two.[3] That the decisions may be properly reported, the senates have twenty-five reporters and clerks, and in the central office of the court a chief and thirty-two subordinates are employed in copying papers and issuing the necessary ones.[4] It is significant of the value placed upon the library that its librarian and his two assistants must be university-bred men.

The method of appointment of the judges is in curious contrast to that by which the United States Supreme Court justices are chosen. Instead of being selected by the executive from any State and confirmed by the upper house, in Germany when vacancies occur the Federal Council determines how many nominations the States, or certain States, may make.[5] From the list of names submitted to it the Council picks out those which seem to it best fitted, and these men are invariably appointed by the Emperor. Each candidate must be a member of the judiciary in his own State, over 35 years of age[6] and under 60, since it is the custom of the Federal Council not to appoint over this age, although no limit is fixed by law. Thus far the actual age of appointment has varied between 45

[1] For views and details see the Illustrirte Zeitung, Vol. CV, No. 2730, Leipsic and Berlin, October 26, 1885.

[2] Each president decides upon the composition of his senate. "The aid of Hilfrichter (auxiliary judges) is strictly forbidden."—Peterson.

[3] Peterson, letter of November 7, 1885.

[4] Ibid. There are thirty messengers, etc.

[5] Peterson; also Brockhaus Conversations-Lexicon, 1895, Vol. XIII, pp. 723–724.

[6] Section 127, law of January 27, 1877.

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and 59. When a vacancy occurs among the presidents the Federal Council in most cases promotes one of the judges, but it has often occurred that appointments to these positions have been made from the jurists not connected with the court.[1]

There was very considerable criticism in the first five or six years in regard to the method and character of appointments, and also because the court fell behind in its business, which criticism is in great contrast to the toleration with which the overcrowding of our own Supreme Court is viewed. The addition to the court of two more senates largely did away with the latter fault, and Henrici, writing as president of a senate, thought that, with one or two slight changes (such as the consulting of the president of the court about appointments), the method of appointing from the States instead of from the Empire at large was quite good enough, and believed also in the appointment of specialists and the disregarding of seniority of service in making nominations. From what Henrici says,[2] the statistics of the courts, and the fact that many appointments were declined, it seems justifiable to say that the court did not at first attract the best material, despite the fact that the two presidents it has had, Martin Eduard von Simson and the present incumbent, Otto Karl von Oehlschläger, have been in the front rank of their profession, and also that with its enlargement and its added experience the court is in a better condition to attract able lawyers. Viewed with western eyes, it seems as if the pecuniary attraction might well be increased, for the salaries are but 25,000 marks ($6,250) and free residence for the president, 14,000 marks ($3,500) for a senate president, 12,000 marks ($3,000) for a judge, plus $225 for residence allowance in each of the latter cases.[3] Our justices draw $10,500 and $10,000, and are retired with full pay.

The judge of the German court is not expected to retire at 65 years, as the other officials are, unless really incapacitated; but if at or after 70 he wishes to retire, it is taken for granted that he is incapacitated. He may retire at any time if he is really unable to perform his duties, and if he is mentally unfit he is retired by a two-thirds-vote of the entire court, by the decree of which he can also be suspended or lose his office for misconduct. The retired pay for one who has served ten years

[1] Brockhaus, Vol. XIII, p. 724.
[2] Henrici, p. 24 et seq.
[3] Brockhaus, Vol. XIII, p. 725.

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or less is but twenty-sixtieths of his active pay; for every year's service above ten and up to fifty it is increased by one-sixtieth, and in the sixteen years of the courts establishment no less than forty-eight judges have been voluntarily or involuntarily retired.[1] In the twenty-six years since our retirement law was passed there have been among all the United States justices but thirty-nine retirements, and some of these were by special acts. In fact, the appointment in sixteen years of sixty-three judges to a court of eighty-four members, to fill other than original vacancies, forty-eight of which were created by retirements and fifteen by deaths, is nothing less than startling to Americans, whose Supreme Court justices had in 1891 averaged a service of twenty-three and one-half years since its foundation in 1789.

Before touching upon the jurisdiction of the imperial court and its relation to the other courts, it will be well to get a clear idea of the general judicial system of Germany. It is an extremely simple one. The court of first instance, corresponding to our police court, is the Amtsgericht,[2] presided over by a single judge. Next comes the Land- or Landesgericht,[3] equal in importance to the General Sessions in New York or the Superior Courts of Massachusetts. Above the Landgerichte are the highest commonwealth courts, the Oberlandesgerichte.[4] In some States this supreme court is not found and in others there are two such. Wherever they exist, appeals, either from judgments (known as "Revision") or appeals from rulings made during the course of the judicial proceedings (known as "Beschwerde"), lie direct to the imperial court in all civil cases. In criminal cases, on the other hand, a case may be appealed from a ruling or from a decision direct from the Landgerichte, thus skipping in every State, except Bavaria, the State supreme court.

Since all matters concerning judicial procedure, bills of exchange, bankruptcy, commerce, and criminal law are regulated by imperial laws, it is the daily duty of the imperial court to define and apply these laws. Thus it has determined to what officials the power to prohibit a citizen from engaging in the manufacture of brandy is given under the law of June

[1] Peterson.

[2] Laband, Vol. II, pp. 395–397.

[3] Laband, Vol. II, 397–403, and Brockhaus, Vol. X, p. 926.

[4] Laband, Vol. II, pp. 403–405.

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24, 1887,[1] and whether or no postal agents were officials in the meaning of the criminal code.[2] Where this same class of questions calls for an interpretation of the federal or imperial Constitution, the imperial court is quite competent, especially as many laws are practically constitutional amendments. Furthermore, in the case of the Dyke board of Niedervieland in Bremen,[3] it was held that if two interpretations of a law appeared possible to a judge, he must not necessarily choose the one in accord with the Constitution, and that a legislative Command is not to be disregarded by the judiciary simply because it injures well-acquired rights.

This brings us to the great fundamental difference between the American and German supreme-court systems, the question of the settlement of constitutional questions of a political nature. With us they are the ones which give the Supreme Court its tremendous power and importance within the nation. In Germany they lie wholly without the province of the imperial court, and come up for decision—or, better, arbitration—before a body whose warmest advocate could hardly claim that it is of a sufficiently judicial nature to pass properly upon such questions. This body is the Bundesrath, the Federal Council,[4] which, upon the application of one of two States involved in a controversy (and not of its own free will),[5] can settle the dispute by its ruling, by arbitration, or by appeal to the Parliament (the Reichstag) to pass with its aid a law settling the controverted point. And the same is true of a conflict between the Empire and a State which is liable to result in a change of the constitution of that State. If a peaceful solution can not be obtained, then it is this same Federal Council which decides when force must be applied to a recalcitrant commonwealth and directs the Emperor to see that it is applied.[6]

In most States there are special administrative courts dealing with cases arising out of the performance by the various officials of their administrative duties. Where these courts

[1] Decisions of the Reichsgericht Criminal Cases, Vol. XXI, p. 172.

[2] Ibid., p. 370.

[3] Quoted pp. 148, 149, of Thayer's Constitutional Law Cases, Vol. I.

[4] Robinson, p. 64.

[5] Except where the conflict is of a nature to prevent the State's fulfilling its duty to the federation.

[6] Robinson, p. 60.

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do not exist, a State has the right to call upon the imperial court to settle any cases which may arise, provided that they are not questions of jurisdiction between officials. The imperial court is also the administrative court for the officials of Alsace-Lorraine, by a special law, since that territory is a province of the Empire. It also furnishes its president and five other judges as members of a disciplinary court, and also four members to the supreme court of honor for the settlement of troubles among, or misdeeds of, imperial officials.[1] It is hard, indeed, for an American to conceive such an extrajudicial court of honor at work among the Federal officials of his country. From the patent courts (a special system) and from those appointed to settle questions arising in the consular service, cases may be carried to the imperial court, as well as specially privileged cases of members of reigning houses and certain families of high rank, which would otherwise not come before it.

So much for the appellate jurisdiction of the imperial court. In regard to original jurisdiction it is competent only in cases of high and petty treason, to try which the second and third criminal senates unite and sit as one body, whose decisions, it is safe to say, are most carefully followed at all times by the people.

It is hardly necessary to add that there is no appeal from a decision of the imperial court, but, when a decision has been given in the absence of one of the parties to the suit, it may be reopened at the request of the absent party if the deciding senate see fit to do so.[2]

The procedure of the imperial court is regulated by an order of business devised by the entire court and confirmed by the Federal Council; this order has twice been altered, and in each case the change has promptly received the Council's approval.[2] The principle of oral proceedings, which seems so natural to us, was one of the innovations of the imperial court, and has been held to, despite the opposition of those who believed that the old system of written arguments should be adhered to.

When a senate gives its decision, seven members must be present, and to prevent contradictory decisions there is a peculiar custom. Whenever a civil or criminal senate wishes to give a decision along some new line, or differing from previous

[1] Brockhaus, Vol. XIII, pp. 724–725. [2] Peterson.

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ones, it must give its decision before the united civil and criminal senates. If a civil senate finds itself going contrary to the principle of a criminal senate, or vice versa, the question at issue must be brought before the entire eighty-four members, whose decision, be it to sustain or overrule the dissenting senate, is absolutely binding if two-thirds of the members are present.[1] All decisions and decrees of the court go into effect at once, and are binding in each State, as are the decisions of the State courts; there is no intermediate step, such as the calling upon a State government.[2]

The amount of business before the imperial court steadily increases with each year, and is necessarily large, owing to the absence of any courts corresponding to our circuit courts and courts of appeal, and the directness with which criminal cases are appealed to it.

The number of appeals calling for a decision of the imperial court was, from finished cases: In civil and criminal cases, 7,461; in appeals from rulings, 1,019; making 8,480 cases in all for 1894 in which a decision or ruling of the court was called for.[2] The largest number of decided cases in one year of the United States Supreme Court was 331. The average reversal of judgments in civil cases is a little more than 25 per cent, and exceptions to rulings 22 per cent. In criminal cases the average lies between 21 and 22 per cent.[2]

The decisions of the court are published in many papers, and a selected set is officially printed by members of the court and the Government law officers. Each senate decides what cases shall be published, and its reporter puts them into the proper shape. Thus far thirty-four volumes of civil cases and twenty-four of criminal cases have been printed in ordinary-sized volumes, containing a little less than one volume of our reports. Each decision and case is in very concise, clear, and compact form, and all arguments of counsel are omitted. The decisions in cases relating to imperial law are published in a special supplement of the daily official gazette, the "Reichsanzeiger."

In thus concluding this brief account of a part of the German judiciary, which seems to be steadily growing in importance, it may be well to point out that in the German system of government the American idea of a sharp dividing line between the executive, judicial, and legislative departments is

[1] Brockhaus, Vol. XIII, p. 725. [2] Peterson.

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not carried out, and that cases involving political questions are generally kept out of the imperial court. Hence arise the difficulties which make research in German constitutional law so arduous a matter for the student, and the explanation of German governmental conditions necessarily involved and lengthy.

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XXV.—THE DISMEMBERMENT OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE.

AN HISTORICAL SKETCH.

By Prof. EDMUND K. ALDEN,
OF PACKER INSTITUTE.

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THE DISMEMBERMENT OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE.

By EDMUND K. ALDEN.

I.—PRELIMINARY—TURKISH ESTABLISHMENT IN ASIA AND EUROPE—HIGH-WATER MARK—CAUSES WHICH RETARDED THE FALL.

The partition or dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire is not a question merely of to-day or of yesterday. Soon after its firm establishment on the Bosphorus, the forces were in operation which led up to its threatened disintegration. In the very generation in which the Turkish power was seated beside the Golden Horn the two chief antagonists of that power were assuming shape. The transformation of Moscow into Russia was emphasized by the absorption of Novgorod and the emancipation from the Mongol yoke, which events occurred in the last years of the Sultan Mahomet II; and the same decade witnessed the fortunate Burgundian marriage which went far toward placing in the saddle the house of Hapsburg.

As the Turks reached their high-water mark in the sixteenth century the power of their rivals and future despoilers was consolidated or strengthened at the same time. The Sultan Solyman the Magnificent, the "grand monarque of the Ottomans," was a contemporary of the Emperor Charles V, of the powerful French monarch Francis I, of Henry VIII, and Elizabeth. Even at the height of their authority, with their most energetic sovereigns in control, with the prestige of almost unbroken successes, it is difficult to see how the Turks were saved, except by the jealousies and home difficulties of the Christian governments.

The Turkish dominions at their greatest extent reached far beyond the Crimea into the steppe lands of southern Russia; they touched the northern Carpathians, and missed by only

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a few hours' ride the Austrian Alps and Istria. While this vast region was held fast by the military ability and organization of the Ottomans, the task of the rulers was materially lessened by the Turko-Christian alliances. Francis I was closely bound to Solyman, and strange, indeed, was the spectacle of the corsair Barbarossa sailing beside a division of the French fleet, and the diversions furnished reciprocally by French and Turkish armies against the common foes.

Seldom could the European nations be induced to act together. Once, at the battle of Lepanto, in 1571, such a combination occurred, and the Turkish fleet went down; but the completeness of the victory only served to show the intestine quarrels of the conquerors and the hollowness of the coalition. Less than a generation later, Turkey was in commercial relations with England and in diplomatic relations, in fact, with the greater part of western Europe. When in the ensuing generation the Ottoman Empire through its corruption seemed to be approaching a collapse, there was no chance for striking the blow, for the Thirty Years' war was absorbing the energies of Austria, France, and Spain; and by the time that this exhausting struggle, with its evil effects, had passed, the Sublime Porte had taken a new lease of life through the administrative virtues of the Köprili family. The era of the grand vizierates of these capable men was synchronous with the prosperous period of Louis XIV; and although French nobles were allowed to assist the Imperialists in the victory of St. Gotthard, yet the policy of Louis was in general that of toleration, if not of active support, of Turkey. Poland, Sweden, and Turkey formed parts in the French monarch's scheme of humiliating the European powers.

But a day of reckoning was at hand. To it there was a forerunner when the Polish King Sobieski aided the Austrians in rolling back from Vienna the Ottoman invasion of 1683. Venice, renewing her old struggle, added to the blows of the Imperialist armies her attacks on Greece and the Dalmatian frontier, and Russia joined the league of foes. When four military powers, including one which commanded the sea, combined against the decaying Sultanate, the balance of success must be decidedly against the Turks; and a European congress, summoned to meet at Carlowitz, ended the aggressive period of the Ottomans, and began the long-drawn-out process of dismemberment.

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II.—DISMEMBERMENT (1699–1774).

At the negotiations for the peace of Carlowitz in 1699 there were represented Austria and Russia, the secular enemies of the Porte; England; Poland and Venice, now dropped from the map of Europe; and Holland, no longer a great power. Austria appropriated large parts of Hungary and Slavonia, and assumed the suzerainty of Transylvania. Russia gained the region near the Sea of Azof, Poland won back Podolia and Kamieniec, and Venice lopped off Dalmatia and the Peloponnesus. Only the interposition of England and Holland prevented a still larger loss of territory.

Within eleven years the war between Russia and Turkey was renewed. The Russians now posed in their historic rôle of liberators of the Christian populations. But, far from realizing these hopes, the army of Peter the Great was entrapped by the grand vizier, and in the Peace of the Pruth, in 1711, Russia lost her recently acquired Azof territories. The momentary gain to Turkey was, however, offset by the formal loss of Algiers, whose Dey renounced allegiance in 1710, while the bonds joining Tunis to the Empire had also become nominal.

Twice in the years succeeding the Peace of the Pruth the naval nations England and Holland interposed to prevent a renewal of hostilities; and once more, at the Peace of Passarowitz, in 1718, the same noncombatants were represented. This latter treaty was the sequel to a war which had been waged for two or three years by the Imperialists and Venetians against the Turks. Venice, now in full decline, had been generally worsted, whereas Austria continued to profit by the great services of Prince Eugene; so that the ensuing peace reflected these varying fortunes. If Turkey regained the Peloponnesus and much of the Venetian littoral, she forfeited to Austria the remainder of Hungary. Moreover, for the first time in centuries her cisdanubian and Carpathian possessions were dismembered, and Austria acquired Little Wallachia, Belgrade, with most of Servia, and part of Bosnia. At the lapse of nearly two hundred years Austria is hardly as near her goal on the Ægean as she was in 1718.

It may be mentioned here that in the diplomacy of this period England and Holland posed as mediating powers in Turkish affairs, while France and Sweden, to attain their

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own ends against Austria and Russia, respectively, urged the Porte toward hostile action regarding these nations.

After a momentary rebalancing of Turkish territory at the expense this time of Persia, the designs on the integrity of the Empire culminated in 1737. Russia and Austria were again allied. The former had indeed for some months been prosecuting a successful war; no less a scheme than a march on Constantinople was projected. Unfortunately, the Russian successes were neutralized by the reverses of her ally; and at the Peace of Belgrade, in 1739, the territory ceded in western Russia was more than counterbalanced by the regained Servian, Bosnian, and Wallachian districts wrested from Charles VI.

In the vast struggles of the Austrian succession and Seven Years' war Turkey had no share. But a diplomatic gain is to be noted, since the new power of Prussia, for obvious reasons, sided in a negative way with the Porte. We seem to find a modern reflection of this when the Kaiser, for whom Frederick the Great is the shining exemplar, acts as a sort of sponsor for Abdul Hamid II.

It is interesting, if melancholy, to read of the grandiose plans for dismembering Turkey formed at the beginning of a war, and to compare them with the somewhat meager changes after the treaty has been signed. The next Russo-Turkish contest of 1768–1774 is a case in point. The Greeks were to be liberated; help was bestowed to fire the Montenegrin heart; the Slavic and Wallach peoples along the Danube were encouraged by the presence of Muscovite armies.

Great operations were undertaken in the regions of the steppes and the Caucasus. Egypt and Syria were to be reduced in one campaign. The fulfillment agreed so far with the hopes that Frederick the Great and the Austrian sovereign tried to interpose, France started futile diversions with Spanish aid, and England alternately favored Russia and essayed mediation. The war was, however, by no means a military walk-over for the Czarina; the treaty of Kainardji, in 1774, although usually claimed as a great step in the humiliation of the Ottoman and the exaltation of the Muscovite, shows no very startling changes on the map. What actually passed from Turkish rule included the Tartar and other possessions in the Crimea and in neighboring parts of southern Russia. The net result of nearly a hundred years left the Sultan still with most formidable territorial possessions in Europe.

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III.—THE AUSTRO-RUSSIAN SCHEMES OF JOSEPH II AND CATHERINE II.

We have now arrived at the period where dismemberment, sometimes suggested, assumed a threatening shape. Catherine II believed that the favorable time had come for the aggrandizement of Russia southward; an elaborate scheme of partition, proposed by Catherine and communicated to Joseph II, of Austria, was now seriously entertained. Nothing less was in contemplation than a complete wiping out of the Ottoman Empire. A Greek empire was to be reestablished, with a Russian prince on the throne. An independent state was to be carved out of Bessarabia, Wallachia, and Moldavia, with a sovereign of the Greek Catholic faith. Austria would gain Servia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina, and take from Venice her Dalmatian possessions,[1] while the dying Republic would be compensated with the Peloponnesus, Crete, and Cyprus. To conciliate the others, portions of the spoil were to be assigned to England, France, and Spain. In pursuance of these arrangements, war broke out in 1788, and the redoubtable Suvaroff appears on the scene.

But no sops thrown to England could prevent Pitt, then in absolute control, from forming an alliance with Holland and Prussia. Almost at the same time the crash of the French Revolution and internal troubles of the Austrian monarchy occurred. Joseph's successor, Leopold II, modified his policy, and in consequence of all these events the ambitious schemes of Catherine were postponed. The treaties of Sistova and Jassy, in 1791 and 1792, ended the wars; Turkey's loss in territory was not large; a slice was acquired by Austria, and Russia extended her frontier westward to the Dniester.

Three years after this rebuff the Austrian minister, Thugut, revived the idea of partition; but the real danger was from Catherine, who at the very close of her life, in 1796, was ready, if favored by chance, to strike simultaneously at Constantinople and the provinces of Asia.

It is instructive to observe the alignment of English party leaders upon the Turkish question. Up to these partition schemes, England had not treated the integrity of Turkey as a fundamental doctrine. But now Pitt, the Tory, denounced

[1] The Austrian share has been to a considerable degree acquired.

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Russia and upheld the dominion of the Porte; while Fox, the Whig, accused the Turk—party precursors of Disraeli and Gladstone, of the Jingoists and Radicals.

IV.—PROGRESS OF DISMEMBERMENT IN THE NAPOLEONIC PERIOD.

The era of Napoleon brought comparatively small loss of territory, but it witnessed some of the most gigantic schemes for spoliation that have ever been broached. We may pass rapidly over Napoleon's movements in Egypt and Syria. Both lands were for him at that time stations on the road to India, and the serious diminution of Ottoman power was not then projected. In a few years after his fiasco in these regions, French influence had been restored at Constantinople. And now the old Russian contest broke out again, complicated by a national rising of the Servians, and further complicated by the varying feelings of enmity and assumed friendship which Russia bore toward England and France by turns. At one time (1806) the revolt of Servia is under full headway; an English fleet, in punishment of Turkey's pro-French attitude, is attempting to force the Dardanelles; the eternal war with Russia in the Danubian region is begun. The next year is the summer of Tilsit, with melodramatic meetings of old enemies; with elaborate schemes for reorganization of Europe, in which the fate of Turkey figured prominently. A few years more, and the Czar has broken with Napoleon and made peace with the Porte.

Of the phenomena of this epoch, the intrigues of Tilsit in 1807 and of Erfurt the following year deserve most attention. One plan of dismemberment contemplated the despoiling of all European Turkey except Constantinople and Roumelia; France would gain the Ionian Islands, the Danubian provinces would fall to Russia. More elaborate was the project to hand Constantinople, with the eastern portion of the Balkan Peninsula, over to Russia; the western part would fall to France alone, or to France and Austria; Asiatic Turkey and Egypt would be partitioned. A variation of this scheme formed a neutral state out of Constantinople and its territory.

Here we discern germs of later proposals of partition. For example, Egypt and Syria recognized as "within the French sphere of influence;" Bosnia, Servia, and Salonica in the

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"Austrian sphere;" a Byzantine neutral or guaranteed state. Territorially the outcome of it all was only the loss of Bessarabia, acquired by Russia in 1812 at the Peace of Bucharest.

V.—THE GREEK ATTEMPT AND ITS RESULTS.

We turn to a new quarter. The integrity of the Empire is threatened from within, and the excitement and partial success of this attempt lead to a foreign war and to a narrow escape from serious loss.

The Hetaeria Philike was a Greek secret society, founded in 1814. Its object was the expulsion of the Turks from Europe. It worked in Greece itself and in other provinces where Greeks were numerous or influential. Its issue was the futile rising in the Danubian provinces, followed by the long and desperate rebellion in Greece.

After the Napoleonic era the key to the policy of Europe is the attitude of the Austrian minister, Metternich. This omnipotent and reactionary statesman had, indeed, in 1809, in the time of Austria's great danger, meditated sharing with Russia and France in the spoils of Turkey, but these conditions had passed away, and he was now for the status quo. What is more, his influence kept Russia and Europe generally in line, so that the early years of the Greek war of liberation saw little efficient help from Europe; there were volunteers, like Byron, and expressions of sympathy, but no ruler moved.

This indifference could not last. The successes of the Sultan's Egyptian ally, Ibrahim, the change from Castlereagh to Canning in England, and from Alexander I to Nicholas in Russia, at length bore fruit. A Russian proposal of intervention was indeed vainly started before the death of Alexander, but not before 1826 was anything practical accomplished. In that year a protocol signed by Great Britain and Russia provided for the expulsion of the Turks from Greece. War followed. The Russian armies were set in motion, and in the following year an Anglo-Franco-Russian fleet destroyed the Turkish armament at Navarino. But England and France receded from actual warfare. It was left for the Greeks to finish the task of liberation, and for Diebitsch to cross the Balkans and with a waning force to make a magnificent bluff at the capture of Constantinople. Russia's partners had retired to diplomacy, and France now brought forward a scheme of partition by which the Turks would have been expelled from Europe, while

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France, Prussia, and others would have received "compensation" in a general readjustment of boundaries. But "to the victors belong the spoils," and the Treaty of Adrianople, in 1829, gave to Russia a district on the eastern coast of the Black Sea; moreover, Wallachia and Moldavia passed under a Russian protectorate. About the same time the fighting in Greece ended; the Peloponnesus with central Hellas were recognized, first as an autonomous, then as an independent, state. Dismemberment had begun on three sides.

VI.—DISMEMBERMENT THREATENED FROM WITHIN, 1833 AND 1839—HOW "INTEGRITY" WAS PRESERVED.

The Pasha of Egypt, Mehemet Ali, was in an anomalous position. Nominally subject to the Porte, he was in reality a more powerful sovereign than his lord. For his late services, rendered through his son Ibrahim, he had received Crete. After a few years he sent Ibrahim to invade Syria. That able general overran the province, overthrew the Turkish armies, and in 1833 was in the heart of Asia Minor with a clear road to Constantinople. From this danger the Porte was preserved through the interference of its age-long enemy, Russia. But England and France also intervened, and the Sultan was compelled to cede Syria and a part of Asia Minor to Egypt. Directly after this cession, Russia, as a candid and beneficent friend, succeeded in forcing her alliance upon the Turks.

The next scene in the drama was in 1839, when Mehemet Ali again tempted fortune. Once more he vanquished the Turks, but the Powers interposed. The European "concert" was now fairly in operation. A quadruple alliance of England, Russia, Prussia, and Austria forced Mehemet to terms; he was obliged to evacuate Syria and his other recent acquisitions. The dismemberment from the Egyptian side had failed.

VII.—THE RUSSO-ENGLISH PHASE OF THE QUESTION: FIRST STAGE, 1853–1856.

The hegemony in Europe, which had been grasped by Louis XIV and Napoleon, had now passed to the Czar Nicholas. His authority had been increased by his successful interference in the Hungarian insurrection of 1848–49. By 1853 it seemed that the time had come to resume the southern onset. This is the year of the "Sick-Man" conferences at St. Petersburg and the outbreak of the Crimean war. England rejected

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the proffer of Egypt and Crete; Napoleon III and Palmerston allied themselves with Turkey; Sardinia joined the popular side, and Austria was negatively with the alliance. All this display of force had its result, and in 1856 the powers met in congress at Paris. Russia lost the prestige of leadership, but few territorial changes were made. The Sick Man acquired a new lease of life.

VIII.—THE PROCESS OF DISMEMBERMENT, 1856-1876.

After the Peace of Paris the dismemberment of Turkey showed signs of achievement without the aid of war. Moldavia and Wallachia, nominally under the suzerainty of the Porte, proclaimed their union in the principality of Roumania in 1861. About the same time outbreaks in Syria led to a French occupation of that province for nearly a year. The Greeks had meanwhile acquired the Ionian Islands, and indulged dreams of a greater Greece—if possible, a new Byzantine Empire. They assisted Crete in its unsuccessful revolt, and awaited compensation at the advent of the next war.

The forces of disunion were visible in another quarter, where, in 1867, Servia secured the withdrawal of the Turkish garrison from Belgrade. In fact, the great blow to the integrity of the Ottoman Empire was to have its impetus from the Servian side. Through the Balkan Peninsula the early and middle seventies were a time of ferment; by 1875 the blows began to fall.

IX.—THE RUSSO-ENGLISH PHASE OF THE QUESTION: SECOND STAGE, 1876-1878.

The discontent assumed form in revolts of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1875. In quick succession followed the futile diplomatic attempts of the Andrassy note and the Berlin memorandum, the deposition of Abdul Aziz, and the accession of the present Sultan. In the summer of 1876 the atrocities in Bulgaria startled the European, and especially the Liberal English, world, and simultaneously came war on the part of Servia and Montenegro. But Turkey, though reduced in strength and corrupt in administration, was still formidable. These minor wars went in her favor, and even when Russia in the following year entered the lists the march of Alexander's army southward was anything but a military promenade. All those who enlarge upon a hollow collapse of the moribund

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Turk would do well to reread the Plevna incident. Still, the odds were too great. By the late winter of 1878 Russia's successes in Turkish Armenia and in the Balkans had brought the Porte to the yielding point. The century-old plans of the Moscow and St. Petersburg statesmen seemed to be on the path of realization. The treaty of San Stefano wrested from Turkey the complete independence of Roumania, Servia, and Montenegro; Dobrudja, with a large Transcaucasian district, passed outright to Russia; less direct, but still in Russia's favor, was the creation of a great Bulgaria, touching the Ægean. Footholds for further losses were provided in projected reorganizations in the government of Thessaly, Epirus, Macedonia, Crete, Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Armenia. If this treaty had been strictly carried out, small indeed would have been the part of his dominion where the Sultan bore unquestioned sway.

It was not to be. Beaconsfield and the Jingoists were in power. There were warlike preparations in England. The result was the Congress of Berlin, preceded by secret agreements with Russia and Turkey. The new Bulgaria lost half its territory. The Russian cession in Asia was slightly reduced. Bosnia and Herzegovina were practically bestowed upon Austria, and Cyprus upon England. Beaconsfield and Salisbury brought back "peace with honor," and a promising chance for dismemberment had been lost.

X.—SUMMARY OF PROJECTS, 1878–1879.

Since 1878 the direct losses of territory may be thus summarized: A large region in Thessaly and Epirus was ceded to Greece in 1881; eastern Roumelia, partially independent, was in 1885 incorporated with Bulgaria; the bonds that unite Egypt to the Porte, weak for many years, are feebler than ever, while the English foothold is very strong.

The various projects for the reconstitution of affairs in the East may be conveniently classified under Turkish reforms and partition between the five or six interested powers. Recent events have tended to throw the former into the background and to bring the latter from the sphere of pleasing though "irridescent dreams" into the realm of practical politics. The magazine and newspaper projects have followed in general the sketch outlined by General "Chinese" Gordon. The propositions may be said to be substantially as follows: (1) A greater Greece, including, as a matter of course, Crete

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and similar Hellenic islands; other distinctly Greek regions, but not Constantinople—in other words, no new Byzantine Empire. (2) An Austrian advance southward. (3) The constitution of Constantinople and its adjacent territory into (*a*) a guaranteed neutral state à la Belgium, or (*b*) an actual or veiled acquisition of Russia. (4) Transfer of Tripoli to either Italy or France, presumably the former. (5) Egypt for England. (6) Syria for France. (7) Such a disposition of Asia Minor, Armenia, and the Euphrato-Tigris region as would, in the language of an American party platform, "conduce to the highest welfare" of Russia, England, and France, in which these countries would probably profit in the order mentioned.

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XXVI.—COLONIES OF NORTH AMERICA AND THE GENESIS OF THE COMMONWEALTHS OF THE UNITED STATES.

By J. M. TONER, M. D.
OF WASHINGTON CITY.

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COLONIES OF NORTH AMERICA AND THE GENESIS OF THE COMMONWEALTHS OF THE UNITED STATES.

By J. M. Toner, M. D.

[NOTES ON THE PARTITION OF THE NEW WORLD, THE EARLY LAND GRANTS, SETTLEMENTS, COLONIES, PROVINCES AND PROPRIETARY PATENTS OF THE NORTH AMERICAN CONTINENT, WITH COMMENTS ON THE GENESIS OF THE POLITICAL DIVISIONS OF THE UNITED STATES. TO WHICH IS ADDED A LIST OF THE PROVINCES, COLONIES, STATES AND TERRITORIES THAT WERE PROPOSED OR BEGUN, BUT WERE NEVER SUCCESSFULLY PLANTED.]

No event in history has interested mankind more than the discovery of the New World and the resulting proof that circumnavigation of the earth was possible. It revolutionized established opinions, laws and customs. The Old World had grown, colonies had been founded by her in what seemed remote places, and her great men had estimated the people's aspirations and endurance by past accomplishments. But this discovery so far exceeded all experiences in history and hope of the race as to command the attention of the wise and learned; the cautious as well as the ambitious rulers and adventurers were encouraged to take part in making explorations with a view to further discovery and the founding of new colonies.

The word colony, as applied to the English settlements in America, had at one time, I apprehend, a more restricted meaning than the word province, although these words are now often used as synonyms.

Colony is a general rather than a specific term. Historically it has been coupled with some word or phrase indicating locality, and whether a political, commercial, or military adventure. Colonies planted without charter or license were in some

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cases legalized on petition of the adventurous settlers themselves, showing their preferred allegiance, or were in other instances coerced by more prosperous colonies, and by royal mandate accompanied by force.

The ordinary names applied by sovereignties and countries to their offshoots and annexes are allies, dependencies, colonies, dominions, territories, tracts, provinces, districts, prefectures, baronies, factories, lodges, settlements, companies, garrisons, stations, plantations, counties, precincts, etc.

In the scheme of empires, nations and sovereignties, all adjuncts are deemed to be dependencies, though the converse of this proposition, that all dependencies are colonies, is not conceded to be true in international law. Yet the name colony is so generic as to embrace settlements and provinces of every kind, even when not a sovereign state recognized by the family of nations.

After the discovery of America, Spain for a long time had the lion's share of territory from which to select tracts for settlements or colonization. This was conceded to her by reason of her position among nations, her maritime power and her right of discovery. Spain promptly assumed proprietary supervision over vast territories, established and maintained stations or colonies, and organized explorations, chiefly at the southern end and on the Pacific slope of the American continent. She did this chiefly for the purpose of exercising sovereignty, of bringing the territory and people under subjection, and of furnishing the Empire with precious metals and other treasures believed to exist therein. Her explorations, colonies, and companies were conducted mainly as military enterprises, rather than for founding habitations or laying out plantations for the permanent occupation and cultivation of the soil. Some of these adventures will be referred to at greater length farther on.

The claims or assumed rights of European nations to American territory are vague, with a mixture of force, avarice, loyalty, and religious cant. Whenever an ambitious sovereign could induce an adventurer to sight supposed new lands, erect a cross, or plant a flag, he imagined he might set up an exclusive claim to it, whether it were an island or a continent.

A number of the early English settlements in America were begun by companies of adventurers having joint-stock interests. The financial management was invested in companies

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organized in London and places elsewhere in England. Such companies were empowered to choose their president, treasurer, and manager, to conduct and govern the enterprise. These companies or colonies rarely, and to but a slight degree, aspired to self-government, or to anything beyond their immediate business interests. The colonial and proprietary aspiration for civil government by the American settlements was a matter of slow growth, and arose from necessity. But when a desire for independence and self-government is awakened among a people accustomed to arms and to freedom of thought, action, and speech it is not easily checked or silenced.

That a clearer view may be had of the spirit of justice which prevailed among nations in 1492, as to the rights of sovereigns over newly discovered islands and countries uninhabited by Christians, we here give in full the text of the commission and prerogative granted by King Ferdinand of Spain and his wife, Queen Isabella, to Christopher Columbus before he set out on his voyage of discovery. The document refers to the discovery of lands, continents, and islands, but it is silent upon the matter of a shorter route to Cathay. The commission is in the nature of an inducement and a reward, and was issued to Columbus on the 30th of April, 1492. This document invested their agent, in case of success, with enumerated dignities, offices, and emoluments to be enjoyed by him and inherited by his heirs forever. The copy is taken from Poore's Charters and Constitutions of the United States, and is as follows:

PREROGATIVES GRANTED TO CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

Ferdinand and Elizabeth, by the Grace of God, King and Queen of *Castile*, of *Leon*, of *Arragon*, of *Sicily*, of *Granada*, of *Toledo*, of *Valencia*, of *Galicia*, of *Majorca*, of *Minorca*, of *Seville*, of *Sardinia*, of *Jaen*, of *Algarve*, of *Algezira*, of *Gibraltar*, of the *Canary Islands*, Count and Countess of *Barcelona*, Lord and Lady of *Biscay* and *Molino*, Duke and Duchess of *Athens* and *Neopatria*, Count and Countess of *Rousillion* and *Cerdaigne*, Marquis and Marchioness of *Oristan* and *Gociano*, etc. For as much as you, *Christopher Columbus*, are going by our command, with some of our vessels and men, to discover and subdue some Islands and Continent in the ocean, and it is hoped that by God's assistance, some of the said Islands and Continent in the ocean will be discovered and conquered by your means and conduct, therefore it is but just and reasonable that since you expose yourself to such danger to serve us, you should be rewarded for it. And we being willing to honour and favour you for the reasons aforesaid; Our will is, That you, *Christopher Columbus*, after discovering the said Islands and Continent in the said ocean, or any of them, shall be our

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Admiral of the said Islands and Continent you shall so discover and conquer; and that you be our Admiral, Vice-Roy, and Governour in them, and that for the future, you may call and style yourself, D. *Christopher Columbus*, and that your sons and successors in the said employment, may call themselves Dons, Admirals, Vice-Roys, and Governours, of them; and that you may exercise the office of Admiral, with the charge of Vice-Roy and Governour of the said Islands and Continent, which you and your Lieutenants shall conquer, and freely decide all causes, civil and criminal, appertaining to the said employment of Admiral, Vice-Roy, and Governour, as you shall think fit in justice, and as the Admirals of our kingdoms use to do; and that you have power to punish offenders; and you and your Lieutenants exercise the employments of Admiral, Vice-Roy, and Governour, in all things belonging to the said offices, or any of them; and that you enjoy the perquisites and salaries belonging to the said employments, and to each of them, in the same manner as the High Admiral of our kingdoms does.

And by this our letter, or a copy of it signed by a *Public Notary:* We command Prince *John*, our most dearly beloved Son, the Infants, Dukes, Prelates, Marquesses, Great Masters and Military Orders, Priors, Commandaries, our Counsellors, Judges, and other Officers of Justice whatsoever, belonging to our Household, Courts, and Chancery, and Constables of Castles, Strong Houses and others; and all Corporations, Bayliffs, Governours, Judges, Commanders, Sea Officers; and the Alderman, Common Council, Officers, and Good People of all Cities, Lands, and Places in our Kingdoms and Dominions, and in those you shall conquer and subdue, and the captains, masters, mates, and other officers and sailors, our natural subjects now being, or that shall be for the time to come, and any of them, that when you shall have discovered the said Islands and Continent in the ocean; and you or any that shall have your commission, shall have taken the usual oath in such cases, that they for the future, look upon you as long as you live, and after you, your son and heir, and so from one heir to another forever, as our Admiral on our said Ocean, and as Vice-Roy and Governour of the said Islands and Continent, by you, *Christopher Columbus*, discovered and conquered; and that they treat you and your Lieutenants, by you appointed for executing the employments of Admiral, Vice-Roy, and Governour, as such in all respects, and give you all the perquisites and other things belonging and appertaining to the said offices; and allow, and cause to be allowed you, all the honours, graces, concessions, preeminences, prerogatives, immunities, and other things, or any of them which are due to you, by virtue of your commands of Admiral, Vice-roy and Governour, and to be observed completely, so that nothing be diminished; and that they make no objection to this, or any part of it, nor suffer it to be made; forasmuch as we from this time forward, by this our letter, bestow on you the employments of Admiral Vice-Roy and perpetual Governour forever; and we put you into possession of the said offices, and of every of them, and full power to use and exercise them, and to receive the perquisites and salaries belonging to them, or any of them, as was said above. Concerning all which things, if it be requisite, and you shall desire it, We command our Chancellour, Notaries, and other Officers, to pass, seal, and deliver to you, our Letter of Privilege, in such firm and legal manner, as you shall require or stand

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in need of. And that none of them presume to do anything to the contrary, upon pain of our displeasure, and forfeiture of 30 ducats for each offence.

And we command him, who shall show them this our Letter, that he summon them to appear before us at our Court, where we shall then be, within fifteen days after such summons, under the said penalty. Under which same, we also command any Public Notary whatsoever, that he give to him that shows it him, a certificate under his seal, that we may know how our command is obeyed.

Given at *Granada*, on the 30th of April, in the year of our Lord 1492.

I, The KING, I, The QUEEN.

By their Majesties Command,
JOHN COLOMA,
Secretary to the King and Queen.

The story of Columbus and his many years of pleading with sovereigns for aid and authority to make discovery of a passage to Cathay, shorter than the one usually followed, and averring that the earth was a globe, and that he would discover not only a shorter passage to India, but also islands and lands lying between by sailing west from the Cape de Verde Islands, is well known. Columbus made and pressed these proposals first to the officials of Genoa, his native city, then to Portugal, to Venice, to France, and to England. His views were at that time looked upon by these courts as the extravagant demands of an adventurer. Portugal, however, to test the predictions of Columbus, secretly dispatched a caravel under a trusted captain, who, after sailing for days on the indicated route, the pilot having lost courage, returned and reported an endless ocean. On hearing of this duplicity and bad faith the projector of the new route and of the discoveries to be made, abandoned Portugal in disgust and went to Spain. After seven years of pleading with that court he was nearly exhausted and on the eve of leaving for France, when Ferdinand and Isabella granted the required aid and authority for Columbus to explore the ocean for the discovery of a shorter route to India and the finding of new lands in the interest and at the expense of Spain and Castile. The full text of this license has just been given.

The return of Columbus from his successful voyage created great excitement throughout all Europe. It promptly led to the organization of new expeditions of discovery by other nations and by adventurous navigators. Portugal immediately proposed to explore upon the same route, gone over by

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Columbus, for further discoveries and to contest with Spain for all the benefits to be derived from this great discovery by Columbus. To preserve the peace between the two great maritime powers, Spain and Portugal—for jealousies as well as rivalry at once sprang up at the several courts, and persistent attempts were made to deprive Columbus of the honors so heroically won, as well as of the dignities and emoluments so solemnly covenanted to him by the King and Queen of Spain in case of success—an appeal was made to the Pope to settle the boundary lines in the New World. The conditions exacted from Columbus by Ferdinand and Isabella had been fully complied with, but Spain was in danger, owing to the avarice excited among other nations and maritime adventurers, of being despoiled of the benefits of these discoveries.

In those days the Pope was looked upon as the great counselor of peace, the father of the church, and the arbitrator of equities between Christian rulers of empires as well as of princes and peoples. That justice might be done and peace preserved, Pope Alexander VI wrote his bull relative to the partitioning of the globe, or rather the lands and islands discovered, or to be discovered, in the ocean, not inhabited by Christian people. In 1452 Pope Nicholas V had granted and confirmed to the Portuguese their discoveries on the west coast of Africa. The letter or bull of Pope Alexander, therefore, had a precedent. His is probably the first official document of any potentate to recognize the truth of the rotundity of the earth. The bull has nothing, as it seems to me, of the offensive assumption and arbitrariness with which it is frequently charged. As no modern translation of the document is available to the general reader, I have been favored with a new translation of the entire document and its indorsements by Judge Martin F. Morris, of the court of appeals of the District of Columbia, and it is here given in full:[1]

Copy of the bull or donation, by the authority whereof the Pope of Rome, Alexander, sixth of that name, granted and gave to the kings of Castille and their successors, the regions and islands of the new world discovered in the Western Ocean by the navigations of the Spaniards.

Alexander, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his beloved son in Christ King Ferdinand, and to his beloved daughter in Christ Elizabeth (Isabella), the Queen, illustrious princes of Castille, Leon, Aragon, Sicily, and Granada, health and apostolic benediction:

Among other works acceptable to the Divine Majesty and in accordance

[1] The original Latin is in some places rather unintelligible or ungrammatical, but it is not deemed proper to correct it in this regard—TRANSLATOR.

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with the desire of our heart, that assuredly has been the chief that the Catholic Faith and the Christian Religion be in our time especially exalted and everywhere enlarged and extended, and the salvation of souls procured and barbarous nations depressed and brought back to the faith. Wherefore since through the favor of the Divine mercy, notwithstanding our unworthiness, we have been called to this sacred seat of Peter, knowing you as true Catholic kings and rulers, such as we have ever known you to have been, and the great deeds done by you clearly demonstrate to the whole world, and that you not only desire, but have earnestly striven, sparing no labor, no trouble, and no danger, even that of shedding your own blood in the attempt, and have devoted thereto your whole souls and your untiring energies, as your recovery of the Kingdom of Granada from the tyranny of the Saracens in our times testifies, with so much glory to the Divine Name, we deem it to be not unbecoming in us and to be due to you, that we should freely and cheerfully concede to you that whereby you may be able further to prosecute with more ardent effort for the honor of God and the propagation of the domain of Christianity the praiseworthy enterprise upon which you have entered so acceptable to the immortal God. We have been advised that, whereas for some time you have proposed to yourselves to seek and discover certain islands and lands remote and heretofore unknown, in order that their inhabitants might be brought to the knowledge of our Redeemer and the profession of our Catholic Faith, yet, in consequence of your having been so long engaged in the conquest and recovery of the Kingdom of Granada, you have not been able to bring that laudable and holy project to the desired conclusion.

Now, however, inasmuch as it has pleased Almighty God, to enable you to accomplish your purpose, Granada having been reduced and to send our beloved son Christopher Columbus, a man every way worthy and most thoroughly accomplished for so great an enterprise, with ships and men well suited for the work, not without labor, and expense, and danger, diligently to explore all those remote and unknown continents and islands, in the far-off Ocean where no ships have ever yet gone; and these daring navigators, traversing with the Divine aid and supreme enterprise the distant Ocean Sea, have actually discovered islands most remote and continents heretofore unknown, wherein reside numerous peaceful nations, naked of clothing, as it is asserted, and eating no flesh meat, yet believing, as these envoys of yours seem to think in one overruling God, the Creator of all things, and so ready to embrace the Catholic Faith and to adopt the Christian morality; and the hope is therefore entertained that, if they were duly instructed, the name of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ could easily be extended through those unknown regions; and inasmuch as the said Christopher has caused to be constructed in one of the principal of these islands a settlement of some of the Christians who had gone with him sufficiently fortified, so that they might explore the other islands and more remote lands; and these islands and lands already discovered are found to produce gold, and spices, and precious things of many different kinds and qualities; wherefore, all these things being considered, and especially the purpose, which it becomes you as Catholic Kings and rulers to entertain, of the exaltation and spread of the Catholic Faith, therein following the example of the Kings your ancestors of illustrious memory,

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and to bring, with the Divine assistance, those islands and continents and their inhabitants, to the knowledge of that true Catholic Faith, we, greatly commending in the Lord your holy and most praiseworthy enterprise, and desirous that it should be brought to its desired consummation, and that the name of our Redeemer should be made known in these regions, exhort you most earnestly in the Lord, and by the Sacrament of Baptism by which you have bound yourselves to the teachings of the Apostles, and by the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ we earnestly require you, that, when you devote your efforts to the prosecution of this enterprise, you do so with an earnest zeal for the orthodox faith, and that you spare no labor and no danger to bring the denizens of these lands to embrace the Christian Religion, in the firm hope and trust that Almighty God will bless your efforts.

And in order that you may the more freely and courageously assume the conduct of the enterprise under the influence of the Apostolic grace, we, of our own motion, and not in consequence of any solicitation by you or by any one on your behalf, do of our own liberality and certain knowledge, and of the fulness of Apostolic power, all the islands and continents discovered and to be discovered towards the west and south, drawing a line from the North to the South Pole, distant one hundred leagues towards the west and south from any of the Islands known as the Azores and Cape De Verde Islands, whether such islands and continents be in the direction of India or in any other direction, if such islands and continents so discovered or to be discovered west and south of said line have not been actually possessed by any other Christian King or ruler before Christmas Day last passed preceding the present year One Thousand Four Hundred and Ninety Three, when some of those islands were discovered by your envoys and captains, by the authority of Almighty God vested in us through the Blessed Peter, and the authority delegated to us on earth by Jesus Christ, together with all the provinces, cities, fortresses, districts, and towns, and all their appurtenances, according to the tenor of these presents, do give, grant, and assign to you, your heirs, and successors, Kings of Castille and Leon: and you, and your heirs and successors aforesaid we constitute and appoint Lords of them, with full and free power, authority and jurisdiction of every kind whatsoever: it being fully understood, however, that by this concession and grant it is not intended that any Christian Prince, who may have actually possessed any of those islands or continents before the aforesaid Christmas Day, should not be deprived of any just right that he may have acquired.

And moreover, in virtue of the holy obedience which you have promised and which we have no doubt from your great devotion and royal magnanimity you will continue to observe, we urge you to send to those islands and continents holy men, God-fearing, learned, skilled, and experienced, to instruct the inhabitants thereof in the Catholic Faith and the principles of Christian morality, and that you send them with all reasonable diligence.

And we hereby forbid all persons, of whatever rank, station or condition, even be it royal or imperial, under pain of excommunication, which upon the commission of the overt act we pronounce against them, from presuming to go for the purpose of trade or for any other purpose, without your special permission or that of your heirs and successors, as aforesaid,

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to any of those islands or continents discovered or to be discovered, whether towards India or in any other direction, beyond the line aforesaid drawn from the North Pole to the South Pole one hundred leagues west and south of the islands commonly known as the Azores and Cape De Verde Islands. And this we decree in Him from whom all power and authority and all good things proceed, all ordinances and decrees of the Apostolic See to the contrary notwithstanding, confiding that, under the direction of our Lord, if you prosecute this laudable and holy enterprise, your labors and your efforts will soon have most happy result for the happiness and glory of all Christian people.

But inasmuch as it may be difficult to transmit these letters to all places where it may be expedient to have them known, it is our will, and we hereby upon the same authority as aforesaid decree, that whithersoever they shall be transferred and made known under the seal and signature of a notary public, or under the seal of any person established in ecclesiastical dignity, or under the authority of any ecclesiastical court, the same faith and credit shall be given to them in judicial proceedings and elsewhere, as if the originals hereof were themselves exhibited.

To no man, therefore, shall it be lawful to infringe or rashly to contravene these letters of our commendation, exhortation, request, gift, grant, assignment, commission, authority, decree, mandate, prohibition, and will. But if, however, any person shall so presume, let him know that he will incur the indignation of Almighty God and of his holy Apostles Peter and Paul.

Given at Rome at Saint Peter's, in the year of the Incarnation of our Lord 1493, on the fourth day before the Nones of May (May 4), in the first year of our Pontificate.

One of the earliest printed references to the discovery of the New World handed down by contemporary history occurs in a sermon by Bishop Barnard Carvajal, delivered in Rome June 19, 1493. The fact of the discovery is of interest to us, and it shows, what is quite natural in a Catholic bishop, that Christianity rather than the augmentation of the royal power or the extension of commerce was the keynote of his congratulation. A copy of this rare pamphlet may be seen in the Library of Congress. The reference is in the following language:

TRANSLATION COPIED FROM BIBLIOTHECA AMERICANA UETUSTISSIMA (P. 35).

And Christ placed under their [Ferdinand and Isabella's] rule the Fortunate [Canary] Islands, the fertility of which has been ascertained to be wonderful. And He [the Almighty] has lately disclosed some other unknown ones towards the Indies, which may be considered among the most precious things on earth, and it is believed that they will be gained over to Christ by the emissaries of the King.

Portugal demurred to the justice of the line of demarcation fixed by the bull of 1493 at 100 leagues west of the Azores or

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Cape Verde Islands, then supposed to lie on the same meridian. The question of justice between Spain and Portugal in the line proposed had received the consideration of the Pope, which, however, failed to give satisfaction. Negotiations, therefore, speedily began between Spain and Portugal for a convention to review and agree upon a new or modified line, which method of disposing of the dissension was sanctioned by the Pope, and he appears no further in the matter. The views of Spain and Portugal were represented through duly appointed plenipotentiaries at a convention assembled at Tordesillas in June, 1494. The object of the convention was friendly arbitration of the question and the adoption of a just agreement of their respective rights and the rights others had in the matter of maritime discoveries. After due deliberation an agreement was reached fixing the line or limit at 370 leagues, about 1,080 miles, west of the Cape Verde Islands, to become binding upon the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal after June 7, 1494.

That the actual questions of equity raised by the Portuguese Government and considered by the Spanish may clearly appear, a translation is given below. This embraces the commissions of the plenipotentiaries, the powers granted them, and the decision of the arbitrators as printed in Volume I of the Arbitration upon a Part of the National Territory of Missiones disputed by the United States of Brazil—Argentine Evidence before the President of the United States of America, by Estanislao S. Zeballos. The full document, called a capitulation or agreement, is there printed, and is as follows (the original document is in the General Archives of the Indies, Seville):

TREATY OF TORDESILLAS.

Capitulation of the partition of the Ocean Sea made between the Catholic Kings Don Fernando and Dona Isabel and Don Juan, King of Portugal.

Don Fernando and Doña Isabel, by the Grace of God King and Queen of Castile, of Leon, of Aragon, and of Sicily, of Granada, Toledo, Valencia, of Galicia, of Majorca, of Sevile, of Sardinia, of Cordoba, of Corsica, of Murcia, of Jaen, of Algarve, of Algeciras, of Gibraltar, of the Canary Islands, Count and Countess of Barcelona, and Lord and Lady of Biscay, and of Molina, Duke and Duchess of Athens and of Neopatria, Count and Countess of Roussillon and of Sardinia, Marquis and Marchioness of Oristan and of Goccano, together with the Prince Don Juan, our very dear and beloved Son, firstborn heir of our aforesaid Kingdoms and Lordships: Whereas by Don Henrique Henriques, our chief Steward, and Don Gutierre de Cardenas, chief Commendator of Leon, our President of the Court of

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Accounts, and Doctor Rodrigo Maldonado, all of them of our Council it was treated, adjusted, and agreed for us and in our name and by virtue of our power, with the Most Serene Don Juan by the Grace of God, King of Portugal and of Algarves, and of this and the other side of the sea, Lord of Guinea in Africa, our very dear and beloved brother, and with Ruy de Sousa, Lord of Sagras and Berenguel, and Don Juan de Sousa his son, chief Inspector of Weights and Measures of said Most Serene King our brother, and Arias de Almadana, Corregidor of the Civil Acts of his Court and that of his Desembargo, all of them of the Council of the aforesaid Most Serene King our brother, in his name and by virtue of his power, his Ambassadors who to us came about the disputes of that which to us and to said Most Serene King our brother appertains of that which until the seventh day of the present month of June, in which we are, from the date of this deed, is being to be discovered on the ocean sea, in which agreement our aforesaid Attorneys, amongst other things, promised that within a certain term expressed in it we should grant, confirm, swear, ratify and approve the above mentioned agreement by ourselves, we wishing to fulfil and fulfilling all that which in our name was adjusted agreed and granted in regard to the above mentioned, we ordered said deed of the aforesaid agreement and cove[n]ant to be brought before us in order to see it and examine it and the tenor of which, *de verbo ad verbum*, is as follows:

"In the name of God Almighty, Father, Son and Holy Ghost three truly separate and distinct persons and only one Divine Essence.

"Be it manifest and known to all this public instrument should see, that at the village of Tordesillas, on the seventh day of our Lord Jesus Christ, one thousand four hundred and ninety-four, in the presence of us, the secretaries, clerks and notaries public above mentioned being present the honorable Don Henrique Henriques, chief Steward of the Very High and Very Powerful Prince and Princess Don Fernando and Doña Isabel, by the Grace of God, King and Queen of Castile, of Leon, of Aragon, of Sicily, of Granada, etc., and Don Gutierre de Cardenas, President of the Court of Accounts of said King and Queen of Castile, of Leon, of Aragon, of Sicily and of Granada, etc., their competent Attorneys on one party, and the Honorable Ruy de Sousa, Lord of Sagres and Berenguel, and Don Juan de Sousa, his son, chief Inspector of Weights and Measures of the Very High and Very Excellent Don Juan by the Grace of God, King of Portugal and of Algarves, of this and that side of the sea, Lord of Guinea in Africa, and Arias de Almadana, Corregidor of the Civil Acts of this Court and of that of his Desembargo, all of the Council of said King of Portugal, and his competent Ambassador and Attorneys as exhibited by both said parties by the procurations and power of attorney by their Lords granted to them, the tenor of which, *de verbo ad verbum*, is as follows:

"'Don Fernando and Doña Isabel, by the Grace of God, King and Queen of Castile, of Leon, of Aragon, of Sicily, of Granada, of Toledo, of Valencia, of Galicia, of Majorca, of Sevile, of Sardinia, of Cordova, of Corsica, of Murcia, of Jaen, of Algarve, of Algeciras, of Gibraltar, of the Canary Islands, Count and Countess of Barcelona, and Lord and Lady Biscay and of Molina, Duke and Duchess of Athens, of Neopatria, Count

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and Countess of Rousillon and of Sardinia, Marquis and Marchioness of Oristan and of Goccano, etc. Whereas the Most Serene King of Portugal and very dear and very beloved Brother has sent to us as his Ambassador and Attorneys, Ruy de Sousa, Lord of the villages of Sagres and Berenguel, and Don Juan de Sousa, his chief Inspector of Weights and Measures, and Arias de Almadana, his Corregidor of the Civil Acts of his Court and that of his Desembargo all of his Council, to treat and convene and accord with us or with our Ambassadors and Attorneys, in our name, upon the disagreement between us and said Most Serene King of Portugal our Brother, as to what to us and to him appertains of that which until the present is liable to be discovered in the ocean sea; therefore confiding in you Don Henrique Henriques, our chief Steward, and in Don Gutierre de Cardenas, Chief Commandator of Leon, our President of the Court of Accounts, and in Doctor Rodrigo Maldonado, all of our Council, that you are such persons as will serve us loyally, and well and faithfully accomplish that which we would order and command to you by this present letter we give you all our full power in the most ample form that we can and the case requires, especially in order that for us and in our name and that of our heirs and successors and of all our Kingdoms and Lordships, and subjects and natives of them, you may treat, accord and agree, and adjust and covenant with the Ambassadors of said Most Serene King of Portugal, our Brother, in his name any contract, agreement, limitation, demarcation and adjustment about what has been said, by the winds and directions in degrees of North and South and by those quarters, divisions and places of dry and sea, and of land, which you would esteem convenient; and so we give you said power that you may leave to the said King of Portugal and to his kingdom and successors, all the seas, islands, and lands lying within whatever limitation and demarcation of coast, seas, islands, and lands might lie in; and further we give you said power, in order that in our name and that of our heirs and successors, and of our Kingdoms and Lordships and Subjects and natives of them, you may accord, agree and receive and accept from said King of Portugal and from said his Ambassadors and Attorneys, in his name that in all seas, islands and lands lying within the limitation and demarcation of coasts, seas and islands, and lands which should rest or remain for us or for our successors, may be ours and of our Lordship and conquest and in the same manner of our Kingdoms and successors of them, with those limitations and exceptions and with all other divisions and declarations which you would esteem convenient; and in order that you may do and grant, accord, agree, and receive and accept in regard to all what has been said and to everything and part of it and about that concerning it or depending on it or annexed to and connected with it in any form, in our name and that of the said our heirs and successors and of all our Kingdoms, Lordships, and subjects and natives of them, whatever capitulations, penalties and submissions and resignations which you would wish and esteem proper, and about it you may make and grant and do make and grant everything and each of them, of whatever nature and quality, gravity and importance they be, although they be such that by their condition they should require another determinate and specific mandate, and that it should by act and right be made a singular and express mention of and that we being present could make and grant and receive; and further we

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give you full power that you may swear and do swear by our souls, that we and our heirs and successors, and subjects and natives and vassals acquired or to be acquired, shall have, keep and accomplish, and that they shall have, keep and accomplish, really and effectively, all that you thus may agree, contract, swear, grant, and sign, excepting every artfulness fraud, and deceit, fiction and simulation; and thus you may in our name agree and assure and promise that we personally shall assure, swear and promise and grant and sign all that you, in our name, about what has been mentioned, will assure, and promise, and contract, within that space of time which you would esteem proper and that we shall keep and accomplish it really and effectively, upon the conditions and penalties and obligations contained in the contract of peace made and accorded between us and the said Most Serene King, our Brother, and upon all the rest which you would promise and agree those which from this moment we promise to pay if we should incur in them: to which end in all and in every part of it we give you said power with free and general administration and we promise and assure by our faith and royal word to have, keep and accomplish, we and our said heirs and succesors, all that through you about what has been said in whatever form and manner, would be made agreed and sworn and promised and we promise to have it for firm conclusively and acceptable staple and valid now and forever; and that we shall not go or come against it nor against any part of it nor our heirs and successors, by ourselves or by other intervening persons directly or indirectly, under any pretext or law suit nor out of it, upon the express obligation which we therefore make of all our patrimonial, and fiscal goods and any other of our vassals, subjects and natives, moveable and landed property had or to be had. In firmness whereof, we ordered this our letter of attorney to be executed which we signed with our names and order it to be sealed with our seal. Given at the village of Tordesillas, the fifth day of the month of June, one thousand four hundred and ninety fourth year of the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ.—I the King—I the Queen.—I, Fernan Alvarez de Toledo, Secretary, of the King and of the Queen our Lords, caused it to be written by their command.'

"Don Juan, by the Grace of God, King of Portugal and of Algarve, and of this and the other side of the sea in Africa and Lord of Guinea to all those who this our letter of attorney and procuration should see, let it be known, that; Whereas, by the mandate of the Very High and Very Excellent and Powerful Prince and Princess, the King Don Fernando and Queen Doña Isabel, King and Queen of Castile, of Leon, of Aragon, of Sicily of Granada, etc., our very beloved and very esteemed brothers, some islands were discovered and newly found, and some islands and lands could be henceforth discovered and found about which ones and the others found or to be found through the right and reason which we have for it, there could happen amongst us all and our Kingdoms and Lordships, and the subjects and natives of them, disputes and controversies (which our Lord forbid) we wish for the great love and friendship which amongst us all exist, and in order to seek, procure and maintain a greater peace and firmer concord and tranquility, that the sea in which the mentioned islands lie and might be found, be divided and marked out between us in some good, sure and limited manner; and as we at present cannot personally practice it

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confiding in you Ruy de Sousa, Lord of Sagres and Berenguel, and in Don Juan de Sousa, our chief Inspector of Weights and Measures and in Arias de Almadana, Corregidor of the Civil Acts of our Court and of our Desembargo, all of our Council, by this present letter, we give you all our full power, authority and special mandate, and we make and constitute you, all together of you and each one *in solidum*, were the other in any way disabled, our Ambassadors and Attorneys in that most ample form that we can and in such case is required, generally and especially, in such manner that the generality may not abrogate the speciality, nor the speciality the generality, that for us and in our name, and that of our heirs and successors and of all our Kingdoms and Lordships, subjects and natives of them, you may treat, contract, agree, and make, and do treat, contract, agree and make with said King and Queen of Castile, our Brothers, or with whom to that end may have their power, whatever covenant, agreement, limitation, demarcation and accordance upon the ocean sea, islands and continents that should exist in those directions and degrees of North and of South, and through those quarters, divisions, and places of dry and sea, and land which you may esteem proper; and thus we give you said power, that you may yield and do yield to said King and Queen, and to their Kingdoms and successors, all the seas, islands, and lands that may be or should be within whatever limitation and demarcation that to said King and Queen should appertain: and thus we give you said power in our name and that of our heirs and successors and of all our Kingdoms and Lordships, subjects and natives of them, so that you may agree, convene, receive and accept with and from the King and Queen or from and with their Attorneys that all the seas, islands and lands, which might lie within the limits and demarcation of coasts, seas, islands and lands, that to us and our successors, should remain be ours and of our Lordship and conquest and also of our Kingdoms and successors of them, with those limitations and exceptions of our islands and with all the other clauses and declarations which you would esteem proper. Which said power we give to you and said Ruy de Sousa and Don Juan de Sousa and Arias de Almadana, in order that in regard to all that has been mentioned and to everything and part of it and to that concerning it or depending upon it or to it annexed and connected with in any form, you may make and grant, agree, treat and undo agreements, receive and accept in our name and of our said heirs and successors, and of all our Kingdoms and Lordships, subjects and natives of them, whatever capitulations and contracts and deeds with whatever bonds, pacts, manners, conditions, obligations and stipulations, penalties and submissions and resignations that you should like and esteem proper, and about it you may make, grant, do, and convene, agree all things and each of them of whatever nature, character, gravity and importance, they be or may be provided they be such that by their condition they should not require another singular and specified mandate, and of which a singular and express mention should by act and right be made, and that we being present could make and grant and receive; and further we give you full power that you may swear and do swear by our souls, that we and our heirs and successors, subjects and natives and vassals acquired or to be acquired shall have, keep and accomplish, and that they shall have, keep and accomplish really and effectively, all that you may thus contract,

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agree, swear, grant and sign excepting every artfulness, fraud, deceit, and fiction; and you may thus in our name contract assure and promise that we personally shall assure, swear, promise, and sign all that you in the aforesaid name, about what has been said shall assure, promise, and contract within the space of time, which you would esteem proper, and that we shall keep and accomplish really and effectively, upon the conditions, penalties, and obligations contained in the contract of peace amongst us done and agreed and upon all the rest that you would promise and contract in the said name, which from this moment we promise to pay and we shall really and effectively pay, if we should incur in them: for all which, and each thing and part of it we give you the said power with free and general administration, and we promise and assure through our royal faith to have, keep and accomplish, and also our heirs and successors, all that by you about what has been mentioned in whatever form and manner be made, contracted sworn and promised; and we promise to have it as firm, conclusive, and acceptable, stable and valid now and ever and that we shall not go or come, nor they shall go or come against it, not against any part of it at any time nor in any form, by us nor by ourselves, nor by any intervening persons, directly or indirectly, under any pretext or lawsuit, nor out of it, upon the express obligation which we, therefore make of the said our Kingdoms and Lordships, and of all the rest of our patrimonial treasure, and any other of our vassals, subjects and natives, moveable and landed property had or being to be had; in testimony and faith whereof we order this our letter to be given to you, signed by us and sealed with our seal, given at our city of Lisbon, the eighth day of March.—RUY DE PINA made it the year of our Lord Jesus Christ's Nativity, of one thousand four hundred and ninety-four.—THE KING."

And immediately the said Attorneys of the said King and Queen of Castile, of Leon, of Aragon, of Sicily of Granada, etc., and of the said King of Portugal and of the Algarves, etc., said that:—Whereas amongst the said masters their constituents there is a certain difference about what to each of the said parties appertains, of that which until the present date of this capitulation is about being discovered in the Ocean Sea that they, therefore in merit of the peace and concord and the maintenance of the relationship and love, that the said King of Portugal has with the said King and Queen of Castile of Aragon, etc., their Highnesses are pleased, and the said their Attorneys in their names and in virtue of their said powers granted and consented, that a line be traced and marked out through the said Ocean sea straight from Pole to Pole, that is to say, from the Arctic to the Antarctic Pole, that is from North to South which line or limit to be given is as it is said at three hundred and seventy leagues to the right from Cape Verde Islands towards the West by degree or in any other form as at better and sooner might be given, so that they may not be more and that all that until the present has been found and discovered, and that henceforth should be found and discovered by the said King of Portugal and by his ships, both islands and mainlands, above the said limit and line given in the above mentioned form, going along the said side of the East within the said line to the side of the East or of the North or South of it, provided it be not passing across the said line, shall be and rest for and

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belong to the said King of Portugal and to his successors for ever and ever, and that all the rest, both islands and mainlands found or about being found, discovered or about being discovered, which were or should be found by the said King and Queen of Castile and of Aragon, etc., and by their ships, from the said line given in the aforesaid form, running along the said side of the West after passing the said line towards the West or the North or South of it shall be and rest for and belong to the said King and Queen of Castile, of Leon, etc., and to their successors for ever and ever: And further the said Attorneys promised and assured in virtue of the said powers, that henceforward no ships shall be sent, that is to say, the said King and Queen of Castile, and of Leon, and of Aragon, etc., by this side of the line or the side of the East on this side of the said line, that rests for the said King of Portugal and of the Algarves, etc., nor the said King of Portugal to the other side of the said limit, that rests for the said King and Queen of Castile, and of Aragon, etc., to discover and search after lands, nor any islands, nor to contract or rescue, nor conquer in any manner whatever; but that if it should happen that going in this way of this side of the same limit the said ships of the said King and Queen of Castile, of Leon, and of Aragon, etc., should find any islands or lands in that which thus rests for the said King of Portugal, that such be and rest for the said King of Portugal and for his heirs for ever and ever, and their Highnesses are to order it thereupon to be given up and delivered. And if the vessels of the said King of Portugal should find any islands and lands on the side of the said King and Queen of Castile, and of Leon, and of Aragon, etc., that all that be and rest for the said King and Queen of Castile, of Leon and of Aragon, etc., and for their heirs for ever and ever and that the said King of Portugal is to order it thereupon to be surrendered and delivered.

And further in order that the said line or limit of the said partition which is to be given and do give, be straight and the surest that it be possible along the said three hundred and seventy leagues from the said Cape Verde Islands towards the West, as it has been said, accorded and agreed by the said Attorneys of both said parties, within the first following ten months, reckoned from the day of the date of this capitulation, the said their constituents are to send two or four caravels, that is to say one or two from each party, or more or less, as it be agreed by the said parties to be necessary, which for the said time are to be assembled at the Grand Canary Island; and each of the said parties is to send with them men, both pilots and astrologers and sailors, and some other persons that may be convenient, but they are to be as many on one party as on the other; and that some of the said pilots, astrologers and sailors and skillful men that the said King and Queen of Castile, of Leon, and of Aragon, etc., should send, are to go in the ship or ships that the said King of Portugal and of the Algarves, etc., should send, and likewise some of the said men that the said King of Portugal should send, are to go on the ship or ships that the said King and Queen of Castile and of Aragon should send as many from one part as from the other one, so that they may jointly better observe and survey the sea, the rhumb and quarters, and degrees of South and North, and mark out the above mentioned leagues in order to perform the demarcation and limit, every body that should go in the said ships, sent by both said parties, and that should have their powers, to act

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friendly together, whose said ships all jointly are to set sail for the said Cape Verde Islands and thence they shall take their route right to the West up to the said three hundred and seventy leagues measured as the said persons who should there go would agree that they are to be measured, without injuring the said parties; and there where they should end the point or convenient sign is to be made by degrees of South or of North or by day's run of leagues, or as they could better agree. Which said line they are to mark out from the said Arctic to the said Antarctic Pole, namely, from North to South, as it has been said, and that which they should mark out is to be written and signed with their names by the said persons that would therefore be sent by both said parties, which are to have faculty and powers, from the said parties, each one of its own one, to perform the said sign and limitation; and made by them, all being agreed let it be had as a perpetual sign and demarcation for ever and ever, in order that the said parties, nor any of them, nor their successors may never contradict, annul, or alter it in any time or in any form whatever. And should it happen that the said line or limit from Pole to Pole, as it has been said should run along any island or continent, at the beginning of such an island or land, which were thus found, through which the said line should run, some sign or landmark is to be continued henceforward, placing other signs along such island or land, straight to the said line, which are to divide that which to each of the parties should belong and in order that the subjects of the said either parties may not dare pass over to one another's side, overpassing the said line or limit in the said island or land.

And further, whereas the said ships of the said King and Queen of Castile, of Leon, of Aragon, etc., in order to sail from their Kingdoms and Lordships to their said part of the other side of the said line, in the manner that it has been said, must necessarily pass through the seas on this side of the line which is left for the said King of Portugal, it is therefore agreed and adjusted that the said ships of the said King and Queen of Castile of Leon, of Aragon, etc., may go and come and do go and come freely, surely and pacifically without any obstacle through the said seas that are left to the said King of Portugal, within the same line, always and whenever their Highnesses and their successors should desire or deem it proper; which vessels are to go through straight ways and routes from their kingdoms to whatever part lying within their line of limit, where they be willing to send to discover, conquer, or contract, and that they are to take their straight way whereby they should agree to go on any affair to their said part, and they are not to separate from them, excepting that a contrary weather should compel them to; so that they may not take or occupy before passing the said line, anything of what would be found by the said King of Portugal on his said side; and if their said ships should find any thing before passing the said line as it has been said, that that be for the said King of Portugal, and their Highnesses are to order it to be whereupon given and delivered to him. And as it might happen that the ships or men of the said King and Queen of Castile and of Aragon, etc., or on their account, some islands and main land might have been found until the twentieth of the present month of June, date of this capitulation, within the said line which is to be traced out from

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pole to pole by a straight line at the end of the said three hundred and seventy leagues reckoned from the said Cape Verde Islands to the West, as it has been said, it is agreed and adjusted, in order to prevent any doubt, that all the islands and main land which may be found and discovered in any way until the said twentieth day of the said month of June, although they be found by the ships or men of the said King and Queen of Castile and of Aragon, etc., provided it be within the two hundred and fifty-first leagues of the said three hundred and seventy leagues reckoned from the said Cape de Verde Islands to the West towards the said line, at any part of them towards the said poles, that they be found within the said two hundred and fifty leagues tracing straight line from pole to pole where the said two hundred and fifty leagues should end, are to be left and remain for the said King of Portugal and of the Algarves, etc., and for his successors and kingdoms for ever and ever. And that all the islands and main land that until the twentieth day of the present month of June may be found and discovered by the ships of the said King and Queen of Castile and of Aragon, etc., and by their men or in any other form within the other hundred and twenty leagues, which are wanted to complete the said three hundred and seventy leagues where the said line, which is to be traced from pole to pole, as it has been said is to end at any part of the said one hundred and twenty leagues towards the said poles, that may be found until the said day be left and remain for the said King and Queen of Castile, and of Aragon, etc., and for their successors and their Kingdoms for ever and ever as it is and is to be their own all that which is or might be found on the other side of the said line of the said three hundred and seventy leagues which are left for their Highnesses, as it is said, despite of the said one hundred and twenty leagues being within the said line of the said three hundred and seventy leagues that are left for the said King of Portugal and of the Algarves, etc., as it is said. And if up to the said twentieth day of this month of June nothing is found by the said ships of their Highness within the said one hundred and twenty leagues, and henceforth should it be found, let it be for the said King of Portugal as in the above written chapter is contained. All that which is said, and each thing, and part of it, the said Henrique Henriques, chief Steward, and Don Gutierre de Cardenas, President of the Court of Accounts, and Doctor Rodrigo Maldonado, attorneys of the said very high and powerful Princes and Princess, the King and Queen of Castile, of Leon, of Aragon, of Sicily and of Granada, etc., and in virtue of their said power hereto incorporated and the said Ruy de Sousa and Juan de Sousa and Arias de Almadana, attorneys and ambassadors of the said very high and very excellent Prince, the King of Portugal and of the Algarves, of this and the other side, Lord of Guinea in Africa, and in virtue of his said power which is hereto incorporated promised and assured in the name of the said their constituents, that they and their successors and Kingdoms and Lordships for ever and ever, shall have, keep and fulfill really and effectively, excepting all fraud and artfulness deceit, fiction and simulation, everything contained in this capitulation, and each thing and part of it shall be kept, fulfilled and performed, as everything contained in the capitulation, and each thing and part of it shall be kept, fulfilled and performed, as everything contained in the capitulation of peace done and adjusted amongst the said King and Queen of Castile and of Aragon, etc., and Don Alfonso, King

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of Portugal, that may rest in peace, and the said King, which is now of Portugal, his son, being Prince the past year of one thousand four hundred and seventy nine; and upon those same penalties, bonds and surety and obligations in accordance with and in the manner contained in the said capitulation of peace it is to be kept, fulfilled and performed; and they obliged themselves and their successors, not to go over against the said peace nor anything of it nor they are to come against the aforesaid and specified, nor against anything or part of it, directly or indirectly, nor in any other form at any time whatever, nor in any intended or not intended manner that it be or may be upon the penalties contained in the said capitulation of the said peace, and the penalty paid or not paid, or graciously remitted; that this obligation and capitulation and contract be left and remain firm, stable and valid for ever and ever; and in order to have, keep and fulfill and pay all in this manner the said Attorneys and in the name of the said their constituents engaged one another the moveable and landed property of their said parties patrimonial and fiscal, and of their subjects and vassals had and being to be had, and renounced to whatever laws and rights which the said parties or either of them may avail themselves of in order to go or come against the above mentioned or against any part of it; and for greater surety and firmness of the above said, they swore upon God and Holy Mary and the sign of the Cross on which they set their right hands and upon the words of the sacred Gospels, in whatever part they are most largely written in the souls of their constituents, that they and every one of them shall have and keep and fulfil all the above mentioned and each thing and part of it really and effectively, excepting all fraud, artfulness and deceit, fiction and simulation, and they shall not contradict it at any time nor in any form. They swore upon the said oath not to demand absolution nor release of it to the Pope, nor to any other legate or prelate which may give it to them and though by his own will should it be given to them, they shall make no use of it but by this present capitulation they entreat in their said names to the Pope that His Holiness be pleased to confirm and approve this said capitulation, according to what it contains, and shall order bulls to be issued about it to the parties or to either of them which should solicit them, laying his censure upon those which should go or pass against it at any time whatever. And likewise the said Attorneys, in their said name, obliged themselves upon the said penalty and oath, within the first following one hundred days reckoned from the day of the date of this capitulation for the parties give to each other the approbation and ratification of this said capitulation, written in parchment and signed with the names of the said their constituents, and sealed with their pending lead seals, and in the writing which the said King and Queen of Castile, and Aragon, etc., should issue, is to sign and agree and grant the very noble and very illustrious Prince Don Juan their son. Of all what is said two copies were drawn, both of the same tenor, which they signed with their names and were done before the secretaries, and witnesses undersigned, one for each party. And either of them which should appear, let it be as valid as if both should do; that they were done and executed at the said city of Tordesillas the above mentioned day, month and year. The Knight Commander Don Henrique, Ruy de Sousa, Don Juan de Sousa, Doctor Rodrigo Maldonado, Licentiate Arias, Witnesses who were present and who saw the said Attorneys and

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Ambassadors, sign here their names and execute the aforesaid, and make the said oath:—The Knight Commander Pedro de Leon, the Knight Commander Fernando de Torres resident of the city of Valladolid, the Knight Commander Fernando de Gamarra, of Traga and Cenete, Continos of the house of the said King and Queen, our Lords, and Juan Suarez de Sequeira, and Ruy Leme, and Duarte Pacheco, Continos of the house of the said King of Portugal therefore procured. And I, Ferdinand Alvarez de Toledo, Secretary of the King and Queen, our Lords, and their Council, and Notary Public in their Court, and in all their Kingdoms and Lordships, was present to all what is said, together with the said witnesses and with Esteban Baez, Secretary of the said King of Portugal, that by authorization that the said King and Queen, our Lords, gave him, to give him, to give faith of this act in their Kingdoms, was also present to what was said; and at the petition and execution, of all the said attorneys and ambassadors, that in my presence and his, sign here their names, I caused this public instrument of capitulations to be written, as it is done on these six leaves of fullscap paper, written on both sides inclosing this one which contains the names of the aforesaid persons and my sign; and the end of every page is marked with the flourish of my name, and with that of the said Esteban Baez, and so I set here my sign, that is such. In testimony of truth:—Fernand Alvarez. And I, the said Esteban Baez, that by authorization of the said King and Queen of Castile, and of Leon, given to me to act publicly in all their Kingdoms and Lordships, together with the said Fernand Alvarez, at the petition and requisition of the said ambassadors and attorneys, was present at every thing, and in faith and surety of it, I signed it here with my public sign, which is such.

Which deed of contract and capitulation and concord above incorporated, seen and understood by us and by the said Prince Don Juan, our Son, we approved, commend and confirm, and we grant, ratify and promise to have and keep and fulfil all the above-mentioned in it contained, and every thing and part of it, really and effectively, without any fraud, artfulness, fiction, and simulation, and not to go nor come against it, nor against any part of it at any time nor in any form whatever; and for greater surety we and the said Prince Don Juan, our Son, swear unto God and Holy Mary and the words of the sacred Gospels, in whatever part they most largely be written, and the sign of the Cross upon which we set our right hands in presence of the said Ruy de Sousa, and Don Juan de Sousa, and Licentiate Arias de Almadana, ambassador and attorneys of the said Most Serene King of Portugal, our Brother, to have it so, keep and fulfil, and every thing and part of what to us concern, really, and effectively, as it is said by us and by our heirs and successors and by the said our Kingdoms and Lordships, and subjects and natives of them, upon the penalties and obligations, bonds and resignations contained in the said contract of capitulations and concord above written; in ratification and corroboration whereof, we signed in this letter our names and ordered it to be sealed with our lead seal hanging in colored silk threads. Given at the City of Arevalo, the second day of the month of July, year of our Lord Jesus Christ's Nativity, one thousand four hundred and ninety four.

I, THE KING.—I, THE QUEEN.—I, THE PRINCE. And I, FERNAND ALVAREZ DE TOLEDO, Secretary of the King and of the Queen, our Lords, caused it to be written by their mandate.

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The Portuguese had by accident found or rediscovered the island of Madeira in 1419–20. The Canaries and Azores were occupied by Portugal as early as 1466. It is claimed that the Azores were discovered by a Flemish merchant named Vandeberg, who was driven to them in a storm in 1431 or 1432, and from this circumstance were named the "Fortunate Islands." This merchant reported their existence and his adventures on them at Lisbon, after which the Portuguese Government took possession of them, giving them the name of Azores, the Portuguese designation for a hawk, great numbers of which were found on the islands. Indeed, they were uninhabited except by birds. The discovery of the Azores and Cape Verde Islands doubtless proved a stimulus to mariners and geographers for further discoveries.

Portugal was originally settled as a colony of Greece. About the time of the discovery of America it had developed into a rich and enterprising nation and was one of the leading maritime powers of the world.

With the death of King Sebastian, in 1578, the greatness of that Kingdom, however, began to decline, and subsequently some of the Portuguese colonies became dependencies of Spain. After the failure of the Spanish Armada, the supremacy of this nation also began to wane, and the Dutch invaded and captured some of the colonies founded by Portugal in her prosperity, known as the Portuguese Indies. The Portuguese never succeeded in founding a successful colony in North America. And yet it is asserted by some writers that at a very early day they had in Newfoundland a small settlement, which was broken up by Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1583 when he took possession of that island for Great Britain. *Terra de Lavradores* (Land of Laborers) was the name given by the Portuguese as early as 1500 to the northeastern portion of British North America, a modification of which name is still applied to it. Some writers aver that the name Canada is also derived from the Portuguese language. Pedro Alvarez Cabral, commissioned by Emanuel, King of Portugal, and in command of a fleet of thirteen ships, discovered Brazil in April, 1500. He planted a cross and took possession of the country in the name of the King of Portugal. This great discovery probably led that nation to expend its energies upon that country instead of in North America. Either this or respect for the Pope's

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bull prevented any conflict on this continent between Spain and Portugal.

The exploits of certain nations within the last few years in grabbing, *nolens volens*, the Dark Continent, not as actual settlers and colonists to cultivate the soil, but by overpowering armies and the partitioning of the territory among themselves, (the natives having no rights which the conquerors have respected), render it doubtful whether the centuries intervening from the discovery of Columbus to the present time have increased either their humanity or justice in dealing with unoccupied territory or helpless people. Africa and her treatment by the nations of Europe presents an object lesson on a grand scale, and goes far to justify the action of the Pope, after the discovery of America, in so promptly instituting means calculated to preserve peace between Spain and Portugal. As yet in Africa only the poor unoffending natives have been put to the sword. However, the military struggle which took place in North America for the possession and sovereignty over its soil, between the English, the French, the Spanish, and the Dutch, will in time be repeated in Africa by the nations who are now subjugating the natives, and partitioning their country among themselves.

It was long claimed, but, I believe, never established to the satisfaction of historians and geographers, that England had priority by right of discovery to North America. It is true Henry VII, on the 5th of March, 1496 (moved with a desire to enrich his Kingdom), issued a patent to John Cabot, a Venetian, granting authority to him and his three sons, or either of them, their heirs and assigns, "to search for islands, provinces, or regions in the eastern, western, or northern seas, and, as vassals of the King, to occupy the territories that might be found, with an exclusive right to their commerce, on paying the King a fifth part of all profits." Cabot sailed westward in May, 1497, and on the 24th of June sighted land. If the account be reliable, the first land he reached was Newfoundland, which he called "Buena Vista." After coasting, as he said, for 300 leagues, and finding no human habitation, he returned to Bristol, England, in August. Upon this and subsequent voyages by the Cabots, England laid her claims to the discovery of North America. But the justice of this claim has never been acquiesced in as good or sufficient by any council of nations. In 1763, when England had succeeded in

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driving the French out of Canada, she voluntarily abandoned the claim, as in the march of events the flimsy evidence of these discoveries by the Cabots ceased to be a factor in her American diplomacy.

The theory of the rotundity of the earth had been surmised by Plato, Aristotle, and other ancient writers, as it was by Strabo at a later date, but it obtained no general credence among mankind until inferentially, if not practically, demonstrated by the knowledge which the discovery of Columbus added to the geography of the world. Within a few years thereafter it was much discussed, and was generally accepted by all advanced thinkers, so that the glowing accounts of discoveries by Columbus created among mariners and adventurous spirits much enthusiasm and a desire to participate in explorations and discoveries.

February 3, 1498, the King of Great Britain amplified the charter given to John Cabot, authorizing him to impress six English ships, at the rates then current for vessels employed in the royal navy, and to enlist crews and follow up his discoveries of the past year. In his second voyage Sebastian Cabot skirted the Atlantic coast in North America, according to some authorities, as far south as Virginia or Florida. It is difficult to say how far to the north the Spaniards applied the term Florida, but it was probably to the Chesapeake Bay. The Florida of Mexico crossed the continent to the Pacific Ocean, and in a general way Spain claimed all of North America under the discovery of Columbus, looking in a measure upon other nations as intruders.

Maritime adventures were licensed by all nations having navies, and such enterprises became numerous, but at first the voyages were more for trade and plunder than for planting. Especially were mariners desirous of discovering a shorter passage to the Empire of Cathay. The route around the Cape of Good Hope was not discovered until 1497. It is not my intention to comment at any length upon these explorations, but to restrict my notes to land grants and actual or projected settlements and colonies in North America.

Spain never admitted any distrust of the justice of her claim to the territory of the New World in virtue of the right of discovery, or of the award of the arbitrators at Tordesillas. She was, therefore, led to make early maritime explorations along the islands and mainland of the New World, almost

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immediately after the discovery, to establish herself in the West Indies, and before investigating the Caribbean Sea, the Gulf of Mexico, and localities now within the present territory of the United States. These explorations and subsequent settlements were the earliest attempted upon the islands and mainland of the New World. Ponce de Leon discovered and named Florida in 1513, but established no permanent settlements. Miruelo coasted the western side of Florida as far as Pensacola in 1516. The mouth of the Mississippi River was discovered by Alonso de Pineda in 1519, and called by him the "Rio del Espiritu Santo." The heroic adventures of Hernando Cortez, "the conqueror of Mexico," in 1520, although not immediately connected with the discoveries and settlements under review, greatly excited and encouraged adventures along the southern and eastern coast of North America. In 1520 Lucas Vasquez de Allyon sailed along the coast of Georgia and South Carolina, and resolved to plant a colony; but it was not until May, 1526, that he sailed from Santo Domingo with three vessels, carrying 300 persons of both sexes, clergymen, physicians, mechanics, and cultivators of the soil, with 100 horses and other domestic animals, in quest of a suitable location to found a colony. They landed first at the mouth of a strait, which they named the "Jordan" (now the Wateree, in South Carolina); but not being satisfied with it, they sailed north and entered, it is believed, Chesapeake Bay, called by Allyon "San Miguel," and landed at a point supposed to be the identical place selected by the English nearly a century later, and made the site of Jamestown, on the James River, in Virginia. (See Narrative and Critical History of America, Vol. II, p. 240.)

The company, after much sickness and many deaths, became discouraged, and retired with the survivors, about 150 in number, October 18, 1526. Panfilo de Narvaez received a patent from Charles V to conquer and colonize the country around the Gulf of Mexico from "Rio de las Palmas to Florida," and received the title of Adelantado. The grant required that he should found two or more towns and forts. In an official document he styles himself "Governor of Florida, Rio de Palmas and Espiritu Santo," now called the Mississippi. Narvaez, having collected an armament, sailed with a military force of 600 persons and a fleet of five ships from San Lucas, June 17, 1527. By adverse storms he was driven on the Florida coast,

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and finally landed at Apalachee Bay. In his company he had mechanics, laborers, priests, friars, and all the outfit necessary to found an agricultural colony. It seems that one or more priests accompanied every Spanish expedition and every effort to colonize. The fiction, if not the fact, of an effort to Christianize the natives was maintained in all the Government permits to colonize and settle in the New World. Marching inland and keeping westerly, on June 31 they came to the coast at a point named by him "Bahia de Cavallos," and not finding vessels from Cuba, for which he had hoped, he set to work to build boats. Their horses were killed for food, and the iron in the spurs, stirrups, etc., of the soldiers was wrought into tools, saws, axes, etc. Their boats having been completed, they set out, and coasted between "Santa Rosa" Island and the mainland. These were probably the first boats built in America. On October 31 they came to a broad river pouring a great volume of fresh water into the Gulf, so fresh that it could be drunk. The stream was too strong for their frail craft, and the boat commanded by Narvaez was lost and never heard of. One boat was wrecked in western Louisiana or eastern Texas. The leader of this exploration, Narvaez, thus lost his life in attempting to cross what is supposed to be the Mississippi. On the march, the expedition met with Indians, who lived in houses of earth and knew the use of cotton fabrics, but no large cities nor a cultivated country were discovered. After years of suffering, the members of the expedition were all lost except Cabeza de Vaca, the treasurer, and four of his men, who in April, 1536, reached the town of "San Miguel, in Sinaloa."

The adventures of Narvaez and Cabeza de Vaca and their associates in these explorations show marvelous courage and perseverance.

In 1537 Hernando de Soto solicited the grant of a province to extend from "Rio de las Palmas to Florida," as successor to Narvaez, the grant to include also the province discovered by Allyon. The King, at Valladolid, on April 20 of this year, issued a concession to De Soto, at the same time appointing him governor of the Island of Cuba, and requiring him to conquer and occupy Florida; within a year to erect fortresses, to maintain the Christian religion and a hospital, and to plant at least 500 settlers to hold this country. De Soto sailed from San Lucas in April, 1538, and, after leaving his wife at Habana

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in May, 1539, he landed, on May 25, at "Espiritu Santo," in Florida, now known as Tampa Bay. His force was composed of five ships, two caravels, and two pinnaces, 570 men, and 223 horses. He took formal possession of the country in the name of the King of Spain on June 3, 1539. He supposed there were wealthy realms inland before him, which he was prepared to explore and subdue. While the tribes at the landing places seemed friendly, the neighboring Indians, as he marched forward, soon began to attack him. After pursuing his march for three years, and undergoing great hardships and disappointments in not finding settlements and wealthy cities upon which to lay tribute, he fell into poor health, and finally, when exhausted, in 1542, transferred his authority to command by appointing, two days before he died, Luis de Moscoço his successor in office. His remains were buried in the Mississippi River. Neither de Soto nor de Moscoço succeeded in planting a prosperous colony.

De Soto's line of march has been quite accurately determined from records left by a member of the expedition, Luis Hernandez de Biedura. (See translation published by Buckingham Smith, 1866.)

Coronado set out from Mexico City to explore the North American continent and to find the fabled "Seven Cities of Cibola." In his march he heard of De Soto's expedition in the interior, although their parties did not meet. The people he met on the prairies and plains of New Mexico wore mantles of woven cotton. He made a report of his expedidition August 3, 1540. A number of other early Spanish expeditions were organized with the best intentions to found colonies, but they all failed except two—the one at Santa Fe, in the upper valley of the Rio Grande, and the other at St. Augustine, Fla. The latter was a castle rather than a settlement or colony, but it served the purpose of founding a claim of occupancy in seizing the territories of the New World that in those days was justified by sovereigns. St. Augustine was captured and pillaged in 1536 by Sir Francis Drake, sailing under the authority of Great Britain. Although the Spanish settlement on the southern coast did not prosper as a planting colony, Spain maintained her footing against all others.

As early as 1501 the French and Portuguese fishermen had made voyages and fished with success in the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

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Cortereal and Denys, both French, in 1501 and 1506 were upon the coast of Nova Scotia and the Gulf of St. Lawrence and Baccalaos, or Newfoundland. But beyond the necessary shelter for drying their catch of fish on shore and repairing their outfit, no permanent improvements were made for some years. The French Crown claims that her settlements in America followed closely after the Spanish. The first to begin them was probably Baron Jean de Léry, in 1518, who headed an expedition and touched at Sable Island, southeast of Nova Scotia, where he landed cattle, etc.; but losing courage, he abandoned the project, leaving his domestic animals to shift for themselves. They survived, and multiplying proved of substantial benefit to later emigrants.

In 1524 Verrazano led an official exploring party to North America. He sailed along and examined the coast from latitude 32° to Newfoundland, including New York Bay, and then returned to France and made report. That ambitious Crown immediately laid claim to the whole territory and coast as far as the most southerly explored points touched by Verrazano. Jacques Cartier, with a French commission, made three voyages to the northern section of the North American continent in 1534, 1535, and 1540. His published description of his exploration of the Gulf of St. Lawrence and Labrador, in 1534, was the first to make the world acquainted with this region, and soon after led to more systematic and persistent efforts to colonize and to trade with the natives along the St. Lawrence and its tributaries. It was not until about this time that the idea was accepted that North America was a continent.

Cartier, too, was searching for a passage to Cathay, and had sailed up the St. Lawrence, passed the Indian town of Stadaconna, now Quebec, to Hochelaga, now Montreal. Cartier revisited the St. Lawrence region in 1540, and took ceremonial possession, for his royal master, of the country, named by the Indians Canada, and erected a cross surmounted by the fleur-de-lis. More earnest and persistent attempts were made from this time forward by the French to colonize the country and cultivate friendly relations with the Indians, but for years their efforts partook largely of a missionary character and of travels, trading, and explorations of the country, including the lake region and the Mississippi Valley to the Gulf of Mexico. For the success of these early French settlements

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however, much credit is due to that intrepid navigator, Samuel de Champlain, who in 1599 commanded a vessel to the West Indies, and for two years and a half visited many of the West India Islands, landed at Vera Cruz, proceeded inland to the City of Mexico, and returned by way of Panama. While there he conceived a plan for a ship canal across the isthmus, and reached Spain in 1601.

On his return to France, Henry IV, in recognition of his services, granted him a pension. Commander Amyar de Chastes, governor of Dieppe, induced Champlain to explore a grant he had received from the King, in North America, with a view to founding a colony there, and for this purpose Champlain sailed March 15, 1603, in a ship of Pont-Grave's. May 24 the company anchored at the mouth of the Tadousac, in the St. Lawrence. Champlain examined the St. Lawrence from the Gaspé to the falls above Montreal, and in August returned to France, and the same year published the first volume of his Des Sauvages. The Commander de Chastes having died, the privilege of grants of land he had enjoyed was transferred to Pierre de Guast, Sieur de Monts, who had made an agreement with Champlain to form a settlement in Acadia, and was appointed lieutenant-general. They arrived at Sable Island May 1, 1604, and, coasting along Nova Scotia, selected the island of St. Croix, so named by De Monts, where they passed the winter. It will be remembered that Henry IV of France granted in 1603 a patent for a large territory to Pierre de Guast, Sieur de Monts, a Calvinist, in North America. By 1608 something of a settlement had been made at Quebec, and in 1611 a more pretentious one at Montreal. The French followed up the Ottawa as well as the St. Lawrence, reaching the lakes by the former over a portage. Historical evidence exists to show that the French had begun settlements early in the sixteenth century, not only on the northern part of the continent, but also at the south. The southern venture in Florida and the Carolinas did not prosper, but the French never intermitted their efforts to occupy and cultivate Canada. Their trading and missionary stations were planted from the mouth of the St. Lawrence, around the lakes, and across the great valley of the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico.

Settlements were made at Port Royal by the French, but the English had no respect for French claims, and, indeed, but little for their own grants and their assignments of boundary

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to a colony when, for any reason, they wished to change them or make new ones. Grants not only overlapped, but in several cases ceded the same territory to different parties. The charter of the New England colony by James I, 1620, embraces much of the same territory which had been granted by France, as may be seen in Poore's Charters and Constitutions (Vol. I, p. 922). The country was, however, taken possession of by Great Britain, and settlements begun in it by the Massachusetts Bay Company as early as 1628, their right and title being confirmed by the King in 1629. The same territory was granted by the Crown of Great Britain under a distinct charter to Sir Ferdinando Gorges in 1639, under the name of the "Province or County of Maine," of which he was made lord palatine.

A territorial patent under the name of Acadia was also granted in 1656 by Cromwell, under the broad seal of England, to Charles St. Étienne, William Crown, Thomas Temple, and others, forever, for that part of the country commonly called Nova Scotia, extending along the coast to Pentagote and the River St. George. It was erected into a province independent of New England and the other British possessions, and the three grantees appointed hereditary governors. (Holmes's Annals.)

In the description of the French grant the country is called "Acadia," and its limits defined to be from the fortieth to the forty-sixth degree of north latitude. The King, at the same time, constituted Sieur de Monts lieutenant-general of the territory, with power to colonize and rule it and subdue and christianize its native inhabitants. The King soon after amplified the grant to De Monts and his associates, Poutrincourt, Lescarbot, and others, with an exclusive right to the commerce in peltry in Acadia and the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Countess de Guercheville, a pious French lady, moved by zeal for the conversion of the American natives, negotiated from De Monts a surrender of his patent, and procured a charter from the King for all the lands of New France, from the St. Lawrence River to Florida, with the exception of Port Royal. Through agents she took possession of the grant and sent missionaries out to inspect the country and to make friends with the natives. But, in 1613, an English ship, under the command of Capt. Samuel Argall, attacked and destroyed the settlements of the French in Acadia, which discouraged Mme. de Guercheville and led to the abandonment of this philanthropic enterprise. The French colony then moved to "Port Royal," identical with or

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adjacent to the present Annapolis. During 1604 Champlain had explored the coast of Cape Cod, making surveys and maps of it as he progressed, and returned to France in 1607. He suggested the advantages and importance of establishing a trading post on the St. Lawrence. In 1608 he and Pont-Grave were sent out to accomplish this purpose. They reached a place called by the Algonquins "Quebec," or the Narrows, where they founded a settlement. The French have always considered that this charter and settlement antedated the English charter in Virginia. Champlain made extensive exploration this year, and his name was given to a lake. In the fall he sailed back to France, but in 1610 returned to America, bringing with him a number of mechanics, much needed in the French settlements and their enterprises in Canada. De Monts, after the death of Henry IV, withdrew from an active participation in colonizing projects. The French colony had received a severe shock from the unexpected but secretly encouraged assault upon their settlements by the piratical Samuel Argall, mentioned in another place.

October 8, 1612, Count de Soissons was appointed governor and lieutenant-general of "New France," and Champlain was appointed his lieutenant. The Prince de Condé succeeded to the rights of De Soissons. Champlain was a most capable man and full of resources; he conciliated the Indians, explored the country, encouraged trade, and was largely instrumental in founding Quebec. A college was organized there as early as, perhaps earlier than, in any other place in North America. While it must be concluded the French were somewhat earlier upon the ground to occupy the soil in North America than the English, and while the former had more of the missionary, they had less of the commercial and true colonization spirit; they did not have the acquisitiveness and local governing methods and bartering in lands which their rivals, the English, developed. So that in the end they, by virtue of organized settlements and larger population and the interests thus erected among the British colonists, outgeneraled the French in the final struggle for possession and sovereignty in North America.

The first English charter granted to encourage actual settlement in America was issued by Queen Elizabeth on the 11th of June, 1578, to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, half-brother of Sir Walter Raleigh. The charter was feudatory in its character, as were all colonizing enterprises of the times, confirming

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unbounded privileges to the individual governor or proprietor. He fitted out an expedition and sailed in 1581, but a tempest destroyed one of his vessels, and he returned without accomplishing anything. June 11, 1583, he sailed from Plymouth on his second voyage, with three vessels, for Newfoundland, which, with feudal ceremony, he lawlessly took formal possession of in the name of his sovereign, in spite of a considerable settlement of Christian people and thirty-six vessels of various nationalities then in that port. At the same time that he expelled the French he disregarded the rights of a small Portuguese settlement on the island. Sir Humphrey published statutes which provided that the religion of the country should follow the English rite. He also landed at St. Johns and enforced its submission. He sailed from that port on the 20th of August for Norombega (afterwards New England), a name probably given by the Dutch. A tempest of great violence occurred on his return voyage to England which dispersed his fleet, and the vessel of which he was in command was lost in the same storm.

After the death of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Sir Walter Raleigh obtained from Queen Elizabeth a new charter, in 1584, granting him "free liberty and license from time to time, and at all times forever hereafter, to discover, search, find out, and view such remote heathen and barbarous lands, countries, and territories not actually possessed by any Christian prince, nor inhabited by Christian people, as to him, his heirs and assigns, and to every and any one of them, shall seem good, and the same to have, hold, occupy, and enjoy to him, his heirs and assigns forever, with all prerogatives, commodities, jurisdictions, royalties, privileges, franchises, and preeminences, thereto or thereabouts, both by sea and land, whatsoever we by our letters patent may grant, and as we or any of our noble progenitors have heretofore granted to any person or persons, bodies politique or corporate." This grant included the right to the soil or property, as well as jurisdiction and government under the Crown.

Sir Walter sent out to plant two settlements upon Roanoke Island, one in 1584 and another in 1585. This locality is now included in the territory of North Carolina, but these plantations, from neglect or other causes, did not succeed at the time. The first permanent settlement in North Carolina was many years later, and made by emigrants from Virginia,

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in Albemarle County, upon its northeastern border. Sir Walter's agents were instructed to observe the indigenous products of the country and to collect and bring back specimens of roots, nuts, fruits, seeds, and plants discovered. Through his agency, tobacco was brought to the attention of the civilized world for the first time, as was also maize, or Indian corn, and potatoes. He had these planted in different places in Europe, and they have proved of inestimable benefit to mankind. The potato was first cultivated upon his own plantation in Ireland. Hence the name Irish potato, which is now universally applied to this tuber.

The earliest English exploration and report on North America which was encouraging and practical was by Capt. Bartholomew Gosnold in 1602. He had traded for some time with the Indians in New England, collecting skins, train oil, dried fish, furs, hides, sassafras roots, cedar, etc. The Captain had been a companion in some voyages with Sir Walter Raleigh. Captain Gosnold landed at Cape Cod, which he named, as he did also Martha's Vineyard. He landed at Buzzard's Bay, and planted on an island for a season. Returning to England, his report of the country did much to further the colonization of Virginia, its first charter being granted in 1606. He came out with the first colonists to Virginia, assisted in planting Jamestown, and died there in 1607.

The two companies authorized under the first and second Virginia charters granted by King James in 1606–1609 were practically alike in their prerogatives and organization and in their administration down to 1628. The northern or Plymouth and the Massachusetts Bay Company were the same under a different name, with headquarters at Plymouth, England, while the southern or Virginia colony had at first its council in the city of London. The name "New England" was given to the northern company by Capt. John Smith after his voyage there in 1614. None of the early attempts to found plantations in northern Virginia proved successful, and the company in 1620 gave a concession to a band of adventurers called the "Council of Plymouth," and sometimes the "Council of New England," with a patent for a territory extending from the fortieth to the forty-eighth degree of north latitude. This council made many indefinite and interfering grants, but most of these in time became obsolete. In 1635 the council surrendered its charter, and this was the last of the general companies. The second

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charter to the London Company of 1609 gave more ample privileges, of which the southern or Virginia company availed itself by increasing the number of proprietors. They immediately chose Thomas West, Lord Delaware, governor for life. The third Virginia charter of 1611–12 granted laws to the actual settlers to exercise more individual supervision in the management of the affairs of the colony, which the former charter had retained or lodged with the trustees and the treasurer of the company in London. In 1615, to encourage individual enterprise, every freeman became the owner, as a gratuity from the company, of 50 acres of land.

The elective franchise was now for the first time introduced into the company or among the people residing in the colony to choose their own officers. Delegates to an assembly were chosen by ballot from the eleven boroughs, which formed a distinct branch of government. The first assembly met at "James City," usually called Jamestown, on the 30th of July, 1619. From the fact that the members were taken from the chartered boroughs of the colony the assembly was called the "House of Burgesses," a name which adhered to it down to the Revolution. This was the first legislative body of representatives ever chosen by the free ballots of the people to make laws in North America. Although the colony was still a company, it was empowered to exercise all the essential duties of a state. It had a legislature, an executive, and a judiciary, and in this its form of government typified the autonomy of the republican States of the present day. The right of trial by jury, too, was confirmed to the colony in 1621. Royalty, however, soon began to be suspicious of the democratic principles developing to an inconvenient degree in the colony of Virginia, and in October, 1623, the Crown arbitrarily resolved by a new regulation to appoint a governor and twelve trustees, to be approved by the King in council, for its government. This order practically returned the colony to the provisions of the charter of 1606. The company was notified in a diplomatic way that they must accept this modification or have their charter annulled. The council, after conferences, concluded to defend their charter, but nevertheless, on June 6, 1624, the charter was dissolved by a judicial decree.

On the 13th of May, 1625, Charles I directed by proclamation that two councils be constituted, the one to be in England, and dependent upon the Crown, and the other to be in the

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colony. The system of an elective assembly had become popular with the people, and even with some restrictions the House of Burgesses again convened in 1629. The government of the province rapidly became more systematic in the administration of its affairs, and in 1634 divided the province into eight shires. In 1639 Sir William Berkeley was appointed governor of Virginia, and by instructions from the home Government a very liberal policy was inaugurated, with a provincial legislature studious to advance home interests, and the regular administration of justice under a government of laws.

Efforts nearly as early had been made by the northern company to found settlements in northern Virginia or New England, but these did not prove as successful as those in the southern colony. This was, however, owing to the rigor of the climate and to accidents, which experience and perseverance overcame. This attempted settlement and the various colonies and companies will be severally treated of as the history and progress of the English colonies and the genesis of the independent States forming the United States of America are treated of.

Spain extended her dominions in the New World by fortunate and rapid conquests, and for over two hundred years held possession of a large part of South America, the whole of Central America and Florida, including Louisiana, with many of the West India Islands. She has, however, lost all of this territory except Cuba.

England closely followed in the path of Spain, France, and the Dutch in founding plantations in the West India Islands which were unoccupied, and then, by the capture of others from Spain, France, and the Dutch, before she turned her attention seriously to colonizing the mainland on the North American continent.

When Great Britain, with her marvelous commercial spirit, became ambitious to extend her dominions and to become a great maritime power among the nations, she encouraged a variety of adventures and trading enterprises, land grants, colonies, and companies to every part of the world in which she could gain territory; such as the West India Islands, the East India Company, the Hudson Bay Company, etc. To such colonies and to actual settlers in them England delegated a large share in the making of laws for their own local governments. As a general fact, England's West India settlements

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upon the islands were merely the enterprises of planters, for supplying the English market with tropical and colonial products. Their plantations were mainly worked by slaves and employees from the laboring classes, and in no sense comported with the pretensions and aspirations of freemen in a prosperous and self-governing colony.

The colonial organization of Great Britain at the present day is a stupendous system of government, the greatest of the kind the world has ever known, extending to Africa, America, Asia, and Australia. It embraces nearly one-fourth of the population of the globe and one-seventh of the earth's surface. However, it must be remembered that statecraft is neither an exact nor a perfected science, and that the art of civil government is steadily growing more humane and efficient, and especially so among all English-speaking people. Ever since Great Britain lost her thirteen American colonies in the Revolution of 1776 she has learned much and has become more tolerant and considerate of the natural rights of individual as well as organized communities, and more diplomatic in her methods of governing her outlying colonies. The inhumanity of the feudal system has almost departed from the English colonial governments.

The two most noted naval and military dependencies of the British Crown are Gibraltar, in the Mediterranean, and Bermuda, in the Atlantic Ocean. At the latter place the British Government has established the second great dockyard of the world. England has from time to time founded penal colonies, which, from the advantageous geographical positions selected for them on ocean highways, their good climates, and virgin soils, have developed into favorite and prosperous governments for thrifty emigrants from Great Britain and her dependencies.

In this digression I may be pardoned a hasty glance at some of the English colonies other than American. The first in the history of these to be named, because the greatest, is Australia, which was formerly known as "New Holland," and is the largest island in the world, containing 2,984,827 square miles of territory, and on account of its great size was by some early writers spoken of as a continent. The island was first occupied by the Dutch, and was known to the Portuguese and the Dutch as "Great Java." It was, however, taken possession of by Great Britain in 1780, and made a penal colony, and it continued as such up to 1837. For the convenience of government, the island was divided into five colonies, known as

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Queensland, New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia (with a northern territory), and West Australia.

All of these divisions to a large degree now enjoy manhood suffrage, and are in all local matters mainly self-governing and responsible to the people. The Crown retains the power to appoint the governor, while the two houses of the legislature are elective; in some, one branch has a property qualification. The governor has a council composed of the chief executive officers of the colony, but the British Government holds a veto on all legislative and provincial judicature.

The colony of the Cape of Good Hope was originally settled by the Dutch in 1652, but passed in 1806 to Great Britain. The government is now largely elective and representative.

Tasmania, in the South Pacific, first known as "Van Diemen's Land," got its name from one of the early governors of the Dutch East India possessions. This colony is on a large island off the southernmost point of Australia, and possesses the greatest tin mine in the world. It was a British penal colony from 1802 to 1852, but is now prosperous and self-governing under the Crown. Other colonies of Great Britain, as well as colonies of other nationalities in different parts of the world, will readily occur to all.

The colonial settlements in Canada are to this day denominated provinces, possibly a survival of the French designation for the early Acadian settlements of New France, which included in its claim not only Canada and most of the State of Maine, but all of New England and south to the North River.

This appellation of province is also given under British rule to Upper and Lower Canada, now known under their various provincial names, since their union in 1866, as the Dominion of Canada. The political divisions of Canada, to be more explicit, are the Province of Ontario, Province of Quebec, Province of New Brunswick, Province of Nova Scotia, Province of Prince Edward Island, Province of Manitoba, Province of Alberta, Province of British Columbia, Northwest Territories, including East Main, District of Keewatin, Islands of the Arctic, and Islands of Hudson Bay. Newfoundland is still a self-governing colony, and includes Labrador. The whole area of this territory is 3,406,542 square miles. It will be seen that the area of these several British North American provinces approaches closely to the total area of the United States, including her Territories, which is set down at 3,580,242 square miles.

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We assume that the same spirit which suggested the appropriateness of the name "New England" to the colonies north of Virginia also gave rise to the name "New France" to Canada and the French possessions and settlements along the St. Lawrence, and of "New Scotland" to Nova Scotia, or Acadia.

A glance at the various forms of government in the several early British settlements in North America shows that there was a much greater diversity in their political organization and in the variety and extent of the privileges granted to them and the proprietary provinces than would at first be expected.

Some settlements had for executive officers governors only. Others had governors and councilors confirmed by the Crown, such as Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Hudson Bay, and Georgia, without having any houses of assembly or deputies elected by the planters and freemen, as are required to conform to the spirit of the British constitution. In a political sense, such were dependencies rather than colonies.

Some governors who were favorites occasionally held at the same time a plurality of governments. Sir Edmund Andros, in the reign of James II, was governor of New England, New York, and the Jerseys. Lord Bellmont was governor of New York, Massachusetts Bay, and New Hampshire. Benjamin Fletcher, governor of New York, was, in 1692, by direction of the Crown, also acting deputy governor of Pennsylvania. Other instances might be cited. The provinces of Pennsylvania and Delaware were under one governor, because the proprietary interests then were in the same person or grant.

The structure and customs of society at different periods of history must be considered to obtain a just view of the merits of the various institutions and the government regulations devised in early days to meet the conditions then existing. Some of these measures, in modified forms, exist to-day. The feudatory principle of tribute or taxation in some form has to a greater or less extent entered into the management of all new and remote settlements fostered by monarchical governments, whether provinces or colonies, in all ages of the world down to the present.

It may be affirmed that it was a leading ambition with all ancient governments to form the people into soldiers, and it must be confessed that nations now recognized as the most Christian, civilized, and cultured have not yet been able to

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overcome this savage instinct in government or the practice of using armed force as an arbiter of justice and human rights. Nor have they yet risen so high as to dignify and make exceptionally honorable among men the domestic occupations, the professional vocation, and the peaceful arts so as to cause them to supplant in the popular mind the glamor of arms. Man is by nature a contentious, fighting animal, loving power, authority, and domination. Military authority, titles, and employments have an undue fascination for men, and whenever a military enthusiast gains control of the purse he can subjugate governments and people to do his will.

Might with governments too often makes right, and prompts to conquest and to plunder rather than to peaceful methods of defending their possessions or correcting evils and accomplishing good.

It is an interesting fact in the history of America, and one for which women have just reason to be proud, that it was Queen Isabella's sound judgment and the liberal use of her individual purse in 1492 which made practicable the discovery of the New World by Columbus. The King having declined to aid Columbus, Queen Isabella announced her willingness to assume the necessary expense. This determination on the part of the Queen induced Ferdinand to reconsider his decision and to join Isabella in the enterprise.

To another Queen nearly a century later, in 1578, belongs the merited honor of having granted the first charter for English colonization on the North American continent.

That Sir Humphrey Gilbert's and Sir Walter Raleigh's feudatory grants were not attended with greater success militates nothing against the credit due to Queen Elizabeth.

There is a simple but notable coincidence in the number of the councilors, *thirteen*, provided for in the first Virginia colonial charter and the number of the American colonies which joined in 1775 in a declaration of grievances and on November 15, 1777, entered into a confederacy against Great Britain, won their independence, and then formed the Republic of the United States, which fact is commemorated by the thirteen stripes in our national flag.

The early Roman provinces in France have, through all mutations of dynasties, retained the name of province.

American settlements were all, or with rare exceptions, projected and planted by men of enterprise and Christian

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character, who quitted their native land to plant new home from love of social and religious liberty, but at the same time in hope of bettering their condition. All our early planting colonies brought with them, or early introduced, their families and their creeds; some of these, it must be confessed, were very narrow. The majority who came were true emigrants, resolving to found permanent homes for themselves and their posterity. While it may be true that some fled from persecutions and a few came with a desire to live as recluses and to convert the savage to the Christian faith, more fled from poverty and the heavy burdens which their surroundings and the greater privileges which rank enjoyed and class legislation enforced upon them in their native country and seemed to make their poverty perpetual. It is probable that the religious-recluse idea was strong with the Pilgrims who came to Massachusetts; in a less degree with those in Connecticut and Rhode Island, and but to a very slight extent with the early colonists to Virginia and Maryland. However this may be, it soon became evident that the scheme of settlements on a socialistic basis, as at first attempted, was impracticable, and it steadily weakened and finally vanished; so that the descendants of these emigrants became the foremost in every project that led to independence of thought and the adoption of measures to advance the interests of the people and the community.

Among the emigrants to the British settlements in America there may have been a few adventurers, speculators, and plunderers, but the fact remains that the vast majority were gentle in their manners, orderly in their conduct, industrious in their habits, self-respecting, and thrifty. The settlers began their career in the New World in peace among themselves and with charity to the untutored natives. The native at the time, considering his wants, was living a life of ease and freedom, when he was suddenly forced to compete for a living, upon the soil and waters given him by a bountiful Providence, with men who had been accustomed to arms and educated to civil and religious notions and the acquisition of individual property, and skilled in the application of all the forces of nature to enable them to subdue and rule over others according to their views of right and justice. It is therefore not strange that fierce and cruel conflicts ensued between civilization on the one side and barbarism on the other, and that in this contest the Indian, the weaker, was despoiled, driven back to the

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forests, and almost exterminated. Among the first arrivals at Jamestown there were but few who were accustomed to labor, for, according to Capt. John Smith's account, there were but four carpenters and twelve laborers to fifty-four gentlemen; and it is not surprising that the greatest insubordination, inefficiency, and trouble to the company came through the conduct of the gentlemen members of the colony.

Dissensions, it is true, crept into the management of some of the colonies through the frailties of human nature and contentious characters, less earnest, forbearing, and human than the average emigrant. The trader, the freebooter, and the middle-man were the disturbers. But a self-denying and a self-reliant spirit was everywhere in time developed among the people, and grew to be the recognized type of the colonists. Experience strengthened these noble traits, and made the several communities efficient for their own advancement, protection, and self-government.

Most of the North American colonies had a common source of national authority, and in this were alike, but in almost everything else they were unlike. They were founded by the Crown at different times, by different sovereigns, and each with prerogatives which only applied to itself. Scarcely two were alike in political organizations. Some were provinces in name and in fact, some proprietary and others chartered colonies, with no right in the soil, and with limited rights of government, and most had their privileges and forms of government arbitrarily changed more than once.

The United States is not incumbered with remote colonies or provinces. Her few naval coaling stations and Alaska represent all her dependencies, if we except Territories within her own boundaries, and all these are in a condition of preparation for admission as States as soon as population will justify and their interests be promoted thereby. While they remain Territories the President, with the consent of the United States Senate, appoints the governors. The District of Columbia may be placed in this category, although it has an anomalous position, and is managed by three Commissioners, appointed by the President, instead of being directed by a governor.

In the Territories of the United States the first settlers are called "inhabitants." But after an act has been passed by Congress enabling the inhabitants to meet and elect delegates to organize a government and adopt a constitution, they are then denominated "the people" of the Territory.

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However, it is the English grants, charters, and settlements in North America in which I am more particularly interested, and which may, for the present purpose, be brought into the five groups, which follow, though the frequent changes of colonial charter privileges in the early American colonies make it difficult to group and generalize satisfactorily in all cases:

1. Charters or grants to one or more personal proprietors, their heirs and assigns, such as were given to Maryland, New Hampshire, and Pennsylvania, in which their rights extended both to property and government, the King being represented through the admiralty courts. Delaware, originally settled by the Swedes, was brought under the government of New Amsterdam, and was bought by Penn from the Duke of York in 1682, and held as a territory of Pennsylvania until 1701, when it was given a separate legislature.

2. Charters where the property was granted to personal proprietors, but the government and jurisdiction were reserved to the Crown. This was the case in the Jerseys and the two Carolinas, which at one time included the territory of Georgia.

3. Grants where the property and the government of the territory were retained in the Crown, as in the modified charters of Virginia, New York, and New Hampshire, then commonly called Piscataqua.

4. Grants where the property was in the freemen and their representatives, while the government was retained in the Crown, as in Massachusetts Bay.

5. Charters where property and government were in the "governor and company," called the "freemen" of the colony, as in the case of the "English colony of Connecticut in New England" and in Rhode Island.

A brief recapitulation, referring to the territory of the several colonies by name, with some of the more notable occurrences in their early settlements and history down to the American Revolution and their admission as States of the Union, is of interest. Readers may wish to know when and how the different colonies were planted and of their development into one or more States, with mention of some of the conditions and forces which assisted or retarded their progress. To facilitate reference to the several colonies and States, an alphabetical order is observed. These notes are to be taken as suggestive, not exhaustive, nor are they designed to prove any special or controverted point in the history of our country. The States need not all be named, as the territory from which

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they have been formed, whether colony, province, or the public domain, will suggest itself to the intelligent reader, if not specifically set forth.

Chief Justice Marshall, in delivering an opinion, says:

> All our institutions recognize the absolute title of the Crown, subject only to the Indians' right of occupancy, and recognize the absolute right of the Crown to extinguish that right. This is incompatible with the existence of an absolute and complete title in the Indians. Thus has our whole country been granted by the Crown while in the occupancy of the Indians. This grant purports to convey the soil as well as the right of domain to the grantee.
>
> In these governments which were denominated royal, when the right of soil was not vested in individuals, but remained in the Crown, or was vested in the colonial government, the King claimed and exercised the right of granting land and of disannulling the government at his will. The grants of the New England colonies, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and part of Carolina were thus created.

We have given the text of the bull of Pope Alexander VI, which deals with the ethical and moral rights of nations, discovering new lands and islands, to possess and govern them. As head of the church, this action seems to have been timely and considerate in the interest of peace and the preservation of an orderly intercourse between the two chief maritime powers of the world—Spain and Portugal. But what can be said of the kings of England, France, and other powers as to their manner of seizing territory and parceling it out among favorites with a lavish recklessness that was only equaled by their ignorance of the geography of the North American continent? Or how shall we explain their assigning land grants which interfered with their own former patents, and in some instances naming boundaries which were impossible? It would be hopeless for the historian to attempt to reconcile some of these grants. In the main, the practice seems to have obtained with sovereigns to make royal grants upon petition for lands as interested parties requested; then in process of time another grant without inquiry as to occupancy or whether a former grant of the specified territory had been made to others, the early grants becoming void without other or further formality.

The fall of royal power and the establishment of the Commonwealth in England placed all the English colonies under the immediate control of Parliament for the time being. To the end of settling disputes as to the controverted and invalid claims to Western lands by individuals against the colonies, as well as of the colonies against each other, it is believed

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we are indebted to General Washington for the suggestion that the colonies surrender all their claims to Western lands to the General Government. This was done and the Federal Government settled boundaries, and provided for the admission of new States as the needs of the growing Republic should require.

Washington's considerate attention to the claims which Vermont pressed upon Congress early in the Revolution, for recognition as a member of the confederacy by her citizens, and his tact in preventing exasperating antagonism from Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and New York, did much to attach her people to the Union and to prevent unpleasant collisions, and in the end led to an amicable settlement of boundaries and her admission as a State. It proved a practical object lesson in statecraft. So that when, in 1783, Washington was consulted by the Hon. James Duane how to deal with the Indians and manage Western lands, he wrote his famous letter of the 7th of September, 1783, which was practically and almost verbally embodied in the act of Congress a week later for the territorial government and method of disposal of the public lands, and which obtains to the present day.

ALASKA.

This Territory, separated from Asia by Bering Strait, is the latest territorial acquisition of the United States. It was formerly known as "Russian America," and was visited as early as 1728. The region about Sitka was first visited in 1741 by Vitus Bering, whose name attaches to the strait and sea. For a long time this region served as an outlet for Russian maritime adventurers and traders. A Russian-American company was chartered for its settlement and government in 1799. Sitka (New Archangel) was founded by Baranoff, who was for many years the governor of this Russian possession. He resided at Sitka. Shortly before the successful laying of the Atlantic telegraphic cable the territory of Alaska, from Bering Strait across British America to the United States, was surveyed by the Western Union Telegraph Company, with the design of running wires by this route from Europe to America. The successful laying in 1866 of the Atlantic cable soived the problem of a telegraphic communication. But this exploration for the telegraph brought Alaska into prominence with financiers and statesmen, and finally led to its purchase

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by the United States from Russia in 1867 for $7,200,000 in gold.

It is now a territorial possession of the United States.

CALIFORNIA.

California of the present day, the New or "Upper California" of the Spaniards and Mexicans, bordering on the Pacific Ocean, was acquired by the United States through treaty in 1848. It was named "Upper" to distinguish it from the lower peninsula of California, which is still held by Mexico. After 1822, when Mexico freed herself from Spanish dominion, it became a province of that Republic, and so remained until 1846, during the Mexican war, when the emigrants from the United States formed there an independent government. This coast was visited by Cabrillo in 1542, and by Drake in 1578. In 1769 the Franciscan fathers planted a colony at San Diego, and in 1776 they established the mission of Dolores at San Francisco. Their agricultural missions were increased to more than twenty. The converted Indians became partially civilized and attached to the priests and the missions. The territory embraced in California, Utah, Nevada, and parts of Colorado, Arizona, and New Mexico was acquired by the United States, through the convention of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, February 2, 1848. Gold was discovered within this territory the same year. In 1849 a State constitution was formed, and September 9, 1850, California was admitted as a State of the Union. It has an area of 158,360 square miles.

A second purchase of land from Mexico was made by the United States, December 30, 1853, which secured a strip of territory lying south of the Gila River, in New Mexico and Arizona, and added to the public domain what is known as the "Gadsden Purchase."

CONNECTICUT.

The Dutch colonists of New Netherlands claimed what is now Connecticut, and had a trading post and colony founded near where Hartford is situated before 1630. But Robert, Earl of Warwick, obtained a grant in 1630 from the council of Plymouth, and then procured a patent from King Charles I in 1631 for lands in New England, from Narragansett River along the seacoast toward Virginia, 40 leagues east and west from sea to sea, and to the south line of Massachusetts, etc. This

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grant was made over to William, Viscount Saye and Sele, Robert, Lord Brooke, and company. The company built a fort at the mouth of the Connecticut River called Saybrook, but in 1644 the stockholders sold their interests to the settlers. It was then called "Saybrook Colony," and united in 1644 with Connecticut Colony.

The colony of Connecticut was practically an offshoot of Massachusetts Bay, whose emigrants founded Windsor as early as 1635, and soon after Hartford and Weathersfield. In 1639 the people, of their own motion, without patent or charter, convened and deliberated together to secure an orderly government adapted to their needs, and which they termed "fundamental orders." These may be considered in the nature of a constitution, which was probably the first written principles of government adopted by the people of any of the American colonies.

In the spring of 1638 the Rev. John Davenport and a goodly number of followers from London purchased a tract of land, 10 by 13 miles square, from the Indians on "New Haven Bay," on Long Island Sound, for which they gave thirteen coats. Here they laid out a town which they called "New Haven," and set up an independent colony. Neither of these three colonies had obtained charters for the land they occupied, and, besides, the Dutch of the New Netherlands were actually settled upon portions of the lands thus seized.

The first election by the freemen at Hartford was held on the second Thursday of April, 1639. The government was in the hands of the representatives of the freemen of the people, as was also that of Rhode Island. Long Island was annexed to Connecticut in 1644. The Connecticut colony and the New Haven colony remained separate governments until 1665, when they united. Charles II, on the 23d of April, 1662, gave the colony of Connecticut a liberal charter, but with vast, impracticable boundaries to the west. It was one of the "from sea to sea" kind. This grant gave more trouble, perhaps because of its indefinite boundary, than that of any of the other colonies, but all dispute was finally settled by the State generously ceding its claim of western territory to the Government of the United States, to be treated as public lands. The four united colonies of New England, from 1643 to 1663, were old Massachusetts Bay, old Plymouth, Hartford, and New Haven. The latter two were not then chartered.

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In 1685 King James II annulled the charter of Connecticut for political reasons, the Crown then appointing the governor. Sir Edmund Andros, royal governor of New England, who was put in charge in 1687, attempted to seize the colonial charter of Connecticut in the King's name, but the lights in the assembly room were extinguished, and the document removed by James Wadsworth and concealed in a hollow tree in Hartford, afterwards known as the "Charter Oak," which stood until 1856. King William, on ascending the throne in 1689, revived the old charter. The legislature of Connecticut sat at Hartford from the union until 1701, after that alternately at New Haven and at Hartford until 1874, when Hartford became the permanent seat of government.

Connecticut laid claim under her charter to a large tract of country to the west, familiarly known in history as the "Connecticut Western Reserve," Western Reserve, etc. According to her contention, her grants of land extended back to the Mississippi River, and included a part of northwestern Pennsylvania and northeastern Ohio. These lands were also known as the "Sufferer's Lands" and the "Fire Lands," etc. Happily, Connecticut, September 14, 1786, surrendered to Congress or the United States her claims to these lands, shrewdly retaining, however, after getting New York and Virginia to surrender their land, a property right to 4,000,000 acres along the shore of Lake Erie, still called the "Western Reserve," and thus was settled a troublesome controversy. Connecticut ratified the Constitution on the 9th of January, 1788. The State has an area of 4,990 square miles.

DELAWARE.

The State of Delaware, formerly New Sweden, was never an independent province or chartered colony, but it has an interesting history. Its settlement was promoted by Gustavus Adolphus. A part of its territory was purchased from the Indians by the Dutch as early as 1623, and the settlement begun at Cape Henlopen, named by them "Point Paradise." They settled on both sides of the river Delaware. As early as 1631 a town was laid out near Wilmington. The west coast of the bay was also purchased of the Indians and settled by Swedes and Finns. New Sweden was founded in 1638, with a military plantation at Christiana, which extended its settlements up to the Falls of the Delaware and included the site of

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Wicaco, now the city of Philadelphia. In 1651, under Stuyvesant's rule, the Dutch built a fort at New Castle. The Swedish possessions on the Delaware were either purchased or by force brought under the control of the Dutch. In 1656 the Dutch West India Company transferred to the city of Amsterdam all the Dutch territory on the South River (Delaware), from the west side of Christian Kill to the mouth of the river, under the name of New Amsterdam. New Amsterdam claimed all the territory to the South River, or Delaware, and maintained a fort at New Castle. The Dutch ships from New Amsterdam, to insure loyalty, visited New Castle. With all New Netherlands this territory was surrendered to the English in 1664, and in 1674 an amended patent was granted to the Duke of York for all of the country called by the Dutch New Netherlands, of which the settlements on the western bank of the Delaware formed a part.

From this time until 1682 the territory was under the jurisdiction of the government of New York. The original grant to William Penn did not include the territory now known as Delaware. The conflicting claims of the Duke of York and Lord Baltimore to this region were, in a measure, ended by the Duke's sale of his furbished-up claim to New Amsterdam on the Delaware, or better known as the Three Lower Counties on the Delaware, to William Penn on the 24th of August, 1682. This materially abridged Lord Baltimore's grant, to which it naturally and by descriptive bounds belonged. From that time the region was known as the counties of "New Castle, Kent, and Sussex upon the Delaware," and was regarded and governed as a territory of Pennsylvania until 1701, when these counties declined to accept Penn's new charter and their delegates seceded from the Pennsylvania assembly. Penn then granted the counties the privilege of a separate legislature, which they accepted. Delaware then met for the first time as an independent assembly, in 1703, the proprietor of Pennsylvania retaining the governorship down to the Revolution. Delaware ratified the Constitution December 7, 1787, and became one of the confederated States of the Union. (See Poore's Constitution and Charters.) The State has an area of 2,050 square miles.

FLORIDA.

This "Land of Flowers" was discovered on Easter Sunday, March 27, 1513, the holy day of flowers, by Juan Ponce de

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Leon, and the country named by him Florida. The name, however, was originally applied to a much larger tract of country than is known by this name at the present day. Settlements were made by the Spaniards, and the territory held as a province by Spain. The first colony was founded at St. Augustine, under the prerogatives granted to Christopher Columbus. Ponce de Leon, however, died before demonstrating whether Florida was an island or a part of the mainland. (See Narrative and Critical History, Vol. VIII, p. 234.)

In 1546 the Dominican friars, led by the noble Luis de Barbestro, made an attempt to found a missionary settlement in Florida, but the whole community fell by the hands of the Indians. In 1651 another Spanish colony was rescued, after undergoing great suffering, by Angelo de Villafanne. It is supposed to have been the ship which visited the Chesapeake. (Narrative and Critical History.) A French Huguenot colony, under Coligny, landed at Port Royal in 1562, but failed to found a successful settlement there. So little success had attended Spanish efforts to found settlements that Philip II announced, 23d of September of this year, that for a time no further attempts would be made to colonize either in the Gulf of St. Lawrence or at Santa Elena, now Port Royal, S. C., but then supposed to be in Florida. A French Huguenot colony was planted in 1564 on St. John's River, but was driven off by the Spaniards.

In 1565 Melendez built three forts on the river St. Mary, and improved the forts at St. Augustine and Pensacola. These were garrisoned as much to keep out the French Huguenots, whom they looked upon as pirates, as to defend the Spanish settlers against the Indians. Spain's success in planting was but limited. The French were driven out by the Spaniards in 1562 from the mouth of the St. John's River, where they had erected Fort Carolina. In 1717 Spain built forts on the Apalachicola River. In 1762 Florida was ceded to Great Britain. Its new ruler divided its territory into East and West Florida, the dividing line being the Apalachicola River, the northern boundary being substantially the same as at present. (Fairbanks's History of Florida.) Great Britain by treaty retroceded Florida to Spain in 1783, and its northern boundary was then fixed by the treaty of peace between Great Britain, the United States, and Spain. Spain, however, claimed the territory as far north as the mouth of the Yazoo River. The Louisiana territory was purchased by the United States from France

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in 1803. There was some indefiniteness as to its boundary on the west, which was, however, quieted by the treaty of Washington, February 22, 1819, by which Spain ceded Florida, East and West, to the United States. March 30, 1822, an act of Congress created the "Territory of Florida," and on the 3d of March, 1845, Florida was admitted into the Union as a State. It has an area of 58,680 square miles.

GEORGIA.

In 1732 a charter was granted to Gen. James Oglethorpe, the philanthropist, and twenty-one trustees for settling a colony in Georgia, which was named after George II, King of Great Britain. Its territory was to be south of the Savannah River and along the seacoast to the Altamaha River, and extending back without limit. The founding of this colony had been mooted as early as 1717. It was intended by its promoter as a relief for the poor and those suffering imprisonment for debt in England. The provincial charter was granted "in trust for the poor," and settlements began near the mouth of the Savannah River in February, 1733. The principle of feudal entail to estates was unfortunately incorporated in the early laws, and some other unpopular measures, which, for a time and until corrected, operated against emigration to the colony. June 20, 1752, the charter was surrendered by the trustees to the King. A royal province was then created, and all prohibitions imposed by trustees were removed. The progress of this province became noted by 1763, after the southern boundary was settled, which extended the limits of the colony to the St. Mary's River under the management of Governor James Wright, and the more liberal regulations and laws enacted by its own elected assembly, which met first in 1755 and was encouraged and favored by "the lords commissioners for trade and plantations." The charter gave Georgia an immense territory to the west. Its first State constitution was adopted February 5, 1777. Georgia, January 2, 1788, ratified the Constitution and was admitted to the Union. April 24, 1802, it ceded to the United States all of its lands west of the Chattahoochee River, out of which have been formed the States of Alabama and Mississippi, and in 1804 it received from the United States a strip 12 or 14 miles wide along its northern boundary which had formerly belonged to South Carolina. The State has an area of 59,475 square miles.

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LOUISIANA.

The territory of Louisiana was visited, on the Gulf side, by the Spaniards in 1513, but it was left to Fathers Marquette and Joliet to discover and explore the interior country, the Mississippi River and its larger tributaries, and to explore the former nearly from its source to its mouth in 1673. To M. de La Salle, however, belongs the honor of descending this great river from its lake tributaries to its mouth, in the Gulf of Mexico. On April 9, 1682, having completed his voyage, he formally took possession of the country drained by the "Father of Waters" for Louis XIV, King of France, naming it "Louisiana" in his honor.

In 1698 the French projected a colony, and fitted out two vessels from Rochefort, committing them to the care of Châteaumorand and Pierre le Moyne d'Iberville. The latter was a native of Canada. They sailed for Louisiana from Brest on the 17th of October, 1698, and on the 2d of March entered the mouth of the Mississippi and ascended probably to the mouth of the Red River. The Spaniards were at this time 300 strong at Pensacola. D'Iberville built Fort Biloxi, at the head of Biloxi Bay, the earliest post on the Mississippi. In May, 1699, after completing the fort, he returned to France, but came again to America with colonists the following year. Louisiana was called the "Province of Louisiana" by France by virtue of discovery and occupation, and was held to comprise the whole basin drained by the Mississippi and its tributaries not occupied by Spain.

The French King issued a patent to Sieur Antoine de Crozat September 14, 1712, his secretary, granting him for fifteen years the privilege of the whole commerce of all the King's lands in North America lying between New France on the north, Carolina on the east, and New Mexico on the west, down to the Gulf of Florida, under the name of Louisiana. (Encyclopédie Méthodique.) M. de Crozat relinquished his privileges to the King of France in 1717. A commercial company with sovereign and proprietary rights over the Mississippi Valley was then authorized, under the name of the "Company of the West," subsequently known as the "Company of the Indias," with the privilege of the sole trade of Louisiana for twenty years. This company is better known in history as the "Mississippi Company." The "Mississippi Bubble," of which John

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Law was president, surrendered in 1730. The founding of the city of New Orleans was begun in 1717, and a fort erected at Crevecœur and another at Natchitoches. November 3, 1762, France ceded the province of Louisiana to Spain, although Spanish rule was not exercised until August 18, 1789. October 1, 1800, Spain transferred back to France the province of Louisiana. On the 30th of April, 1803, this province was sold by Napoleon I, Emperor of France, to Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States, for $15,000,000. Out of this superb domain has been created not only the State of Louisiana, but wholly or in part the States of Arkansas, Kansas, Missouri, Iowa, Idaho, Minnesota, Nebraska, Oregon, Colorado, the two Dakotas, Montana, Washington, Wyoming, and the Indian Territory. It is evident that France regarded Louisiana as comprising the drainage basin of the Mississippi as far north as the mouth of the Illinois.

An act of Congress in 1804 established the territory of Orleans. April 8, 1812, it was admitted with its present boundary to the Union of States, under the name of the State of Louisiana. It has an area of 48,720 square miles.

MAINE.

Although once an English colony, it was not one having an independent organization at the time of the American Revolution. Its territory, too, was embraced in the grant of Henry IV of France to Pierre de Guast, Sieur de Monts, under the name of Acadia, in 1603.

Prior to 1600 the territory of Maine, on account of the excellent fishing grounds along its coast, bays, and rivers, had attracted the attention of both the French and Dutch for taking fish and trading in peltry with the natives. The name "Province of Maine" was given to a grant of land between the Piscataqua and the Kennebec, in compliment to the queen of Charles I, who owned a private estate in the province of Mayne, in France. The English, or North Virginia, Colony attempted a settlement at the mouth of the Kennebec River, on Hunwell or Sabina Point, under the guidance of George Popham, which landed there as early as August 19, 1607, but they did not long persevere or remain. The Dutch had a settlement which they called "New Castle," probably not the one of this name on the Damariscotta River. In 1613 the French settlements of Acadia, which were included in part of Maine,

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were broken up by the piratical Capt. Samuel Argall. Pemaquid was settled in 1635 under the proprietary grant of 1621 to William Alexander, Earl of Sterling, which had been renewed. The "Province of Maine," which was purchased of the Massachusetts Bay Company, extended back to the Great Lakes and the River of Canada. It was projected by the lord proprietors Ferdinando Gorges and Capt. John Mason, and lay in the western part of the territory of Maine. In 1629 Gorges and Mason, by mutual consent, divided their grant into two portions at the River Piscataqua, the part east of Maine going to Gorges. This charter was resigned in 1635, and a new one obtained. York was settled before 1625, and the city of Georgiana incorporated in 1653. Eastern Maine was once included in the "French Acadian" territory, whose settlements in 1635 occupied Penobscot and founded Castine, the region of the supposed site of the mythical city of "Norumbega," and much of the territory between the Kennebec and the Piscataqua rivers.

In the partition of the Massachusetts grant by the "council of New England," made February 3, 1634–35, among the eight proprietors, Sir Ferdinando Gorges's share was the only one that was confirmed by the Crown, April 13, 1639. The proprietary grant confirmed secured to Sir Ferdinando Gorges 125 miles square, with as ample power to govern the territory as any lord of feudal times. A council was intrusted with the affairs of the province. The proprietor died in 1646. The province was neglected, and the heirs of Gorges sold their proprietary rights to Massachusetts in 1677. In 1691 Maine was annexed by royal charter, and it remained under the Massachusetts government until 1820. Alexander Bigby, a member of the Long Parliament, claimed by a patent or grant of 40 miles along the seacoast. The northern part of this grant had an early development, owing to the French fishing and trading interests. Their settlements were chiefly at Port Royal, which were taken by the British in 1654. In a treaty with France in 1667, Acadia was yielded again to France without definite boundaries for concessions made by France to England in other quarters. Two years later Cromwell, then in power, made his rambling and sweeping grant to Charles St. Étienne, William Crown, and Thomas Temple of a province, independent of New England and other dependencies in America, under the name of "Acadia," forever.

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Massachusetts withdrew its claim to sovereignty over the district of Maine by an act of its legislature, 1819; and by an act of Congress, approved March 3, 1820, Maine was admitted a member of the United States. The State has an area of 33,040 square miles.

MARYLAND.

The patent or proprietary grant of the colony of Maryland, designed as a royal favor for George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, one of the secretaries of state of England and a member of the Virginia Company until its dissolution, was, on his decease, April 17, 1632, issued to his son, Cecilius Calvert, Lord Baltimore, June 20, 1632. When the grant was signed Charles I, King of England, named the province Maryland, in honor of his Queen, Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV, King of France. The southern boundary, assigning to Maryland "the right bank of the Potomac from its source to its mouth," was distasteful to and resisted by Virginia as an infringement of territorial rights. The eastern boundary was the ocean and Delaware Bay to the fortieth degree of latitude, and the northern boundary was a right line on the fortieth degree of latitude. The patent granted to William Penn nearly fifty years later proved unsatisfactory to him on the south along the line of Baltimore's grant, and led to a protracted boundary controversy and court lobbying. Penn's influence was powerful with the Crown, and the matter was finally settled by treaty, but not without a serious loss of from 15 to 20 miles of valuable territory along the whole northern boundary of Maryland. The first settlement under Lord Baltimore's grant was begun on the 27th of March, 1634, on the St. Mary's River, a few miles from its mouth on the Potomac, "upon the broad basis of security to property and freedom in religion," to be secured by laws made by an assembly of the people's own choosing. The planters were to pay no taxes to the Crown. The proprietor purchased 30 miles of land from the natives, and established the colony by their consent, thus antedating the peaceful methods of Penn, which have been so much applauded.

The capital of the province was decreed to be St. Mary's. The first legislative assembly convened there in 1635, and continued to meet there and at Patuxent until 1694. Leonard Calvert died June 9, 1647, and was succeeded as governor by Thomas Green, who was succeeded the following year by

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William Stone. Maryland's famous "toleration act," passed by the legislature in 1649, declared religious liberty to all, and reaffirmed the practice of the province from the first settlement. A constitution was adopted in 1650, and the assembly divided into two houses. In 1695 Annapolis was made the capital, and has so continued ever since. Owing to local factions, political dissensions, and gross misrepresentations of the proprietor, the government was taken out of the hands of Lord Baltimore in 1652 for alleged disloyalty. Catholics were, on account of their religion, outlawed by acts passed by the assembly in 1654, which continued in force for some years. An insurrection was also organized against the proprietary government of Lord Baltimore by Josiah Fendal in 1660. The full authority and rights belonging to the proprietary government of Maryland were restored to Lord Baltimore in 1662. The second Lord Baltimore died in 1675, but Charles Calvert, his eldest son, had been sent over in 1662, and, as the third Lord Baltimore, was governor. His wise administration helped the colony. Philip Calvert, brother to the lord proprietor, was the secretary of the province in 1659. Cecilius, Lord Baltimore, died November 30, 1675. In 1689 the government was again overthrown by political machinations, led by John Goode, who, gaining his point, the Church of England was established in the province. In 1692 the government was again resumed by the Crown, as a royal colony, and Lionel Copley appointed governor. The government was restored to the proprietor, Lord Baltimore, in 1716. The religious services of the Catholic Church were for a time prohibited under Copley's administration and the further emigration of Catholics to Maryland forbidden by law.

Toleration in theory is popular now, but it was not so, either in theory or practice, in colonial days. The proprietary governors of Maryland are entitled to great credit for their fidelity to the principle of free toleration in religion in their province. And yet Maryland and Virginia at the time of the Revolution were the only two colonies in which the Church of England was established by law. Maryland ratified the Constitution April 28, 1788. The State has an area of 12,210 square miles.

MASSACHUSETTS.

The State of Massachusetts embraces at least three colonies—the Plymouth, founded in 1620 by the Puritan fathers, separatists, etc.; the Massachusetts Bay, established 1628–

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1630, with its capital at Boston, and the island counties of the Mayhew family, who held from the Earl of Stirling and Duke of York, and were a dependency of New York until 1695.

The first settlement in what is known as Massachusetts was provided for in the charter granted to the Northern Virginia Company by James I, 1606. Two companies were authorized by this charter and placed upon the same footing. The Virginia, or Southern, Company, with its headquarters in London, proceeded at once to organize, and planted a colony at Jamestown in 1607. The Plymouth Company sent out a party, 1607, to settle a colony at Sagadahoc, known as the Popham Colony, which built a fort at the mouth of the Kennebec, but this attempt failed. These two companies of adventurers were familiarly and respectively spoken of as the "North Virginia Company" and the "South Virginia Company." Capt. Bartholomew Gosnold, of Dartmouth, who named Cape Cod and Martha's Vineyard, was among the early explorers in the interest of the "Northern Virginia Company." It was also called the "West Country Adventurers" or "Company of Plymouth" and had liberty to settle upon any part of the eastern coast of North America from 38° to 45° north latitude, and with an extent of territory 100 miles back from the seacoast. One of the earliest and most practical surveys of the New England coast looking to permanent settlement was the one made by Capt. John Smith in 1614. It was this same captain and some-time president of Virginia, who so efficiently served it through its greatest struggle for existence, who gave the name "New England" to the English settlements north of the Hudson River.

A company of Pilgrims, having obtained from King James I an edict granting them the free exercise of their religion in any part of America, sailed from London, England, in July and from Southampton in August, for America. They had entered into articles of agreement with the company of adventurers called "the Council of Plymouth" to settle near the banks of the Hudson River, but for some reason not explained they landed at "New Plymouth," in the southeastern part of Massachusetts, December 21, 1620. The adventurers had neither patent nor charter, but here was founded by them the first town in New England. This company of Separatists, before landing from the *Mayflower*, drew up and signed an agreement which contained forty-one names, seven of whom

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were servants or hired laborers; but the whole number, including families, embraced 101 persons. (For text of this document, see Poore's Charters and Constitutions.) This "old colony" or company of Separatists fills more nearly the character of a religious recluse colony, and was apparently less for planting, trade, and manufactures than any of the other English colonies. The Pilgrims subsequently obtained letters patent from the Plymouth Company, but these were never ratified by the Crown. The colony grew but slowly, and in ten years numbered only 300 people. After the departure of the Puritans from England, a patent, dated November 3, 1620, was granted by King James to a corporation under the name of the "Council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing of New England in America." The council was to consist of 40, among whom were the Duke of Lenox, Marquis of Buckingham, Marquis of Hamilton, the Earl of Arundel and Warwick, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and other persons of distinction. They obtained a patent for absolute property reaching from the river St. Croix to 12 miles east of the Hudson, or, more properly, from 40° to 48° north latitude, and through the mainland from sea to sea. This patent became the civil basis of all the subsequent patents and grants in New England. It was practically a revival of the North Virginia charter, and it in turn was resigned in 1635. (Narrative and Critical History of America, Vol. III, p. 297.)

In 1629 a grant from the "Council for New England" was made to William Bradford. This he assigned to the freemen in general. In 1640 his claim was recognized and confirmed in a new grant from the council. Early in 1629 the Dorchester Fishing Company was enlarged, and procured a royal charter under the name of the "Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay" in New England, and in 1630 the Company of Massachusetts Bay transferred itself and its management of its colonial grant and chartered privileges from London to its American settlement. This gave to the colony self-government and prosperity. John Winthrop was chosen their first resident president. In 1631 it was determined that none should be admitted to political privileges except members of churches. The charter of Massachusetts was in 1683 declared void by King James II and the legislature abolished. In 1692 William and Mary granted a new charter, combining Maine,

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Acadia, and Nova Scotia with Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth into one royal province in New England, the King appointing the governor, but permitting their annually electing an assembly, a privilege continued down to 1776. The Council of Plymouth for New England made many conflicting grants. Even the names of some of them have become obsolete, and others are forgotten. The following are a few of the more noted, if not most prosperous, grants: "James, Duke of Hamilton," the "Narragansett Country," "Mason's Grant of New Hampshire," the grants on the "Kennebec River," the "Muscongus" or "Lincoln Grant of 30 miles square," the "Pemaquid Grant," the "Sheepscot Purchase," and the "Nagwasack Purchase" of Robinhood and Indian Sagamore. (Douglass's British Settlements in America.) It is not our purpose to refer to the many purchases from the Indians along the Kennebec River, or in the territory which was finally included within the "Province of Maine" and of "Massachusetts Bay," or, as sometimes called, the "Colony of Boston."

In 1643 a union of the "New England colonies" was effected as a confederacy; prior to this they had been called by the British authorities the "Dominions of New England." The articles of this confederation were between the plantations under the government of Massachusetts, New Plymouth, Connecticut, New Haven, and Hartford, with the plantations in combination therewith. Rhode Island was intentionally omitted, and Maine and New Hampshire were not recognized. It is worthy of note that this agreement by the legislative bodies before it went into force was referred to the freemen of the provinces for ratification by their votes. (For text of union, see Winthrop.) The union between Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut was renewed for mutual protection in 1672. Martha's Vineyard, for administrative purposes, had been united to Massachusetts Bay in 1644. The general court, which was composed of magistrates and deputies, having always sat as one body, the deputies this year requested that they be permitted to sit apart in their deliberative business sessions, which was granted May 29, 1644.

A general court for elections convened at Newtown, now Cambridge, Mass., May 24, 1634. It was composed of delegates from the principal inhabitants of the colony. The freemen, before proceeding to the choice of magistrates, asserted their rights to a greater share in the government than had

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hitherto been allowed, and ordained the right of trial by jury, and that the deputies should have the full power of all the freemen. These were the first legislative representatives chosen in Massachusetts.

The same year the assembly and the courts consulted concerning a "body of laws adapted to the state of the colony," which was finally approved and established in 1641 and printed in 1648. The Plymouth Company made a settlement at Kennebec in 1654. Some of these settlements were for a time dignified with the name of colonies, as the colony of the "Pilgrim Fathers of 1620" and of "Massachusetts Bay of 1629." The "London Plantations in Massachusetts being in New England" were all united under one charter in 1692, and also the island counties, then under the governorship of the Mayhew family, who held from the Earl of Stirling. The latter claimed all the islands from Cape Cod to the Hudson through his original grant and later from the Duke of York, and for this reason they were for a time treated as Lord Stirling's, or as a dependency of the Province of New York, but were finally united with the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1695.

The early New England grants were generally personal, including soil but not jurisdiction. The Plymouth Company during its existence parceled out and disposed of most of its territorial possessions. Massachusetts asserted the exclusive right to tax the people as early as 1636, and possibly earlier. In a spirit of national unity, April 19, 1785, the State relinquished to the United States, without reserve, all claims to western lands. Massachusetts ratified the Constitution February 6, 1788. The State has an area of 8,315 square miles.

MICHIGAN.

The State, as did the Territory, derived its name from the great Lake Michigan. The French had made settlements in this territory at Detroit, at Mackinaw and at other places before 1700. Michigan passed with the rest of Canada from the French to the English in 1763. In the treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States, in 1783, the region was included as belonging to the Northwest Territory of the latter. It was not, however, evacuated by Great Britain until 1796. In 1800 it was included as a part of the Territory of Indiana, and June 30, 1805, Michigan was, by act of Congress, constituted a Territory, but the boundaries were not those of

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the present State, as it then included Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, and part of Dakota.

Michigan, with its present limits, was admitted to the Union June 26, 1837. It has an area of 58,915 square miles.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

The territory of this State once formed a part of the short-lived Laconia Province or Company. Among the early grants in New Hampshire were those to Capt. John Mason, a member of the Plymouth Company, which were proprietary in character. In 1622 the Great Council of Plymouth made a grant of a tract of land on the seacoast, between the Merrimac River and the Sagadahoc, which extended back to the lakes and river of Canada. Capt. John Mason, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and others, in 1623, obtained patents from the New England council for several portions of land, in addition to the territory between the Merrimac and Sagadahoc, and gave to the whole tract the name of "Laconia," and shortly after sent over David Thomson, Edward and William Hilton, and a few others to begin settlements. Thomson began at a place called "Pascatoquack," near Smiths Isles in Little Harbor, 25 miles east of Plymouth. Here the first house was built and was known as "Mason's Hall." The Hiltons settled up Piscataqua River, at a place later known as Dover. A part of the grant of Laconia is included in the present State of Maine. On the 7th of November, 1629, the president and council of the New England Company made to Capt. John Mason a new patent from the middle of the Merrimac River, along the coast to the middle of the Piscataqua River, back to their heads, or 60 miles from the coast, to be known as "New Hampshire." This grant was reaffirmed in 1676. Gorges sold his right to his first grant to Mason before 1635. After Mason's death his claims were adjusted and sold by his heirs to Governor Samuel Allen.

In 1635 Mason's heirs set up a claim to the soil of the province, and Charles II, in 1660, decided in their favor. This was not at first a royal charter, but the settlements were sanctioned by the Crown, and may be considered therefore the origin of the Commonwealth of New Hampshire. In 1641 the inhabitants petitioned Massachusetts to take them under its jurisdiction, and it was recognized as a royal province until 1675. A royal commission was issued to the governor of New Hamp-

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shire in 1680, and the autonomy of the province formed without a charter at the pleasure of the Crown. The first legislative assembly met at Portsmouth that year. Andros was appointed governor in 1686. Two years later the proprietors quarreled with him, and in 1690 the people reunited with Massachusetts. At the end of the next two years they were again separated from Massachusetts by the English Government, and for a short period were under the government of New York. In 1719 numerous emigrants from Ireland arrived. A constitutional government was formed by the people in 1727. Disputes with Massachusetts as to a southern boundary were adjusted by a board reporting to and confirmed by the King in 1740. Governor Benning Wentworth's jurisdiction of New Hampshire was declared distinct from Massachusetts in 1741. From this year down to the Revolution it remained a royal colony. Grants made to settlers in Vermont in 1749 were legalized. Dartmouth College was founded in 1769. The rule in proprietary grants, charters, provinces, and colonies was that the titles to unsettled lands were still in the Crown, while the cultivated lands that had passed to individuals under quitrents or in fee simple on evidence of purchase were confirmed to actual settlers and holders. New Hampshire ratified the Constitution June 21, 1788. The State has an area of 9,305 square miles.

NEW JERSEY.

This territory was included in the grants by the French to Pierre du Guast, Sieur de Monts, in 1603, and by the Crown of England to the Virginia Colony in 1606. Later it formed a part of New Netherlands under the Dutch. The first settlement was by Danish and Dutch traders, begun in the vicinity of Bergen before 1620. It was then deemed a part of the Province of New Amsterdam. Capt. Jacob May was influential in settling the southern part of New Jersey, built Fort Nassau, and gave his name to Cape May. In 1627 some Swedes settled in West Jersey on the left or eastern bank of the Delaware, and claimed the country as a part of New Sweden. But the Swedes were in time brought under the rule of the Dutch, who claimed the whole country from Connecticut to Delaware. The grant to James, Duke of York, of March 12, 1663–64, for all the land between the west side of the Connecticut River and the east side of the Delaware, included the Jerseys and part of New York. The name Nova Cæsarea, or New Jersey,

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was given to the territory between the North and South rivers in compliment to George Carteret, who had defended the Island of Jersey in 1649 against the Long Parliament party. The Duke of York in 1674 divided New Jersey into East and West Jersey by a line from Barnegat Bay to the mouth of Rankokus, on the Delaware River. East Jersey went to George Carteret and West Jersey to other parties, each province having a separate government. The one had its capital for a time at Amboy and the other at Salem, the site of Fenwicke Colony on the Delaware.

The chief settlement in East Jersey under the new régime was at Elizabethtown, where the assembly met in 1675. George Carteret died in 1680, and left his land to be sold. West Jersey was conveyed to William Penn, Gawen Lawrie, Nicholas Lucas, and other Quakers February 10, 1674, while a dependency of New York, they made settlements at a landing place called Salem. Daniel Coxe became governor in 1687. In 1681 East Jersey was also sold by the Carteret heirs at public sale to William Penn and eleven associates for £3,400, some of whom were also interested in West Jersey, to which after time it was reconveyed and the two Jerseys were reunited. The title to the soil was in the proprietors, and was a serious disadvantage to settlers in acquiring and making titles.

Confirmation grants were made by the Duke of York in 1682 to James, Earl of Perth, John Drummond, Robert Barclay, and twenty-one others, including William Penn. Robert Barclay was chosen president of East New Jersey. With these changes, transfers, and proprietary partnerships in the two Jerseys commenced a confusion of jurisdiction and disagreements of property interests, which led to the extinction of the proprietary rights in the province. Both the Jerseys were annexed to New York in 1688, but each retained its own assembly. The proprietors' rights of government to both East and West Jersey were surrendered to Queen Anne in 1702. They were then united under the name of New Jersey, and from 1702 to 1738 New York and New Jersey were under the same royal governor. In 1738 Lewis Morris was appointed governor of the Province of New Jersey.

New Jersey ratified the Constitution December 18, 1787. The area of the State is 7,815 square miles.

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NEW YORK.

The territory embraced in the State of New York was included within the French grant of 1603 and the English of 1606, as well as in the patent of the "United New Netherlands Company" of 1616 and the "Dutch West India Company's charter" of 1621.

In 1609 Henry Hudson, sailing with a roving commission from the "Dutch East India Company," found his way, September 11, into New York Bay, and discovered the river which bears his name. He explored both the river and bay, and gave to the country the name of New Netherlands. The original settlements by the Dutch were begun on Manhattan Island as early as 1613 on land bought of the Indians. The truth of history, however, requires the statement that Verrazano, a Florentine navigator, employed by the French, discovered the bay and river in February, 1524, as he sailed along the North American coast from the thirtieth to the fiftieth degree north latitude, and gave names to the New York and Narragansett bays. It is asserted in the French annals that he had been on the North American coast in 1508. Esteban Gomez, also under a commission of Charles V, of Spain, in 1524, sailed along the coast from Labrador to Florida, and named in his own fashion what is now recognized by geographers as Massachusetts Bay, Cape Cod, Narragansett Bay, the Connecticut, Hudson, and Delaware rivers, and probably Chesapeake Bay. The Dutch, soon after Hudson's visit, began settlements around the mouth of the bay, and also along the river and the valleys up to and above Albany. The "United Netherlands" speedily extended their settlements and trading posts to points as far south as the Delaware River, and in 1623 took formal possession of the country discovered by Hudson. The Swedes and Finns seated along the Delaware were finally absorbed by the Dutch. The British, although not objecting, yet never formally acknowledged the sufficiency of the Dutch claim to what was termed by them the "New Netherlands," now New York, the Jerseys, and in the territory at present embraced in the State of Delaware. The Dutch conceived their claim as good as that of the English.

Fort Orange was built at Albany in 1624. In 1623 a number of French families who had resided in Holland came to Manhattan Island. The Dutch were at this time also planting

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on the Delaware, and had built Fort Nassau. Cape May was named in honor of Capt. Jacob May on the success of the settlement. In 1664 the English, in time of peace, took possession of the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam. The Duke of York had received a royal patent on the 12th of March, 1664, from his brother, Charles II, then reigning, for all the territory between the Connecticut and the Delaware rivers, including the islands lying along the coast from St. Croix to Delaware Bay. New York was granted in 1683 the right to choose representatives to a legislative assembly. In 1685 the Duke of York, on ascending the throne, abolished the popular assembly, and made New York a royal province. King William restored the rights of the legislative assembly. The Duke of York and William Penn were the two most noted and successful land-grant speculators in early colonial times.

After the Revolutionary war, New York had a protracted boundary controversy with New Hampshire, Vermont, and also Massachusetts. But the erection of Vermont into a State of the Union, with the consent of New York, and the relinquishment to Congress by New York of all her western lands, March 1, 1781, happily terminated all these dissensions as to boundaries. New York ratified the Constitution July 26, 1788. The State has an area of 49,170 square miles.

NORTH CAROLINA.

The first English settlers sent to North America landed on Roanoke Island, in North Carolina, in July, 1584. The territory of North Carolina was embraced in the region which the Spaniards and French called Florida but which the English named Virginia.

This territory in 1639 was included in a grant by Charles I to Sir Robert Heath, at that time attorney-general to the King, under the name of "Carolana." The grant was for an immense tract of land, defined to lie south of Virginia and to the thirty-sixth degree of north latitude. It does not appear, however, that Sir Robert made any successful settlements. In 1663 Charles II assumed a failure to colonize the country as evidenced from noncompliance with the conditions of the grant, and declared it void. On application of Edward, Earl of Clarendon, and several associates, the King, on March 24, 1663, granted them all the lands lying between the thirty-first and

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thirty-sixth degrees of north latitude, and constituted them absolute lords and proprietors of that tract of country under the name of Carolina, retaining only to himself and his successors sovereign dominion. In 1665 this grant was enlarged, extending northward to Currituck Inlet and through to the South Sea. This year a number of English colonists came over from Barbados, settled on the Cape Fear River, and named the place "Clarendon." A fundamental constitution for the Carolinas was prepared by the celebrated John Locke, which served for some years, but proved to be unsuitable to the actual settlers.

A company of Dissenters from Virginia removed southward between 1640 and 1650 and settled on the Chowan River, which empties into Albemarle Sound. Among them were a number of Quakers. The Albemarle region or country from this fact and its favorable position early became the chief settlement within North Carolina, and here was organized the first assembly of the colony, in 1669. William Drummond was appointed governor of the Albemarle Colony, and John Yeamans of the Cape Fear or Clarendon settlement. The latter settlement, however, soon broke up. Both these settlements were within the territory of "the Old North State," although that name had not yet been applied to the colony. The government consisted of a governor, twelve councilors, and twelve delegates chosen from the freeholders. The Locke constitution was adopted by the proprietors. The following year, 1670, a settlement was begun at "Port Royal," in what is now South Carolina, but was shortly after changed for the situation on the neck of land between the Ashley and Cooper rivers, now Charleston, at first known as the Carteret Colony. The freeholders were authorized to hold an election in 1674. The council and delegates when in session were called a parliament.

The Locke constitution was also in force up to 1677. After 1683 the people chose their own assembly. In 1729 North Carolina became a separate and independent royal province. North Carolina enjoyed a large western territory. By an act of her legislature, passed December 2, 1789, she ceded by a described boundary her western lands to the United States. These lands now form the State of Tennessee. On the 26th of May, 1790, Congress passed an act providing for the government of this cession as a territory under the title of the Territory of the United States south of the Ohio. North Carolina

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ratified the Constitution November 21, 1789, which was after the new government had gone into operation. It has an area of 52,250 square miles.

PENNSYLVANIA.

The proprietary grant of land by Charles II, King of England, to William Penn, son of Sir William Penn, was in discharge of a debt. The patent conveyed a great tract of land under the name of the Province of Pennsylvania, "bounded on the East by Delaware River from twelve miles distance northwards from New Castle Towne unto the three and fortieth degree of Northern Latitude, if the said river doth extend so farre northwards on the South by a circle drawn at twelve miles distant from New Castle Northward and Westward unto the beginning of the fortieth degree of Northern Latitude and thence by a straight Line Westward to the Limit of Longitude above mentioned." (Constitutions and Colonial Charters.)

The charter making the conveyance gave all property rights, reserving to the Crown only sovereignty and allegiance, and was signed by the King on the 4th of March, 1681. (For copy of charter, see Proud's History of Pennsylvania, Vol. I, p. 171.) To complete his title, Penn procured from the Duke of York a deed for any claim he might have to the Province of Pennsylvania. The boundaries were in this, as in other royal charters, conflicting, and of necessity led to controversies with adjoining colonies. Settlement had already been effected to a slight extent along the Delaware at Wicaco, now Philadelphia, under the patronage of the "Swedes West India Company." Although the Dutch had had control since 1655, Penn was a shrewd man of business, and in the year 1682 bought of the Duke of York his claim to New Sweden on the west side of the Delaware. This settlement was without authority and so trivial in extent as to have been ignored in 1632, and the territory had been included in Lord Baltimore's grant.

According to the original grants to Maryland and Pennsylvania, the boundary between them was fixed at the fortieth degree of north latitude. Penn, discovering that such a line would shut him out from deep water on the Delaware, bought the assumed claim of the Duke of York to the Dutch settlements on the Delaware. This claim was opposed by Lord Baltimore but it was referred to the lords of trade, who, by a decision

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reached November 7, 1685, declared in favor of Penn's claim to a part of the Delaware peninsula. The dividing line between Maryland and Pennsylvania was settled by some influence of diplomacy or policy in 1760 at a great loss of territory to Maryland, and the Mason and Dixon line established. In 1692, from a suspicion on the part of the Crown that Penn was in some manner wanting in loyalty, the jurisdiction of the Province of Pennsylvania was wrested from him, but after explanations were made, his property was restored to him in 1694.

From 1682 to 1701 the three lower counties on the Delaware were governed as a territory of Pennsylvania. These counties, however, in 1701 refused to adopt the amended charter granted to them by Penn, and their delegates seceded from the Pennsylvania assembly. To placate the lower counties they were then granted a separate legislature, but remained under the proprietary government and jurisdiction of Pennsylvania down to the Revolution. From 1682 to 1701 a portion of New Jersey was also under the proprietary management of William Penn and a few associates and their successors, who were coproprietors of the Province of New Jersey. The New Jersey and Pennsylvania governments were, however, always separate. In 1695 a new form of government, or rather one with greater prerogatives, was granted to the people by Penn. In 1699 the proprietor of Pennsylvania, who had been in England for some years, returned and resumed his government. The same chartered privileges by him then granted remained in force from 1701 down to the Revolution. The separation of the lower counties became permanent as to their assembly, and was acquiesced in by Penn in 1703, after which the Delaware legislature sat in its own territory and met in pursuance of its own adjournments. The indefiniteness of the boundaries of the Penn grant led to much trouble and some bloodshed, particularly in the Wyoming Valley, in contests with the Connecticut claimants. These troublesome questions of the "Pennite" and "Yanky war" were fortunately settled by the cession to Congress in May, 1800, by Connecticut, of all her claims to western lands. Pennsylvania ratified the Constitution of the United States December 12, 1787. The State has an area of 45,215 square miles.

RHODE ISLAND.

Roger Williams and his associates began "the Providence Plantation" in Providence in 1636, and in the island of Rhode

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Island in 1638, by William Coddington receiving a deed for the lands of Rhode Island bought from the Indian sachems Canonicus and Miantonomoh in March, 1637, under the name of Aquidneck. The consideration paid was "ten coats and twenty hoes." The colonists or adventurers numbered eighteen. They incorporated their settlements as a voluntary company without patent, embracing Providence, Newport, and Portsmouth. A patent was, however, granted for their lands, and a charter for the management of their settlement, in March, 1643–44, which included the towns of Providence, Portsmouth, and Newport, with power to govern themselves agreeably to the laws of England, by the lords and commissioners, under the name of the "Incorporation of Providence Plantations," on Narragansett Bay, in New England. In May, 1647, a form of government and a body of laws were agreed to by the settlers. Rhode Island was refused admittance to the confederacy of the United Colonies of New England formed in 1643. In 1651 William Coddington obtained a commission from the council in England to govern the island of Rhode Island. This commission was revoked in October, 1652. (See patent in Hazard, Vol. I, p. 538.) The British acts of Parliament refer to this colony as "Rhode Island," "Providence Plantations," and the "Narragansett Country," also named the "King's Province." Originally these were distinct associations or voluntary plantations. There were a number of other separate and distinct purchases from the Indians, and settlements mainly by emigrants from Massachusetts, but all were embraced in the charter of 1663.

From time to time purchases of lands from the Indians were made by the English Crown for trading houses in the Narragansett country. In 1657 the island of Canonicut was purchased, and in 1678 was incorporated under the name of "Jamestown," now a township in Newport County, R. I.

The first general assembly of the collective freemen or people of Rhode Island met at Portsmouth May 19, 1646. The supreme power or authority was vested in the regular vote of all the freeholders of the colony or incorporation, the freemen's vote thus superseding and becoming confirmatory or negativing her legislative acts. In this respect it was like its sister colony, Connecticut, which was the only other colony where the court of last resort and jurisdiction was lodged with the community or the people.

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Charles II, in 1663, granted a new royal charter under the name of the "Governor and Company of the English Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantation in New England in America." This charter united all the Bay colonies into one jurisdiction, and did much to quiet boundary disputes between the Providence Plantations themselves, and also with Massachusetts and Connecticut. It granted liberty of conscience in religion to all, provided for in the first incorporation, and the amended charter remained in force even after it had been admitted into the Union of the States to 1842. Rhode Island ratified the Constitution May 29, 1790, about two months after the new grant was made. The State has an area of 1,250 square miles. (See Charters and Constitutions.)

SOUTH CAROLINA.

The territory of South Carolina was included in the original grant of "Carolana," as then called, to Sir Robert Heath, attorney-general, and his several associates by King Charles I in 1630. It was one of those large and indefinite grants which was afterwards claimed to include the Louisiana territory, and extended across the Mississippi. The grant for the Province of Carolana lay along the Atlantic Ocean, and extended west and north to Mexico and the Pacific, with a width of 5° of latitude between the thirty-first and the thirty-sixth parallels of north latitude. Some historians say that Sir Robert Heath conveyed his rights to the Earl of Arundel, who planted in several parts of the territory, and but for the civil war which broke out in England he would have had prosperous colonies. Daniel Coxe, Esq., one of the heirs, who resided fourteen years in this country, published a history of this grant and its early occupancy. The grant was, however, in 1663 declared vacant by Charles II, and a new charter issued to the Earl of Clarendon and several associates, under the name of Carolina, making them absolute lords and proprietors, reserving to himself and the Crown the sovereign dominion. The applicants for the grant, besides the Earl of Clarendon, were George, Duke of Albemarle; William, Lord Craven; John, Lord Berkeley; Anthony, Lord Ashley; Sir George Carteret, Sir William Berkeley, and Sir John Colleton. This grant, extending as it did from latitute 31° to 36°, included most of the present State of Georgia, as well as North and South Carolina.

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These provinces remained under one government until 1729, when South Carolina became a royal province, electing its own assembly, the governor being appointed by the King. The earliest attempt at settlement in South Carolina was by John Ribault, who brought from France a company of emigrants in 1562, and began a plantation at Port Royal, now Beaufort, then supposed to be in Florida, and built "Fort Charles." The adventurers or colony did not succeed for want of proper executive government.

Again, in 1670, another attempt was made and at the same place, known as "Old Charleston," under the patronage of Earl Clarendon, but under the charter issued in 1665. The settlers, however, soon discovered a preference for the location at the junction of the Ashley and Cooper rivers, now Charleston, to which they removed themselves in a body in 1677, and the capital of the colony was established there in 1680. The cultivation of rice was begun in South Carolina in 1694. A more successful effort to found a town at the mouth of Port Royal River was made in 1712, but the settlement at Charleston has always held the lead. The line between South Carolina and Georgia was established in 1787, and the same year a narrow strip of 12 or 14 miles broad lying south of the North Carolina line, and extending to the Mississippi River, was ceded to the United States. South Carolina ratified the Constitution of the United States May 23, 1788. The State has an area of 30,570 square miles.

TENNESSEE.

This State is situated within the territory originally granted by Queen Elizabeth to Sir Walter Raleigh and the subsequent grants of the Crown to the lords proprietors, of Carolina, but more particularly in that portion known as North Carolina. This immediate section was for a time known to the early settlers as "the State of Frankland," in western North Carolina. Its earliest settlers were from eastern North Carolina and Virginia, who began moving there about 1754, and became active in 1764.

As the population increased, the spirit of independence developed among the people, and equaled that in any section of the country; and as early as 1772, in public mass meetings, the inhabitants asserted their right to self-government. This

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section and its settlement was referred to in official documents as early as 1776 as "the District of Washington," in North Carolina.

In 1784 North Carolina offered to cede its lands west of the mountains to Congress, but the offer was not accepted and was withdrawn. This led the pioneers, for their own security and protection, to organize, and they in mass meeting at Jonesboro adopted a declaration of rights and a constitution, electing John Xavier Sevier governor, and inaugurated an independent government from 1785 to 1788, under the name of "the State of Frankland," in honor of Dr. Franklin. The new government was not so much disposed to rebel against North Carolina as to secure greater protection and convenience in the management of its local affairs, although Governor Martin felt constrained to issue a proclamation against this lawless spirit in organizing a State. Ambitious and designing persons complicated matters, and some collisions of authority occurred. The assembly of North Carolina granted an act of oblivion to all offenders in Frankland in 1788.

In December, 1789, the legislature of North Carolina by act of its assembly again offered to transfer all its territory west of the mountains to the United States with substantially the present boundary of the State of Tennessee. The cession was accepted April 20, 1790, and the whole grant included in the "United States Territory south of the Ohio," created by an act of Congress. In 1794 Tennessee became a separate territory, and June 1, 1796, was admitted into the Union. The State has an area of 42,050 square miles.

TEXAS.

The independent republic of Texas was once a Spanish province of Mexico. Mexico, including Texas, declared itself independent of Spain in 1821. Texas was familiarly referred to as the "Lone Star State." The Spaniards early established in Texas a province, called the "New Philippines," which eventually became a "Spanish province of Mexico." This province finally rebelled against Mexican authority, and established Texan independence in 1836. The first colony of Europeans to settle within the limits of Texas was planted by Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, near the entrance of Matagorda Bay, February 18, 1685. This colony was not sustained.

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After ten years' experience as an independent republic Texas petitioned the United States, and by act of Congress of March 1, 1845, was admitted into the Union as a State, which took effect the 29th of December, 1845. In 1850 Texas sold to the United States, for $10,000,000, her claims to large bodies of lands outside of her present State limits, on the borders of Mexico, which are now held as part of the public lands.

VERMONT.

Although in the group of the Eastern and New England States, Vermont never had an individual grant or charter.

The tract now know as Vermont was, however, included in the grants of two nations. King Henry of France gave a grant in 1603, which embraced it, and King James of England in 1606 gave a grant covering the same territory. It was again included in the King's grant to New England in 1620. The grants of the Crown to the Duke of York in 1664, and amended in 1674, call for all the territory between the Connecticut and Delaware rivers to their sources. The latter grant laid the foundation of the claims of New York to jurisdiction over this territory. Massachusetts Bay claimed much of it, and New Hampshire also claimed portions under its grant of 1629. In turn the government of New Hampshire claimed this territory on the ground that Massachusetts and Connecticut had been allowed to extend their boundaries to within 20 miles of the Hudson River, and therefore contended its boundary should go equally as far. The King's decree of 1740 left this inference, and also gave color to the view that the charters of 1664 and 1674 were obsolete. By a decree of the King, in 1764, the territory west of the Connecticut River from the forty-fifth parallel, north latitude, to the Massachusetts line was declared to belong to New York. As most of the early settlers in this region were from New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Massachusetts, this decision was very unsatisfactory to them.

Fort Dummer was built in 1724 near Brattleboro by people from Massachusetts and Connecticut, who had followed up the Connecticut River. The settlements were familiarly alluded to at the time as "New Connecticut," because of the preponderance of persons from that colony. It was also referred to as the "New Hampshire Grants." Down to the Revolution,

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Vermont was without an individual self-government. Its people, however, were in touch with the patriotism of the people of Connecticut and Massachusetts, and furnished troops throughout the war for independence. January 15, 1777, in a convention of the people to consider their political welfare, and after mature deliberation, they declared that the district known as "New Connecticut," or "Vermont," was of right a free and independent jurisdiction, to be thenceforward known by the name of "Vermont." Its boundaries were at the time not accurately defined, but claimed as far west as the Hudson River from its source north to the international boundary, thence following the shore of Lake Champlain.

This action they promptly reported to the Continental Congress, with a petition for admission to the confederacy. New York protested that the territory specified was a part of her own domain. Vermont, however, persisted, and formed and maintained republican government, and furnished troops to the close of the war. Some western towns of New Hampshire were annexed, in acquiescence to the wishes of the people, and some northeastern towns of New York, and delegates from them occupied seats in the legislature. The treaty of peace between the United States and Great Britain took no account of the political aspirations of the people of Vermont, who, however, maintained a constitutional and republican form of government, and continued to petition Congress to be admitted to the continental confederacy. In 1781 Massachusetts consented to the independence of Vermont. Vermont and New Hampshire adjusted their differences as to boundary in 1782. In 1786 a new constitution was formed, and in 1790 the State of New York consented to the admission of Vermont to the Union. An act of Congress admitting Vermont passed 18th of February, 1791, which, on the 4th of March, 1791, took effect, with practically her present boundary. The area of the State is 9,565 square miles. Vermont enjoys the honor of being the first State received into the Union. Independence had been maintained, but without recognition, for nearly fourteen years.

VIRGINIA.[1]

The name Virginia, though now restricted to a single State of the Union, was originally given to the immense territory

[1] Dr. Toner, the author, died on July 30, 1896, without completing the proof reading of this paper.—EDITOR.

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out of which the States confederating formed the original United States.

The Virginia colonial charter granted by James I to George Summers and others, by patent dated 10th of April, 1606, "to make habitation and plantation, etc., in that part of America commonly called Virginia, and other parts and territories," is the one now under review. The colonists were declared in this charter to be entitled to all the liberties of British subjects. The charter provided for two companies. The first was called "the London Company" and the second "the Plymouth Company." In 1607 the London Company sent out three ships under Christopher Newport, which arrived on the 26th of April in Chesapeake Bay. The promontory at the entrance to the bay on the south he named "Cape Henry," in honor of the Prince of Wales, by the planting of a cross, and the north promontary to the entrance he named "Cape Charles," in honor of the Duke of York, afterwards King Charles I of England. The company had the right under the charter to settle wherever they should think fit and convenient between the thirty-eighth and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude. A settlement was begun the 13th of May on the north or left bank of the river Powhatan, now James River, and the town of "James City," later known as Jamestown, was begun. This was the first permanent English settlement founded in America, about 50 miles from the mouth of the river, if we except the Raleigh colony in North Carolina and the feeble attempt at Sagadahoc, in New England.

Capt. John Smith, one of the councilors named by the King, by mere force of character became the leader and historian of the colony and the preserver of the early colonists. The first charter not proving satisfactory to the Virginia Company's interests, it was changed by superseding the Jamestown council for a governor, in 1609, and on the 12th of March, 1611–12, again amended by a third charter, confirming all their former privileges and granting more extensive individual property rights in the soil and more ample jurisdiction to the stockholders, under which charter the colonists elected their own governors.

July 30, 1619, there was convened in the chancel of the church at Jamestown the first elective legislative assembly of Virginia, composed of twenty burgesses. As the delegates were chosen from the eleven "burroughs" (boroughs) or county corporations,

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the assembly was commonly spoken of as the House of Burgesses. The Dutch brought negroes to Virginia and sold them for slaves in 1619. The indentured servant was introduced earlier, many of them becoming well to do and excellent citizens. In April, 1621, after the third Virginia charter was granted, a bill was introduced into the House of Commons to indulge the subjects of England in the privilege of fishing upon the coast of America. The House was informed by the secretary of state, by order of His Majesty King James, that "America was not annexed to the realm, and that it was not fitting that Parliament should make laws for those countries."

In the reign of Charles I the same bill was again proposed to the House, and was again refused the royal assent, with the declaration that such legislation "was unnecessary; that the colonists were without the realm and jurisdiction of Parliament." A measure was adopted by the colony in 1621 absolving the planters from service to the company and to encourage emigration by granting lands in fee or property in the soil to actual settlers. This brought over in that year 1,300 men, women, and children. A free school was founded in the colony. A rapid growth of population followed for a season. But the great Indian massacre of settlers, in 1622, for a time checked this progress. Charges against the company having been made, the colony, in 1623, made an able defense of its conduct and rights, defined the powers of the governor, the council, and assembly, and declared the privilege of the people in regard to taxes, burdens, and public services. By the assembly, in March, 1623, monthly courts were authorized to be appointed by the governor.

It is probable that the colony displayed more independence than was agreeable to the Crown. At all events, the London Company's charter was annulled by the King's bench, June 16, 1624, and made a royal province dependent upon the Crown. The same year the King issued a proclamation directing that two councils for Virginia be constituted, one to be in England and the other one in the colony, the governor and the councilors to be appointed by the King. In 1630 Sir John Harvey was appointed governor. He had been one of the commissioners sent over by the Crown in 1623 to investigate the condition and management of the colony. Having in some matters sided with Maryland, he early incurred the displeasure

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of the leaders of public opinion in Virginia. In 1639 the privileges of the province were restored, but the governor was still appointed by the Crown, and Sir William Berkeley was elected to that office in February, 1642. In 1649 Charles II granted to Lord Hopton, Berkeley, Culpeper, and other cavaliers a very large tract of land of over 5,000,000 acres, bounded by and within the heads of the Rappahannock and Potomac rivers. Later this territory was known as the "Northern Neck" of Virginia. This grant was confirmed by James II to Lord Culpeper in 1689. The grant extended only to soil, not to jurisdiction, and had passed by purchase to Lord Culpeper. On his death it went to his daughter's son, Lord Thomas Fairfax. This owner resided upon his estate, known as "Greenway Court," Frederick County, where he died in 1781. In 1652 the burgesses elected the council and the governor. A treaty was made between "the Commonwealth of England" and the colony of Virginia in 1651. (See Henings Statutes, Vol. I, pp. 363–365.)

In 1652 the Province of Virginia submitted, under threats from a formidable military force, to Cromwell, and bore him allegiance until 1659, when the government was restored and the Church of England established. Charles II, who had been in retirement during Cromwell's ascendency, was proclaimed King of England on the 8th of May, 1660, and Sir William Berkeley was recommissioned governor. Bacon's rebellion, in 1676, was, in fact, an assertion of independence by the people and a protest against the royal mismanagement of the province. The leaders were vindictively punished.

William and Mary College was founded in 1692. Colonel Spotswood organized an exploration party and crossed the mountains in 1714. In 1749 he Ohio Company was formed for commerce and to extend settlements beyond the Alleghany Mountains. Virginia troops, under the command of Col. George Washington, were led across the Alleghany Mountains to repel the French invasion in 1754. The House of Burgesses passed resolutions against the stamp act in 1755. The governor dissolved the assembly for its assertion of independent opinions in 1769. The Virginia assembly passed resolutions protesting against the Boston port bill, and was for so doing dissolved by the governor in 1774. The members of the assembly met as citizens in the historic "Apollo room" of the "Raleigh Tavern," and appointed a committee of safety and

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correspondence with other colonies, and recommended the holding of a Continental Congress.

Virginia had a well-recognized claim to large territory to the west, extending to the lakes. In a spirit of great magnanimity and patriotism, by act of legislature, March 1, 1784, without question as to boundaries, the State surrendered claim to all lands and jurisdiction west of the Ohio to Congress as a public domain, reserving only the lands pledged to Virginia soldiers. Out of this territory Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois have been formed. It is true that other States laid claim to portions of this territory. They also surrendered their claims to Congress in the interests of peace and for the benefit of the community at large. Virginia ratified the Constitution June 25, 1788. The State had then a much larger area (owing to the formation of West Virginia out of its territory) than it now enjoys—42,450 square miles.

WEST VIRGINIA.

The history of this State is a peculiar one. By its geographical position and early settlement, it belongs to the old original thirteen colonies, yet it only dates its existence as a State in the Union from 1863. West Virginia is an offspring of the war between the States and was violently brought into existence by a sort of Cæsarean operation. After the passage of the ordinance of secession by Virginia, in 1861, some Union men in the western part of the State, encouraged by separatists, politicians, and the presence and support of Federal troops, called a convention to meet at Wheeling November 26, 1861, to protest against the action of the State convention. This body for political reasons continued in session until February 18, 1862. The convention drafted a constitution and directed the election of delegates by the several counties to a legislature. This legislature, which met on May 13, 1862, approved the constitution, and by enactments completed an organization of a State government within the jurisdiction of Virginia. The constitution was submitted to a vote of the people of the counties named and approved by a very large majority, April 3, 1862. The theory of the Constitution of the United States, of Congress, and the Supreme Court being that a State can not secede, and therefore Virginia was still a State in the Union. Under this theory it was strongly advocated to hold that the loyal men of West Virginia were entitled to speak for the whole

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State of Virginia. The theory and the necessities in the case did not fully harmonize.

The various steps taken by the convention and the legislature, it is understood, were advised by the executive and legislative branches of the Government at Washington. December 29, 1862, the President issued a proclamation approving the act of Congress for the partition of Virginia and the admission of a new State, naming the counties and defining the boundary, providing for its admission as a State in sixty days. It was at first proposed to call the new State which was about coming into existence "the State of Kanawha," but "West Virginia" was finally agreed upon. Jefferson and Berkeley counties, were afterwards taken from Virginia and added to West Virginia, by direction of Congress, March 10, 1886. It has an area of 24,780 square miles. (See B. P. Poore's Charters and Constitutions of the United States.)

The American colonies in their earlier history present marked examples of what is recognized by the thoughtful as likely to occur where any considerable number of individuals are brought together, by mutual interest, from the various walks of life and of different social positions and education, and where the community will intuitively recognize those best endowed by nature with gifts and qualities fitting them for trusts and leadership. A distinguishing feature of our State government and of the Republic of the United States is that sovereignty rests with the body of the people and not in the office or officers. Under these circumstances a tendency may exist, perhaps unconsciously, to equalize and level, with an almost total disregard for even the conventional forms of rank which formerly may have advantageously obtained among them. But the personal and individual qualities which were in all the new colonies valued and stamped as worthy of headship by the people were intelligence, judgment, activity, industry, strength, courage, justice, and stability of purpose.

It was under the tutelage of such characters as these that the American colonies developed the spirit which went to make up their sterling manhood, established their high moral principles, fostered their courage, inspired political justice and the theory of free government among the people, for the people, and in which they schooled their children and all emigrants who became a part of the community. The people of the colonies in time became exceptionally vigilant, courageous,

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self-reliant, and sagacious in everything that related to their natural rights and physical well-being. They were sound in their judgments as to equities between the people and their rulers, just in their dealings with their neighbors, strong in their convictions and obligation to duty, firm in maintaining their natural and chartered rights, determined, impetuous, and resolute in defense of these principles.

Such were the environments and the characteristics of the ancestors of the patriot colonists, who, oppressed by the mother country, conceived the idea of an independent government for themselves and their posterity, and, winning their cause, founded a republic out of the once feeble and dependent settlements, colonies, and provinces seated along the Atlantic Coast, and which, by absorption and annexation, have extended to the Pacific, and now embrace 45 States, 5 Territories, and 1 Federal District, known as the United States of America.

NOTES ON PROPOSED STATES, PROVINCES, AND COLONIES THAT WERE NOT SUCCESSFUL, OR MERGED IN OTHERS, AND NOT LISTED WITH EXISTING STATES AND TERRITORIES.

In the foregoing sketches of the successful settlements of patents, grants, provinces, and chartered colonies, we have not been oblivious of the fact that there were other royal grants, regular in character, and at the time of their issue heralded as of great promise, but which from various causes failed, and are usually passed over by writers in silence or disposed of in as brief a manner as possible. Some of these attempts at colonization were heroic and deserved success, while others do, in fact, belong more to the character of enthusiasts and the curiosities of colonial enterprises than to the annals of history. A few only of the more conspicuous attempts to plant colonies which failed, or changed their names, will be referred to in alphabetical order.

"*Acadia.*"—"Acadia" of the French at Port Royal was founded in 1604. It became a British possession in 1710 under the name of Nova Scotia. (See Alexander, Earl of Stirling's, patent.)

"*Albemarle.*"—"Albemarle," a settlement or colony so called, on the Chowan River, in North Carolina, organized a local government in 1663, and for some years exercised the functions of a state. (See North Carolina.)

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Alexander's charter.—King James gave to Sir William Alexder, Earl of Stirling, September 10, 1621, the French possessions of Acadia, Nova Scotia, between the St. Croix and St. Lawrence rivers, to be erected into a palatine and called "the Lordship and Barony of New Scotland." An unsuccessful attempt was made by him to effect English settlements there, but they failed. The French continued the occupancy of the country.

In 1630 Sir William Alexander sold all his rights in Nova Scotia, except Port Royal, to Sir Étienne, Lord of La Tour, a French Huguenot, on condition that the inhabitants remain subjects of the Scotch Crown.

Lord Stirling, in 1635, received an additional grant of the country between the St. Croix and the Kennebec, called Pemaquid, together with the islands offshore, including Nantucket, Marthas Vineyard, and Long Island. The first two he sold to Massachusetts and the latter to New York.

Avalon.—George Calvert (Lord Baltimore) filled various offices under the Crown of England with efficiency, and in February, 1625, resigned the office of secretary of state. He enjoyed in Ireland a large estate, given him by the King, James I. He had the desire of many men of enterprise of this period to found a colony, and in 1620 purchased of William Vaughn, as early as 1617, a fellow-student at Oxford, who had an interest in a patent for the southern part of Newfoundland, comprising the whole southern peninsula of that island. Lord Baltimore was one of the members of the South Virginia Company, and had given much thought to the subject of colonization. In 1623 James I gave Calvert a patent for Avalon and constituted him the proprietary of the same in Newfoundland. It is believed that this patent served as a model for his subsequent charter of Maryland. The fertility and climate of Avalon proved not to be equal to his expectations, as in 1624 he sent there a body of settlers, who established themselves at Ferryland. Lord Baltimore visited Avalon in 1627, and again the following year with the members of his family; but the inhospitable climate made it evident that it was not suited for successful agriculture. In 1629 Lord Baltimore wrote to the King that he found himself obliged to abandon Avalon, and asked for a grant in some warmer climate. Without waiting for the King's reply, he, with some forty persons, sailed for Virginia, where they arrived in October, 1629. In Virginia he was not

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welcomed; perhaps they did not wish the introduction of Catholics, and tendered him the oath of allegiance. While in Virginia he conceived the idea of a grant of land from the ocean to the west along the northern side of Virginia, which he in a few years received. (See Acadia, New England, and Maryland.)

"*Cape Fear Colony*" *or* "*Clarendon Colony.*" (See North Carolina.)

Carolana.—In 1629 King Charles I gave a province to his attorney-general, Sir Robert Heath. The province was named Carolana, and was described as extending from the thirtieth to the thirty-sixth degree north latitude, and in longitude from the Atlantic Ocean to New Mexico, and, where not inhabited by Spain, to the South Sea. This grant was distinct from Carolina, though they were bordering provinces. The east of Carolana joined the west of Carolina. The latter derives its claim from Charles II. Some thirty years later, historians say, Sir Robert Heath conveyed his right to the Earl of Arundel, and that the earl planted, at much expense, several parts of the country. The property came to be possessed by Dr. Cox, who also expended large means upon the territory, and his son, Daniel Cox, esq., resided fourteen years in the country. His history of the province asserts progress being made in the settlements; but the grant was abrogated and the territory included within the grants made to the Carolinas and Georgia.

"*Clarendon,*" *or* "*Cape Fear Colony,*" *North Carolina.*—A few adventurers from New England settled, about 1660, on Old Town Creek, near Cape Fear. They were much distressed by the failure of crops and in fishing, and finally abandoned the place in 1663, leaving a few domestic animals. In 1665 emigrants under Yeamans, from Barbados, settled for a time upon the southern bank of the Cape Fear River, but they, too, finally removed into South Carolina.

District of Columbia.—The first article of the Constitution gives Congress the power "to exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding 10 miles square) as may by cession of particular States and the acceptance of Congress become the seat of Government of the United States." General Washington, in pursuance of this power, after deliberate search and discriminating observation, selected the present site for the metropolis of this great confederated Republic of independent States. In furtherance of

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this purpose, jurisdiction and soil were ceded by Maryland December 23, 1788, and by Virginia December 3, 1789, and by subsequent acts, 1791–1793, to the United States, of such portions of land situated within their respective bounds as might be desired. General Washington by proclamation, January 24, 1791, and by second proclamation, March 30, 1791, officially determined the site of the 10 miles square. The territory of Columbia selected lies upon both sides of the Potomac. The first stone to mark its boundary was set at Ross's Point—the upper cape of Hunting Creek and right bank of the Potomac—on the 15th of April, 1791. This was the site selected for "Fort Columbia," which was actually commenced to be erected. The District was divided into two counties. The portion south of the Potomac was made the county of Alexandria, and the portion north of the Potomac Washington County.

The city of Washington was laid out on the north side, or upon the Maryland cession, and the Government buildings erected here, and the several Department offices of the General Government removed to them in 1800. In 1846 the southern portion of the 10 miles square was retroceded to Virginia, so that now only the territory ceded by Maryland is included in the District of Columbia. The city of Washington was incorporated in 1802. Georgetown had at the time a chartered incorporation, which was continued in the county of Washington. Alexandria was an incorporated town, and its organization was also continued in Alexandria County. A levy court for the ordinary discharge of business in the county was organized, and continued down to the time the territorial grant of the District was inaugurated. A territorial form of government was authorized by Congress in 1871, and a governor appointed by the President, with the right to send one delegate to the national House of Representatives, and the District made a corporate body with a legislature, consisting of a council of 11 members, appointed by the President, and a house of delegates of 22 members, chosen by the ballots of the people. In 1874 the District legislature was abolished by Congress, and the President authorized to appoint three Commissioners. This method has worked well and is still in force.

Dorchester Colony.—Dorchester Colony obtained a grant from the council of New England and made settlement at Salem in 1623 as a trading company, but without jurisdiction. In 1629, however, the company was enlarged and a royal

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charter obtained under the name of the "Massachusetts Bay Company," with powers of self-government. (For its development, see Massachusetts Bay Colony.)

Fenwick's Colony.—Fenwick's Colony included, in part, the territory that had been occupied by the Swedish settlement in New Jersey on the Delaware. John Fenwick bought Lord Berkeley's portion of the grant or colony of West Jersey March 18, 1673–74. Fenwick came over as governor in 1675, and with others settled a Quaker colony at Salem, West Jersey. Andros, governor of New York and the Jerseys, disputed Fenwick's claims to lands and jurisdiction in New Jersey, and ordered his arrest in 1676. "Fenwick produced the King's letters patent to the Duke of York and his grant to Berkeley and Carteret and Berkeley's deed to himself." On March 3, 1677, a code of laws was adopted under the title of "The concessions and agreements of the proprietors, freeholders, and inhabitants of the provinces of West Jersey." The authorship of the document is attributed to William Penn and his immediate coadjutors. His name, at least, heads the list. John Fenwick was a man of courage and character, and, after spending a large amount, was not sustained by the Crown, and finally, in despair of justice, sold his interests to William Penn, and died poor. He was perhaps wanting in tact, and was, at all events, no match for Penn in diplomacy.

The State of Frankland.—The first civic organization in western North Carolina, now Tennessee, grew out of the necessities of a people living remote from courts established for the preservation of order and the administration of justice. This organization was not a rebellious movement, but it was the assertion of the prevailing principle among the people that all powers of government are derived from the people, and to be exercised for the good of the people.

The settlers were mostly from eastern North Carolina and southeastern Virginia, who, crossing the mountains and following the water courses, planted settlements upon the fine agricultural lands in eastern Tennessee. The earliest public aspiration for civil organization and courts of jurisdiction was, perhaps, in the settlement formed by James Robertson in 1764 on the Watauga, in eastern Tennessee, now in Washington County. North Carolina had not in 1776 given civil organization to that region, and the Watauga settlers petitioned in public meeting at Jonesboro, in a strong and persuasive appeal to the provincial council of North Carolina this year, to extend

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its government to their community. They protested against being regarded as a "lawless mob." (See Ramsay's Annals of Tennessee, p. 134.) The section was then known as "Washington Destrict," and is now Washington County. The steady influx of settlers led, shortly after this, to a discussion in public meetings of the needs of the forms of civil government in other neighboring settlements, as at Nashboro and at Clarksville.

In 1784 North Carolina proffered to cede her western lands—that is, those west of the Alleghany Mountains—to the United States. As the consummation of this measure would leave the western settlers for a time without even the semblance of an organized government, it gave them great alarm. The leading settlers called a convention at Jonesboro, adopted a bill of rights, and took measures for organizing an independent State out of the lands proposed in this cession. The dissatisfaction of the people with the measure induced North Carolina, the same year, to repeal the act making this cession, and led the assembly to make the Tennessee region in question a separate military district and appoint John Sevier a brigadier-general over it, and also to establish there a separate judicial district. This was by many deemed satisfactory.

But the spirit for a new State was aroused and could not be quieted. A provisional government was organized by the people in March, 1785. Governor Martin, of North Carolina, issued a proclamation exhorting all engaged in this movement to desist and return to their duty, and the assembly passed an act of oblivion on their return to their allegiance. But the provincial constitution of Frankland was adopted and made permanent November, 1785, and Frankland exercised the functions of civil government for over two years. The assembly met for the last time in September, 1787. The text of their constitution may be seen in Ramsay's History of Tennessee, page 236. In December, 1789, the legislature of North Carolina again passed an act ceding the western lands to the United States, which was accepted and a territorial government formed south of the Ohio, which quieted all discontents, and in 1794 Tennessee, which embraced this territory, was admitted a State in the Union. (See Tennessee.)

Indiana.—A name that a party of Indian traders gave to a tract of land around the head of the Ohio, conveyed to them by a deed from the Six Nations. These twenty-four Indian traders pooled their losses in the Pontiac war for merchan-

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dise plundered from them by the Indians to the amount of £959–16–6, New York currency. The Six Nations of Indians recognized the justice of the claim, but were unable to pay the debt. At a treaty held by the Indians at Fort Stanwix (now Rome, N. Y.) May 3, 1768, they conveyed to the traders, to satisfy this claim, an immense tract of land bordering on the Ohio River above the Little Kanawha, comprising about one-fourth of the present State of West Virginia.

This conveyance was made to Mr. Baynton, Samuel Wharton, and George Morgan, as managers for themselves and their associates in interest. As these three merchants were the heaviest losers, they were chosen as trustees. To this tract the traders gave the name of Indiana. At the same time the Six Nations ceded to the Crown whatever title they had to lands between the Ohio and Tennessee rivers.

Virginia, laying claim to the territory, opposed this Indian grant or sale to the traders, and by act of assembly shortly after made all sales by the Indians within her domain void and of no effect, and asserted jurisdiction over all her western territory, and established courts for the administration of justice over her lands to the lakes. The company may have sold some lands, but never prospered or was recognized in law.

Laconia (*Lygonia or Ligonia*), *Province of.*—The Laconia patent was granted November 17, 1629, to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and John Mason. It extended from the Merrimac to the Kennebec and from the ocean back to the lakes of the Iroquois. The company at first consisted of nine members, and was for commerce and trade rather than for planting. The company did not prosper.

April 7, 1643, George Cleeves, of Saco, Me., went to England, and through his persuasions Alexander Rigby bought the abandoned Plough patent. Cleeves was appointed deputy president of the Province of Lygonia, extending his jurisdiction over a large part of the Province of Maine, which had been under the administration of Richard Vines, deputy of Gorges. (See New Hampshire and the Plough patent; Narrative and Critical History of America.)

Maine, Province of.—Maine did not have an independent, provisional, or colonial charter at the time of the Revolution, but was at the time a constituent part of Massachusetts.

Sir Ferdinando Gorges, governor of Plymouth, England, became interested in New England as early as 1606. He was

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a member of the council of Plymouth Company. In 1623 he and John Mason, both strong friends of the King, obtained a grant of the country lying between the Merrimac and Kennebec rivers. In 1629 Mason obtained an individual grant from the Plymouth council of the territory between the Merrimac and the Piscataqua, and Gorges a grant between the Piscataqua and Kennebec. The charters were similar to those of the Massachusetts Bay Company. When, in 1635, the Plymouth Company threw up its charter and New England was parceled out among the council, Mason and Gorges secured confirmation of their grants. Mason died shortly after. The settlements in his tract were annexed to Massachusetts in 1641. In 1639 Gorges obtained of the Crown a distinct charter in confirmation of all this land from the Piscataqua to Sagadahoc, styled "the Province of Maine." Of this province he was made lord palatine, with the same powers and privileges as the Bishop of Durham in the county palatine, at Durham. Under these powers he organized a government within this province; incorporated the plantation at Agamenticus (now York) into a city by the name of Georgiana, and there the first representative government of Maine was established in 1640. The province did not prosper, and in 1652 fell under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. The name Maine was given in compliment to the Queen of Charles I, whose private estate lay in the Province of Mayne, in France.

New Albion.—The grant of the colony of "New Albion," projected by Sir Edmund Plowdn, who, in company with others, in 1634 (we quote from Narrative and Critical History of America) "petitioned King Charles I for a patent, under His Majesty's seal of Ireland, for 'Manitie or Long Isle,' and 30 miles square of the coast next adjoining, to be erected into a county palatine, called Syon, to be held of His Majesty's Crown of Ireland, without appeal or subjection to the governor or company of Virginia, and reserving the fifth of all royal mines, and with the like title, dignity, and privileges to Sir Edmund Plowden there as was granted to Sir George Calvert, Kt., in New Foundland by His Majesty's royal father, and with the usual grants and privileges to other colonies," etc. And a modified form of this prayer was subsequently presented to the monarch, in which the island spoken of is called "Isle Plowden," and the county palatine "New Albion," and the latter is enlarged to include "forty leagues square of the

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adjoining continent," the supplicants promising therein to settle "500 inhabitants for the planting and civilizing thereof." The favor sought was immediately conceded, and the King's warrant, authorizing the issue of a patent to the petitioners, and appointing Sir Edmund Plowden "first governor of the premises," was given at Oatlands July 24 the same year; in accordance with which a charter was granted to Plowden and his associates above mentioned, by writ of privy seal, witnessed by the deputy-general of Ireland, at Dublin, June 21, 1634. In this document the boundaries of New Albion are so defined as to include all of New Jersey, Maryland, Delaware, and Pennsylvania embraced in a square, the eastern side of which, 40 leagues in length, extended (along the coast) from Sandy Hook to Cape May, together with Long Island, and all other "isles and islands in the sea within 10 leagues of the shores of the said region." The province is expressly erected into a county palatine under the jurisdiction of Sir Edmund Plowden as earl, depending upon His Majesty's "royal person and imperial crown, as King of Ireland."

The great pretension of this patent, from its aiming to include most of New York, all of New Jersey, Maryland, Delaware, and Pennsylvania, naturally brought the enterprise into conflict with actual chartered English colonies, and ought to have made him at least diplomatic with his neighbors, the Dutch at New York and the Swedes and the Dutch on the Delaware. Calvert had at this time a charter for the settlement of his Province of Maryland.

The projectors of the Province of New Albion seem to have expended their energies more to rule the settlers they found within the territory described than in any effort to transport planters and colonists. The history of this attempt at founding a colony is cotemporary with the Dutch in New York, and also with Maryland, and anticipated Pennsylvania, but it utterly failed. (Narrative and Critical History of America, Vol. III, p. 457.)

New Amstel.—The Dutch West India Company in 1656 transferred to the city of Amsterdam all their rights of the Dutch territory on the South River (Delaware), from the west side of Christian Kill to the mouth of the river, for the sum of 700,000 guilders. It was then named "New Amstel," after a suburb between the Amstel River and the Harlem Sea. Fort Kasimer was transferred to the new corporation, and in 1657 nearly 200

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emigrants sailed for New Amstel. In 1664 the Dutch surrendered it to the English as a part of New Netherland.

New France.—The French based their claims to a vast territory throughout the interior and at the northern and southern extremities of North America to the discoveries of Carteret in 1501, Denys in 1506, and to other explorers and to actual settlements and occupancy of the country. Florida of the French extended from the Cape Fear River, on the Atlantic Ocean, to the Altamaha River, and westward to the Spanish possessions on the Pacific Ocean. The claims of New France at the north extended from Newfoundland along both sides of the St. Lawrence River, including Lake Ontario, and along the crest of the Appalachian range of mountains to Florida and southwestern Georgia and the Alabama River to the Gulf of Mexico; to the Sabine River; northwesterly along the head waters of the Red River and the mountain divide to the Pacific Ocean at about 42° of north latitude.

In 1750 France had practical control over the great valley of the Mississippi, with more than 60 military stations from Lake Ontario across the continent by Green Bay, the Illinois River, the Wabash, Maumee, and Ohio rivers, and down the Mississippi to New Orleans.

Before the close of the French and Indian war, 1763, France ceded all her claims to territory west of the Mississippi to Spain for her aid in the war with England; and the same year, at the treaty of peace, she ceded all the remainder of her American possessions, known as Canada, east of the Mississippi, except the Island of New Orleans, to Great Britain.

This was a complete obliteration of New France from the map of North America. Spain in 1801 receded to France her original Louisiana possessions, to the Rio Grande, also her former possessions east of the Mississippi south of 31° of latitude. France then sold all her Louisiana possessions to the United States in 1803.

New Haven.—This colony was founded in 1638 by the Rev. John Davenport, Theophilus Eaton, Edward Hopping, and others. They and their associates came from Massachusetts after the defeat of the Pequod Indians. The place had been visited and named by the Dutch navigator Block Roodenberg, "Red Hills," in allusion to the red sandstone cliffs in the vicinity. Here Mr. Davenport preached under a large, spreading tree, having purchased land from the Indians and

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erected a cabin, and began a new State. His followers and settlers framed articles of association, which they called a "Plantation Covenant." They had no charter or patent, and were practically in a new world and without any kind of jurisdiction, but resolved "that as in matters that concerned the gathering and ordering of a church so likewise in public offices, which concern civil order, as choice of magistrates and officers, making and repealing laws, dividing allotments of inheritance, and all things of like nature," they would in all things "be ordered by the rules which the Scriptures held forth." Thus they began their independent settlement without reference to any government or country. The site of the first settlement was named New Haven. In 1639 they adopted a plan of government "according to the word of God." The New Haven laws were comprised under four fundamental articles, viz:

1. That the Scriptures contain a perfect rule for the government of men in the family, in the church, and in the commonwealth.

2. That they would be ordered by the rules which the Scriptures hold forth.

3. That their purpose was to be admitted into church fellowship according to Christ as soon as God should fit them.

4. That they held themselves bound to establish such civil governments according to God as would be likely to secure the greatest good to themselves and their posterity.

These articles were unanimously agreed to, and the government went into practical operation. Church membership was essential to freemen and voters and to choose magistrates. Twelve men were chosen from the company, and they chose from their number "seven pillars." These "pillars" organized the church. It was a sort of theocracy. An annual general court was held. The colony prospered, and in 1662 was united by charter to Connecticut, and reluctantly yielded in 1665 to this proposed union. (See Connecticut.)

New Ireland, Province of.—A new British province with this title was projected by the English in the eastern portion of Maine during the Revolutionary war. It was thought by the British that American Royalists would rush to it and assure a speedy settlement and prosperous colony. The territory of New Ireland, as proposed, lay between the Penobscot and the St. Croix. The project originated in 1780, and received the

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sanction of the ministry and the King. Bagaduce, now Castine, was to be the seat of government. The plan had so far matured that the principal officers were selected. Thomas Oliver, a graduate of Harvard, was to have been made governor. The government would have been inaugurated except for the adverse views of the attorney-general, Lord Loughborough, who was averse to violating the implied rights of Massachusetts Bay, which claimed to the river St. Croix. But the measure was not abandoned until the termination of the Revolution. The erection of this colony of New Ireland was of high interest to the people of that section for some years, but has almost passed out of memory and is rarely referred to in history. (See Joseph Williamson's account in the Maine Historical Society Transactions.)

New Netherlands.—This Dutch colony has been briefly referred to in the notes on New York, New Jersey, and Delaware; but it is proper in this place to account for its rise and failure. It is known that Henry Hudson, the navigator, employed by a company of merchants and traders of Amsterdam, in a cruise to North America in 1609, reported on his return that he had explored South River, or Delaware Bay, and discovered the great North River and Bay; that the country abounded in fur-bearing animals, and that the natives were peaceable. This led the merchants to fit out several vessels to follow Hudson's tracks and trade with the natives. Dutch traders speedily founded trading establishments on the Hudson, as early as 1613 or 1614, and shortly after this date purchased Manhattan Island from the Indians. The Dutch West India Company became interested, and the States-General of Holland, in June, 1621, granted a charter to this company to trade, and requiring them to "advance the peopling of these fruitful and unsettled parts, and to colonize, govern, and protect New Netherlands for the term of twenty-four years."

The territory claimed was from the Connecticut River to the Delaware, bounded on the east by the Atlantic, and practically unlimited to the west. The town of New Amsterdam (now New York) was founded. This charter was amended June 7, 1629, and again a new charter of privileges and exceptions was issued in 1640. It was feudal in its character, though called a "charter of freedoms and exceptions." The Dutch made purchases of convenient and fertile lands from the Indians at a number of places along the Hudson River, at Albany,

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where they founded "Fort Orange," and in Richmond County, the city of Hoboken and Jersey City, and in other parts of New Jersey. The Dutch became fast friends with the Five Nations, from whom they bought "Rensselaerswyck."

December 12, 1630, two vessels were sent to the South River (Delaware), where purchases had been made from the Indians, covering in part the present State of Delaware, the government of which it was intended to place under the Cape May country "to plant a colony for the culture of grain and tobacco, as well as to carry on the whale fishery in that region." In 1632 the settlement on the South River, "Zwanendale," which had given much promise, was destroyed by the Indians. Discouraged by this, the patroons of Zwanendale disposed of the right in their lands to the West India Company. There grew up a host of small colonies or aspiring masters of colonies and patroons. The grant of the Province of Maryland was made this year and took no account of these Dutch attempts at settlement on the Delaware. The grant was made of this territory to Lord Baltimore without reserve. In 1638 Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden sent out a company to the Delaware River, known as the South Company of Sweden, under Peter Minuit. The Swedish colony prospered and held sway until they were obliged by superior power to submit, in 1655, to the Dutch, who continued in power until the English took control of all the Dutch possessions under the Duke of York's grant in 1664. In 1633 Van Tweler purchased from the Indians the territory along the Schuylkill, and erected "Fort Beeversneede," and made addition to "Fort Nassau," and thus endeavored to demonstrate that the Dutch had never relinquished their hold upon these lands. A new "Fort Casimer" (now New Castle, Del.) was erected below the Swedish "Fort Christiana" (Wilmington), named "Altena," and a new colony established there under the name of New Amstel.

New Somersetshire, Province of.—This province was held by Gorges after the division of New England territory, and so named by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who under his patent granted a commission to his nephew, William Gorges, as deputy governor of the domain. He assumed rule over the fishing settlements, and held the first general court under this grant at Saco, June 25, 1640. (See the Charter of Maine.)

New Sweden, Colony of.—New Sweden, on the Delaware, was encouraged by Gustavus Adolphus. He became particularly interested in the project in 1628, but his early death checked

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the ardor of the adventurers, so that after a few settlements had been effected, in 1631, it languished until 1634, when Peter Spring, Peter Minuit, Blommart, Swedish commissioners, and other high functionaries became interested through the aid of the "South Company." The river Delaware was at that time known to the Swedes as "South River," where they, the colonists, landed in March, 1638, at "Paradise Point," where there were no Europeans, and purchased land from five chiefs. This purchase extended from "Bomby Hook" (Cape Henlopen) northward along the river to the Falls of Schuylkill, without limits to the west. Minuit erected posts at the northern and southern limits, and designated the country "New Sweden," and built a fort at Christiana (now Wilmington, Del.) in honor of Queen Christiana. They effected a prosperous settlement on both sides of the Delaware. Minuit died at Fort Christiana in 1641. In 1643 John Printz, a brave soldier, arrived as governor. He resided on "Tinnecum Island," 12 miles below Philadelphia. The Swedes, however, were obliged to surrender to Governor Stuyvesant, of the New Netherlands, in 1655; but the territory finally passed by court favoritism to the Duke of York, and was sold by him to William Penn in 1681, although it had been included in the grant to Lord Baltimore in 1632. The Swedish settlements having been made after this date, the settlement on the west side of the Delaware became the State of Delaware.

North Virginia.—(See Sagadahoc, Plymouth, Popham's Colony, and Massachusetts Bay.)

Norumbega.—This ancient, almost mythical, name attaches to a very extensive section of country, including land and water, from the Maine coast to Cape Breton. It is claimed by some to have represented a city; if so, its location is not known. The name is probably of Portuguese origin; but, whether native or foreign, it was used by English, French, and Spanish explorers from an early day, yet neither they nor geographers have given it a definite locality. Norumbega probably never had fixed limits, yet it was applied to the country between the Pamaquid and the St. Croix and from Cape Breton to Florida. It probably never had a colonial charter with jurisdiction over soil or with legislative power from any sovereign nation. Some writers claim that De Monts established himself near the head of Passamaquoddy Bay in 1604 within the territory of Norumbega.

Northern Neck of Virginia.—The grant of the Northern

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Neck of Virginia comprised an immense tract of country lying between the Rappahannock and Potomac rivers, estimated at 5,700,000 acres. The patent was issued in 1649 to Lords Arlington, Hopton, Berkeley, Culpeper, and other cavaliers, who, it was supposed, wished to establish quiet homes. This domain in time came to be known as "the Northern Neck of Virginia." The proprietary right extended to soil, but not to jurisdiction.

In 1669 Lord Culpeper purchased the shares of his associates to the Virginia grants, and, in 1673, obtained from King Charles a release for thirty-one years of the quitrents, escheats, and other casualties for the whole. Lord Culpeper, who succeeded Lord Berkeley as governor of Virginia, assumed office in 1680. He was one of the royal favorites, to whom King Charles II granted for a period of thirty-one years the entire territory of Virginia, which oppressed the settlers and rendered him very unpopular. A threatened revolt was quieted for a time by some specific concessions. He was deprived of office in 1683. His domain descended to Catharine, Lord Culpeper's daughter, who married Baron Fairfax, and then to her son, Lord Thomas Fairfax, sixth Baron of Cameron, who was the patron and friend of George Washington. He died at his residence, Greenway Court, Frederick County, Va., 1782.

Nova Scotia.—(See Sir William Alexander's patent, 1623; Earl of Stirling; Acadia, etc.)

The Ohio Company.—The Ohio Company was chartered by the lords commissioners of trade, 1749. The company had, however, been formed without charter and was in existence in a small way a year or two earlier. Its purposes were to make settlements and improve plantations and bring into the market the lands in the Ohio Valley and to conduct trade with the Indians. A grant of 500,000 acres of land was given the company, which was to be located west of the Alleghany Mountains, where they were to build forts and conduct their business. By the grant they were to possess property in the soil, but were not empowered to exercise civil jurisdiction. The company built a fortified trading house at the junction of the Potomac and Wills Creek and another at "Redston Old Fort," on the Monongahela River. The bounds of their grant were never definitely determined or marked. The French and Indian war arrested the progress of the company, put them to great expense, retarded emigration and settlement, and practically

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broke up their trade. The company kept together watching for an opportunity to prosecute its purposes, and petitioned Great Britain for relief from losses caused to their property during the war and pending this, and the rivalry of the companies, as the Walpole and others, petitioning for similar purposes. The Vandalia, the Transylvania, and the Westsylvania were outgrowths suggested by the Ohio Company. The Revolution for American independence broke out, and with its success all the interests of the Ohio Company collapsed.

Old Dominion.—A title early conceded to the vast and undefined region named Virginia, by Queen Elizabeth, and referred to as the fourth kingdom of the English realm. Spencer's Faerie Queene, 1590, is dedicated to Elizabeth, "Queen of England, France, Ireland, and Virginia." In 1603, when James VI of Scotland became King, Scotland was added and Virginia was called in compliment the fifth kingdom. William Berkeley, a stanch Royalist, when Governor of Virginia in 1649, proclaimed Charles II heir to the throne and King of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Virginia; and before the death of Charles I, Berkeley and others were making overtures for Charles II to be sent over to become king of Virginia. It is from these circumstances and the close sympathy of the early colonial settlers with the mother country that the title of "the Dominion" was applied. Coins with such quarterings were struck as late as 1773. The appellation of "the Old Dominion" is still often applied to the State of Virginia.

Pavonia.—A name given to a large manorial estate which embraced the site of Jersey City, Hoboken, Staten Island, and neighboring lands acquired by purchase from the Indians about 1630 by Michael Pauw, one of the directors of the Dutch West India Company, who became a patroon under the government of New Netherlands. This constituted him the patroon lord proprietor of the manor, politically and otherwise, for the holding of inferior courts and the settling of petty civil cases. The name Pavonia is perpetuated in the name of a ferry and an avenue in Jersey City.

Pittsylvania.—This name had been suggested for a proposed colony at the head of the Ohio when the Walpole grant for a western province was being considered to supersede the Ohio Company and in place of Westsylvania, which was also discussed. William Darlington, writing on this subject, quotes a part of a letter from a gentleman in London, dated March 3,

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1773, to a friend in Virginia, which was published that year in the Pennsylvania Gazette, stating—

> I can inform you for certain that the new province on the Ohio is confirmed to the proprietors by the name of Pittsylvania, in honor of the Earl of Chatham. Mr. Wharton, of Philadelphia, will be appointed governor in a few days; all other appointments to be made by the King. The seat of government is to be placed at the forks of the Kanawha and Ohio rivers. (From Christopher Gist's Journal by William Darlington, p. 244.)

Plough patent (see Ligonia).—This patent was granted in 1630 by the Plymouth Company, with rights of soil to a region 40 miles square, between Cape Porpoise and Casco, called Ligonia (within present limits of Maine).

The emigrants to it were agriculturists, who, uniting, formed a colony. The vessel in which they came from England was called the *Plough*. To the colonists successful agriculture seemed so improbable that the name was applied out of ridicule by the residents of the fishing hamlets and adjacent settlements. It was, in fact, more of a commercial company than a planting colony. (See Maine.)

Plymouth Colony.—The Plymouth Colonists, who landed at Plymouth in 1620, were without charter to soil or jurisdiction. They were, in modern parlance, "squatters," and remained by sufferance. In 1621 they received a sort of roving patent for settlement, but without local or prescribed limits. In 1628 a grant was made to the Plymouth Company in the Maine country, between Piscataqua and Kennebec rivers, extending back 120 miles. Later a new patent was given under the name of New Plymouth, embracing the Cape Cod country, but the colony was finally absorbed in Massachusetts Bay. (See Massachusetts Bay.)

Rensselaerswyck.—This name was given to a great feudal estate acquired by purchase from the Indians. Its first laws for the settlement and government of New Netherlands were from the Dutch. The estate included almost the entire territory of the present counties of Albany, Columbia, and Rensselaer, and was named by the proprietor Rensselaerswyck. The patroon remained in Holland and managed his property through an agent. The adherence to old usages continued long after the English assumed the government, and some of the Dutch methods were observable down to the middle of the present century.

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Roanoke Colony.—The name Roanoke Colony was given to the adventurers sent out by Sir Walter Raleigh in seven ships, who were landed on "Roanoke Island" in July, 1585. In the company were "one hundred householders and many things necessary to begin a new state." The colony was under the immediate charge of Ralph Lane. The first settlers, becoming discouraged, were taken back to England by Sir Francis Drake in July, 1586, who stopped at the island on his return from sacking St. Domingo, Carthagena, and St. Augustine. The location for a colony on Roanoke Island was not a suitable one for an agricultural colony and it was to have been corrected by removing to Chesapeake Bay. Sir Richard Grenville, with three ships loaded with supplies and new colonists, arrived fifteen days after Sir Francis Drake had left with the discouraged colonists, but, finding the island deserted, left 15 men and provisions for two years.

In July, 1587, a charter of incorporation was issued by Sir Walter Raleigh to a company of 32 persons, London merchants and others, who adventured under the name of "the governor and assistants of the city of Raleigh, in Virginia." They were to stop at Roanoke Island and take away the men left there by Grenville, and with them make a settlement in Chesapeake Bay. Evidence of the massacre of the men left by Grenville was found. From some mismanagement or jealousies, Sir Walter Raleigh's orders were disregarded and Chesapeake Bay was not visited, and all landed on Roanoke Island, numbering 120 souls. White was sent back to England to represent the needs of the colony. Owing to the war excitement in England, Raleigh, Grenville, and Lane were all actively employed in preparing defenses against the threatened attacks from Spain's Armada, delay was experienced in sending supplies to the Roanoke Colony, and the first relief, sent in 1588, encountered Spanish ships and were worsted and had to return. The following year no ships could be sent out, but in 1589 John White, the scientist and artist of the colony, was taken in a ship belonging to a London merchant, named John Watts, sailing to the West Indies. On his arrival in Virginia he found no one on the island, but the word "Croatoan," a concerted signal, cut upon the bark of a tree by the colonists, indicating where they had gone. White begged the captain to carry him to Croatoan, but a violent storm arising obliged the captain for safety to put out to sea. This was White's

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fifth voyage. The Roanoke Colony was therefore never found. What became of the people has exercised the speculation and inquiry of many writers. A theory of late has gained much upon the sympathetic minds of historical students that the colonists, from necessity and considering themselves entirely neglected by the company, dispersed among the natives and conformed largely to their habits in securing the necessaries of life, and that the European blood has intermixed with the Indians and has been detected time and again in complexion, color of eyes, manners and habits among the tribe of the Croatoan Indians in North Carolina. (See Stephen B. Weeks, "Lost Colony of Roanoke.")

Sagadahoc Colony.—Sagadahoc Colony, called also Popham Colony, is identical with the first North Virginia Company's attempt to colonize in New England. The company of 120 colonists, headed by George Popham, landed on the peninsula of Sabine, at the mouth of the Sagadahoc River, in Maine, August 19, 1607. A sermon appropriate to the occasion was preached by Rev. Richard Seymour. They immediately began to build a fort, which they named "Fort George," and to erect shelters for the company. Their patent was then read, also their orders and the laws for the government of the colony. The winter following proved to be very severe; many of the colonists died, and among them their leader, George Popham, and in the spring of 1608 the survivors abandoned the settlement and returned to England. (See Maine.)

Swaanendael Colony.—This was an adventure encouraged by the Dutch West India Company to plant a colony on the Delaware under the influence of patroons—Godyn, Bloemart, Van Rensselaer, and other men of influence, who were partners. They sent out, in December, 1630, a ship and a yacht, under the command of Peter Heyes, with colonists, and in the spring bought lands of the Indians on both sides of Delaware Bay. Near the site of the present town of Lewes, Del., they selected a site, and the colony was founded and the settlement or colony was named Swaanendael. In 1632 the colony was destroyed by the Indians, and in 1633 the proprietors, being discouraged, sold their rights to the West India Company. (See New Sweden and Delaware.)

Transylvania.—This was a name given to a large tract of land chiefly lying in Kentucky, bought from the Cherokee Indians by Richard Henderson, a land speculator, and others

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of North Carolina, in the early part of 1775. They were encouraged to this by the accounts of explorations and settlements made throughout Powell's Valley and along the tributaries of the Tennessee by pioneer explorers from Virginia and North Carolina, and particularly by the report of Daniel Boone. The conveyance to the land was made by the Cherokee Indians to Richard Henderson and company on the 17th of March, 1775, at a council held with the Indians on the Wataga, a branch of the Holston River.

By this treaty was ceded, as it imports, "all the tract or territory of lands now called by the name of Transylvania, lying on the Ohio River and the waters thereof, branches of the Mississippi," and bounded as follows:

Beginning on the said Ohio River at the mouth of the Cantuckey Chenoee, or what by the English is called Louisa River; from thence running up the said river and most northwardly fork of the same to the head spring thereof; thence a southeast course to the top ridge of Powel's Mountain; thence westwardly along the ridge of the said mountain unto a point from which a northwest course will hit or strike the head spring of the most southwardly branch of Cumberland River; thence down the said river, including all its waters, to the Ohio River; thence up the said river as it meanders to the beginning; which said tract or territory of lands was at the time of said purchase, and time out of mind had been, the land and hunting grounds of the said tribe of (Cherokee) Indians. (Butler's History of Kentucky, p. 13.)

The consideration paid for this great section of Kentucky between the river of that name and the Cumberland was £10,000 in merchandise.

Governor Dunmore, of Virginia, opposed Henderson's purchase as illegal and void under the Crown, and offered these lands for sale. North Carolina also remonstrated against this sale by Indians. Regardless of this, delegates from Boonesboro and Harrodsburg and some other settlements met at Boonesboro and resolved to organize a state, and constituted themselves a legislative assembly, and named the new state Transylvania, and appointed Thomas Slaughter speaker and Matthew Jewett clerk. The assembly was addressed by Henderson in behalf of the proprietors, between whom and the settlers a compact had been entered into in the nature of a constitution.

1. That elections of delegates and other officers should be annual.

2. Perfect freedom in the matters of religion.

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3. Judges should be appointed by the proprietors, but be answerable to the people for bad conduct.

4. The assembly to have the sole power of raising and apportioning money, etc.

The proprietors at a meeting in September elected James Hogg a delegate from Transylvania to the Continental Congress; but the claim of Virginia territory prevented his being admitted to a seat. The legislature afterwards annulled the purchase of Henderson. Virginia, however, in a spirit of conciliation gave Henderson a tract of land on the Ohio 12 miles square, below the mouth of Green River. So ended the attempt to found the State of Transylvania.

Vandalia Colony.—Vandalia Colony was intended to absorb the lands of the "Ohio Company," the proposed "Indiana Company," and several large purchases of land from the Indians by individual land speculators who bought without warrant from the Crown or any of the colonies. The petition was at first rejected, but subsequently recommended by the lords commissioners of trade and plantations in a report of 1773. Dr. Benjamin Franklin was in the list of members, and wrote a pamphlet in favor of the project. The company is frequently referred to as the "Walpole Land Grant," and also as the "Grand Company." The section they petitioned for was large, comprising the greater part of the State of West Virginia and a portion of Kentucky. The boundaries are described in Franklin's Works, Vol. X, page 348. It was proposed to erect the whole into a colony to be named "Vandalia," and it was currently believed at the time that Samuel Wharton, of Philadelphia, was to be the first governor, with the seat of government at the mouth of the Great Kanawha. The parties controlling this company were influential both in England and America, and even after the outbreak of the Revolution the action of Congress gave evidence of their influence in that body. (See Pittsylvania; F. J. Turner in American Historical Review for October, 1895.)

Walpole grant.—The history of this grant may be traced in the sketch of Vandalia, "the Ohio Company," and of Westsylvania. The enterprise was also spoken of as the "Grand Ohio Company," because it was an outgrowth or competitor of "the Ohio Company," whose rights were recognized by the King's order to admit it to the recognition in council, May 6, 1773, and "the Ohio Company" was awarded two shares. The

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lords of council for plantation affairs ordered, October, 28, 1773, "that His Majesty's attorney-general do prepare and lay before this committee the draft of a proper instrument, to be passed under the great seal of Great Britian, containing a grant to the Hon. Thomas Walpole, Samuel Wharton, Benjamin Franklin, and John Sargents, esqs., and their heirs and assigns, of all the lands prayed for by their memorial."

It was not until the year 1775 that the patent was prepared and ready for execution. The war of independence breaking out caused a complete and final suspension of the measure of founding a new colony so far as Great Britain was concerned.

Westsylvania.—Shortly after the declaration of independence the settlers on the Monongahela, the Youghiogheny, and the head region around the Ohio petitioned Congress to found a new colony and fourteenth province of the confederacy, to embrace that section, under the name of Westsylvania. It had become apparent to the settlers that the Ohio Company, the Vandalia Company, and the Indiana Company, as well as the Walpole Company, were doomed to failure; and owing to the dispute between Pennsylvania and Virginia as to the territory around the forks of the Ohio the settlers were much disturbed and apprehensive as to their property rights.

The petitioners estimated that they had a population of 25,000 families in that region west of the Alleghany Mountains, residing at a distance of from 400 to 500 miles from the capital of Pennsylvania or Virginia. They therefore appealed to the Continental Congress, as their guardians, to constitute them a distinct and independent province and government by the name of "Westsylvania." The boundary suggested by the petitioners included most of Pennsylvania beyond the Alleghany Mountains, West Virginia, and Kentucky. The boundary is described in Franklin's Works (Vol. X, pp. 348, 349) as follows:

Beginning on the south side of the river Ohio opposite to the mouth of Scioto, thence southerly through the pass Quasito Mountains; thence along the side of the said mountains northwesterly to the fork of the Great Kanawha, made by the junction of Green Briar and New River; thence along said Green Briar River on the easterly side of the same into the head or termination of the northeasterly branch thereof; thence easterly to the Allegany Mountains; thence along the said Allegany Mountains to Lord Fairfax's line; thence along the same to the spring head of the north branch of the River Potomack; thence along the western boundary line of the Province of Maryland to the southern boundary line

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of the Province of Pennsylvania to the end thereof; thence along the western boundary line of the said Province of Pennsylvania until the same shall strike the river Ohio; thence down the said river Ohio to the place of beginning.

In 1777 Virginia erected the territory of Kentucky into a county, and in 1782 a supreme court and attorney-general was established in the district, and in 1785 the district was divided into counties.

Although the petition of the settlers was not granted, the project of the formation of a new state was not abandoned by the people of the Ohio region. Pennsylvania opposed the project of taking any of its territory in the formation of a new state. Virginia and Pennsylvania joined in 1780 in a resolution to run temporary boundary lines, which somewhat quieted the anxious settlers. Pennsylvania in 1782 passed a law declaring any attempt to establish a separate State within its borders high treason and punishable by death. With the consent of the legislature of Virginia, the people of the Kentucky district assembled in convention at Louisville in 1785, to take preliminary steps to form an independent state. The preliminaries were not fully complied with until 1790, and its admittance to the Union was not effected until June 1, 1792.

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XXVII.—THE CLASSIFICATION OF COLONIAL GOVERNMENTS.

By PROF. H. L. OSGOOD,
OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK CITY.

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THE CLASSIFICATION OF COLONIAL GOVERNMENTS.

By H. L. Osgood.

More than a century ago William Blackstone propounded his classification of English colonial governments. "With respect to their internal polity," said he, "our colonies are properly of three sorts"—provincial establishments, proprietary governments, charter[1] governments. The constitution of the first class, he said, rested on commissions issued by the Crown to the governors and the instructions which accompanied them, while the proprietary grants were of the nature of feudal principalities, and the charter governments were civil corporations. This classification, I believe, has been expressly or tacitly accepted by all later writers. No serious effort has been made, at least in a public way, to improve on Blackstone's treatment of the subject. Yet one has not to look very far to perceive that there are faults in the classification which impair its usefulness and tend to conceal the true character of English colonial governments.

Blackstone was undoubtedly correct in basing his classification on the internal polity of the colonies. His inquiry was directed toward the source of power within the colony and the way in which it was there exercised; and these are the facts which, if brought out, enable one to determine the character of a political system. For the purpose which he or any other investigator of the subject had in view, it makes no difference whether the inhabitants of the colonies stood in a mediate or an immediate relation to the King. The form of colonial government is not determined by the nearness or remoteness of royal control.

[1] Commentaries, Introduction, section 4.

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Still, though he had the right principle, it seems to me that Blackstone's classification is faulty in two respects: (1) The term charter government, which he has employed, is loose and inexact, and the use which he has made of it increases rather than relieves the confusion. (2) Instead of three forms of colonial government there are only two—the corporation and the province.

Addressing ourselves to the first form of criticism, a little thought should make it evident that the word charter can never be properly used to describe a form of government. The charter is a document used for the transmission of rights and powers. It was employed for this purpose by the Roman imperial government and by the papal curia, and from these sources it was adopted and came into use among the states of mediæval and modern Europe. Since its introduction by the Roman priesthood into England, it has been used by the Crown for the conveyance of powers in great number and variety. The grantees have been both laymen and ecclesiastics. Land and territorial privileges, rights of trade, subordinate rights of government have been bestowed by the use of this document. Some of the grants have carried with them corporate privileges; many more have not. Many have been charters of immunity, exempting the grantees from suit at court, from the payment of specified dues, or from other obligations. Not a few have been charters of pardon. By it rights, both public and private, have been indiscriminately conveyed. Not only has it been issued in favor of individuals, but of communities, while in some instances it has contained a grant in favor of the whole Kingdom. Only a reference is needed to the Charter of Liberties of Henry I, to the Charter of Forests, to Magna Carta, to indicate the exalted public uses to which this form of document was put in mediæval England.

These familiar facts, and many others which might be cited, show that the word charter conveys no definite idea about the kind of powers existing under it or the way in which they are exercised, neither always of the source whence they came. It has reference solely to the kind of document used in their transmission. If used to describe a municipality, it alone would not distinguish the town from a grant of privileges to a baron, to a bishop, to a monastery; in later times from a trading company or a bridge company. Therefore, it would seem that the term charter has no proper place in a classification

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of forms of government. It conveys an idea no more precise or germane to the subject than would the word constitutional, if used for a similar purpose.

Moreover, Blackstone uses the term arbitrarily. When the Crown employed agencies in the work of colonization, powers and rights were conveyed to them by charter. Two such agencies were employed—the corporation and the proprietor. Both received charters. The proprietary province originated through the delegation of powers by charter just as truly as did the corporation, and if the term charter government is to be used as descriptive of the one, why should it not be so used of the other? But that can not be done, for it would confound two systems of government which are essentially unlike. Blackstone's definitions show that he was aware of this difference, for he said the one was of the nature of a feudal principality, while the other was a civil corporation. Possibly it was for this reason that he confined the term charter government to the corporation. But the fact that, if used at all, its meaning must be arbitrarily restricted, furnishes another argument for its rejection.

In support of the second objection to Blackstone's classification I shall attempt briefly to show that there are but two distinct forms of colonial government in the English system—the corporation and the province. By the corporation I mean those colonies which themselves became corporations. There were three such colonies, and only three—Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island. They developed from English trading companies of the type created by the London or Virginia charters of 1609 and 1612. That was an open corporation with provision for the indefinite increase of its membership. The Massachusetts Company of 1629 was formed upon the same plan, both as to membership and as to internal organization. It had a governor as its administrative head, an administrative council under the name of assistants, and a general court, consisting of the officers and those of the "generality" who chose to attend. The members of the company were called freemen, and when met in general court they were the ultimate source of power within the body. The regular times for the meeting of the general court were specified in the charter. Over its sessions the governor presided, but he had no veto on its acts; neither could he adjourn, prorogue, or dissolve it. He was in no sense its constituting officer, as was the King

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in Parliament. Moreover, the governor and assistants, and all other important officers of the company, were elected, and that for an annual term. Thus the company of the London and Massachusetts type was in form a highly democratic organization. But the history of the Massachusetts Company was to be very different from that of its predecessor which colonized Virginia.

In 1630 the governing body of the Massachusetts Company was removed into the colony which itself had settled. The corporation and the colony were thereby merged the one in the other, and thus the colony itself became a corporation. He who had been the governor of the company became the governor of the colony; the assistants of the company became the assistants of the colony; the general court of the company became the colonial general court; freemen were admitted in the colony by the same process as in the company. The relations of the governor toward the general court were the same after as before the removal. In Massachusetts he possessed no veto power; he could call only extraordinary sessions of the court, the others being provided for by the charter and by-laws. He could not dissolve it without its own consent. His assent was not necessary to the validity of its acts. He was simply the president of the court, as he had been of the court of the corporation, and had a casting vote when there was a tie. When in process of time the general court was divided into two houses, he presided over that of the assistants. He simply held the chief position among the magistrates, and the control which he could exercise over legislation was indirect rather than direct. It proceeded mainly from his influence as an elected chief magistrate, as the administrative head of the colony during his term, and as the president of its highest judicial court.

As in the company, so in the colony, official tenure by election was the rule, and the regular term of office was one year. The entire general court, governor included, was elective. The governor and assistants received their mandate from the freemen as a collective body voting in the court of election, while the deputies received theirs from the freemen organized by localities. In all branches of the judicial system the elected magistrate is to be found. The militia officers were elected by the men they were to command, though presented, part before the general court and part before the standing council, for

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approval. The local officers of the towns were also elected, as were the pastors of the churches throughout the colony.

From the outset, also, the general court was the source of power in the colony. By it were courts established, a system of defense organized, taxes voted, expenditures regulated, towns established and controlled, important cases tried, religious disputes to a large extent settled, relations with neighboring colonies regulated. Though politically there were rivalries between its component elements, constitutionally it was a unit, and was the basis of the system. But on two sides where, from its origin, activity on the part of the general court might have been expected, we find it lacking, viz, in trade and territorial affairs. The records reveal the fact that, before the removal of the corporation from England, all its interests in trade were transferred to a board of undertakers. To them the purely business interests connected with the enterprise were intrusted. But they play no part in the subsequent history of the colony. No corporate or communal system of traffic developed in Massachusetts. When, on the other hand, after the founding of the colony in its corporate form, trading interests appear, they are in private hands and are under the control of the colonial government. Massachusetts also never sought to obtain a revenue from its lands or to act in any sense as a landlord. The quit-rent system never developed within her borders. Her lands were granted to towns as they were formed, and by these they were either held and managed in common or granted out to settlers. The only boards of proprietors in Massachusetts were in the towns; but then, on the dividing of the commons, grants were made without conditions, while titles derived their validity from some prior grant of the general court.

Further evidence that the hope of profit, either from land or trade, played no decisive part among the motives of Winthrop and his followers may be found in the change that, immediately after the settlement, was wrought in the character of the freemen. Instead of making the purchase of stock or the taking up of land the condition on which members should be admitted to the company, they established a religious test; they made church membership the one decisive qualification for a freeman. Moral and religious, ultimately political, qualities were thus demanded, instead of the ability to buy stock or to become the grantee and cultivator of land. The freeman

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then was to be no longer either an adventurer or a tenant, but an active citizen. Massachusetts, by the transition involved in this act, became the first of American commonwealths. Through the corporate form, the possession of which it secured by the merging of the corporation in the colony, it became from the outset a complete and self-sufficing political unit. It contained within itself all the organs that were necessary to its existence, and they were emphatically of the democratic type. There was no provision in her system, or desire among her leaders, for government through commissions or instructions.

The same form of organization developed in Connecticut and Rhode Island, though by a process somewhat different. In their case the colony came fully into existence first and was then incorporated. Also the religious test was not made a condition for the admission of freemen, but both were in the full sense of the term corporate colonies with a form and spirit similar to their parent, Massachusetts. New Haven was in form also a corporation, but obtained no legal status till, under the charter of 1662, it became two counties within Connecticut. The same, so far at least as powers of government were concerned, was true of New Plymouth; and it finally, like New Haven, was absorbed by its stronger neighbor.

Such, in brief, was the origin and character of the corporate colony.

Let us now turn to the province and take specially, for illustration, the proprietary form of the province. There we find power proceeding from above downward, instead of from below upward. Its source and origin are not to be found in the inhabitants or the freemen or the freeholders of the province, call them what you will. From the proprietor proceeded authority, whether territorial or governmental. Unless, then, the proprietor was a resident—as was never permanently the case—the source of authority lay outside the province. And even when he was resident he was, both in practice and idea, distinct from the province in the same sense that the hereditary monarch is distinct from the kingdom. He in no sense owed his authority to the province, but he derived it from the king, and it descended to his heirs and assigns. The essentially regal nature of this institution then clearly appears. The proprietor was a miniature king, and, did time permit, it would be possible to prove in detail the truth of this statement by

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showing the character of the county palatine, which served as the model for all American proprietorships.

Such being the nature of the proprietary office, its powers could be transmitted or delegated only through letters patent. These might be the land patent, the patent of incorporation, the commission, or the instruction. Particularly through the use of the first was the land system of the province developed and organized. This suggests the additional fact that the proprietor was not only a petty king, but a king of the feudal type. He was the feudal lord of the province, its seignior. Territorial administration was necessarily one of the most important features of the proprietary system. The hope of securing territorial revenue—quitrents and other dues—constituted one of the chief motives which led the proprietors to obtain their charters and undertake colonization. The granting of land, then, must necessarily be kept under the control of the central government of the province and not transferred to the localities. As a result, all the inhabitants of the province were the tenants of the proprietor, while parts of it, including the unsettled portions, were his immediate domain. Every form of tenure and holding might there exist which was legal under the terms of the royal charter. Connected with the territorial administration were the surveyor-general and deputy surveyors, the receiver-general, often also the secretary, and some times special commissioners and collectors. These were brought together into a more or less perfectly organized land office, an institution the counterpart of which does not appear in the corporate colony.

The documents used in the transmission of governmental powers were the commission and the instruction. These were issued by the proprietor to his governor and to the other officials who held by appointment from him. By the commission the office was created and handed on from incumbent to incumbent, while by the instruction supplementary directions were given as to the exercise of its powers. Officials who were appointed by the governor were commissioned and instructed in a similar way. This all serves to show that the leading officials of the proprietary province were not elected, but appointed. Tenure by appointment was as characteristic of this governmental form as tenure by election was in the corporate colony. The governor, the councilors, the secretary, treasurer, receiver-general, surveyor-general, judges, military officers of high grade

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held by appointment, and that at the pleasure of the proprietor or of his lieutenant. The proprietor, then, and not the freemen, was the source of office in this system, a point of great importance and quite sufficient of itself to distinguish the province as a governmental form from the corporation.

Further, in all the proprietary charters authority was given to erect manors, and in two (Maryland and Carolina) power was given to create a nobility. These provisions implied that the land system should be so organized as to strengthen the government and thus prevent the undue development of democracy. Carolina was the only province where an attempt was made to grant titles of honor, and in Locke's Fundamental Constitutions, which embodied the plan, this is expressly declared to be its object. In this case the proprietor was to be the fountain of honor as well as the source of office and the territorial lord. But he was more than all these. Under authority derived from the proprietor the entire administration of the province was conducted. By him, and in the beginning through the ordinance power, courts were established, and in his name justice was administered. The courts of the province were his courts. While the charters required that the proprietors should legislate through an assembly, they left it to the grantee to determine when the legislature should be called, how long it should remain in session, and how it should be organized. These things must be done through commissions and instructions. The acts also of the legislature must be submitted to the governor and proprietor for approval or rejection. From the facts stated, it follows that in organization the general assembly of the province differed widely from the general court of the corporation. Save in Pennsylvania after 1701, it consisted of three elements—the governor, council, and assembly. Of these, again excepting Pennsylvania previous to 1701, only one was representative, viz, the assembly.

The council, which developed into the upper house of the legislature, was appointive; by that tenure also the governor held his office. Through his position as the lieutenant of the proprietor he became the constituting officer of the general assembly, with power not only to summon, but to adjourn, prorogue, and dissolve. His relation, then, to this body was quite different from that of the governor in the corporation to its general court. It was analogous to the relation of the King to Parliament. Finally, in the earlier history of the proprietary

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provinces, the representative part of the legislature was its least important element. For example, it was not the intention of Lord Baltimore at the outset to grant it the right of initiating legislation. Under the fundamental constitutions and the instructions of 1670 to the governor of Albemarle County, the assembly of North Carolina did not possess the initiative. The same was true under the first two frames of government of William Penn. The assembly of Maryland did not become finally and fully representative till 1652. In the proprietary system every step taken by the representatives toward legislative quality with the council, and later to secure for the legislature the right to prescribe the rules under which the government of the province should be carried on, had to be won by effort, and was, in form at least, obtained through a grant from the proprietor. The course of development was analogous to that through which representative institutions went in the history of England itself—another indication that the province was a miniature kingdom of the English feudal type. This is the same as saying that it was not a commonwealth. It could not be such as long as the proprietary system, with its quitrents, instructions, and appointed officials continued. Even if the proprietor took up his permanent residence in the province, the system would not become democratic; it would be a province still.

Having thus shown the chief points of distinction between the proprietary province and the corporation, it remains to be said that the royal province was in all essential points the same as the proprietorship, but with the proprietor left out. The king appears in the place of the proprietor. Otherwise the institution, both in its territorial and its governmental aspects, was the same. The land system, the method of conveying and exercising powers, the prominence of the appointed officials, the origin and form of the legislature, the military and judicial systems, differed only in minute details. When the Duke of York became king, no change resulted in the forms and method of government in the province of New York. As king he exercised the same powers and in the same way as he had done when proprietor. When, however, under Randolph and Andros, his system of royal government was established in Massachusetts it wrought a revolution. Massachusetts had never been accustomed to government by appointed officials who were at the same time controlled by a power

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outside itself. To this, as a system, she never became accustomed, for the charter of 1691 was a compromise in which a royal governor and secretary were superimposed on the old corporation. The result was a royal province of a very peculiar nature, one in which the provincial element was decidedly weaker than the corporate element. It was an incorporated province, and though in this instance there was a blending of forms, yet Massachusetts, after 1691, must be classed among the provinces.

But there were a few other colonies concerning which some question may arise: Virginia under the London Company, Georgia under the trustees, Massachusetts during the year previous to the removal of the corporation into New England. These were founded and governed by corporations. Are they to be classed with the corporate colonies? I answer, no; and for the reason that in these cases the corporation remained resident in England and never became merged with the colony. The colony was the creature of the corporation, but it never became the corporation. The relation between the two, then, was essentially proprietary, i. e., provincial. In these colonies appears the proprietary land system, with quitrents, the appointed officials, government by commissions and instructions, the erection of courts and organization of the legislature (if there was one) under power derived from the company, the submission of all acts of government to review by the company. Did time permit, this could be shown in detail from the history of Virginia. The company, instead of the individual or the board, was in the case of these colonies the proprietor. When Virginia and Georgia became royal provinces changes only in detail, not in the essential character of the system, resulted. The king assumed toward the colony the place previously occupied by the corporation. Government through commissions, instructions, and appointed officials existed before the king assumed direct control, as well as after. No such change of system occurred as that which resulted in the case of Massachusetts from the removal of the corporation into the colony.

If the view here expressed be in any measure correct, there was an organic difference between the corporate colony and the province; in other words, between the governmental system of New England and that existing in the other colonies. In New England the colonies were from the first democratic

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and qualified for independence. Elsewhere they were not so, and that qualification had to be won by effort and through development. That development was not attained until independence was declared and the provincial element in their constitutions thrown off. The recognition of the difference between New England and the rest of the country in governmental forms, as well as political theories, will contribute toward the correct understanding of our colonial and Revolutionary history.

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XXVIII.—SLAVERY IN THE PROVINCE OF SOUTH CAROLINA, 1670–1770.

By EDWARD McCRADY,
OF CHARLESTON, S. C.

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SLAVERY IN THE PROVINCE OF SOUTH CAROLINA, 1670-1770.

By Edward McCrady.

Sir John Yeamans was the first who introduced African slaves into Carolina. These he brought from Barbados in 1671 to cultivate his plantation on Ashley River.[1] But the institution of slavery in America was contemporaneous with the planting of the colonies; nor was the form of servile labor which was first introduced that which ultimately prevailed. In the early days of Massachusetts, Virginia, and Maryland, as well as in South Carolina, the slave was not a negro, but an Englishman condemned, either penally or by contract, to a limited period of bondage. At the outset this class was supplied from two sources. A few were felons, usually those with whom capital punishment had been commuted to colonial servitude. These, however, were not numerous, and probably had but little effect on the general character of the population. The bulk of the indented servants were laborers who bound themselves for a fixed term of service, with the certainty of becoming small freeholders at the end of that period.

Gradually the system changed. The great tobacco plantations of Virginia needed a larger servile population than could be provided by the chance supply of pardoned criminals. As has been observed, there were few ages of English history in which this resource would have insured so constant a supply as in the latter half of the seventeenth century. The field of Dunbar in 1650, Penruddock's attempt against the Commonwealth in 1655, the Scotch rebellion in 1666, the rising in the west under Monmouth in 1686, the Jacobitic insurrection in 1715, each furnished its share of prisoners to the colonies. But the demand was far in excess of such precarious aids,

[1] Ramsay, Vol. I, 35; Historical Sketches of South Carolina (Rivers), 104.

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and, as might have been expected, it soon produced a regular organized supply. It became a trade to furnish the plantations with servile labor drawn from the offscourings of the mother country.[1] By an act of Parliament of 1718, offenders who had escaped the death penalty were handed over to contractors, who engaged to transport them to the American colonies.

In the proposals made to all such persons as should undertake to become the first settlers "in the province of Carolina to the southward and westward of Cape Romana," in Hilton's Voyage, 1663, 500 acres of land were offered for every 1,000 pounds of sugar, provided that the person so subscribing should "within five years next ensuing have one person (white or black, young or old) transported at their charge as aforesaid on that or some other parcel of land in the province." Fifty acres of land were offered for every manservant carried or sent. To every manservant who should go with the first adventure, 50 acres; to such as would go with the second adventure, 30 acres; and for all other servants that should go within the first five years, 20 acres, and for every woman servant, 10 acres. To the owner of every negro man or slave brought thither within the first year, 20 acres, and for every woman negro or slave, 10 acres; and all men negroes or slaves after that time and within the first five years, 10 acres; and for every woman negro or slave, 5 acres.[2] And so in "A list of all such Masters, free passengers, and servants which are now aboard the *Carolina*, now ridinge in the Downes, August 10, 1669," sent to Lord Ashley by Joseph West, when setting out on his voyage with the first colonists, we find seventeen masters with sixty-two servants and but thirteen other emigrants with no servants.[3] In an extract from the journal of the grand council we find this adjudication upon the case of one of the servants who came out in this way under the terms of the proposals:

June 8, 1672, Mr. Thomas Norris, Anthony Churne, and Samuel Lucas came this day before the Grand Councill and made oath that they were privie to the contract between Richard Deyos and Christopher Edwards, his servant, and that the said Christopher Edwards was to serve the said

[1] English Colonies in America (Doyle), 382; Bancroft, Vol. I (ed. 1883), 125.

[2] Hilton's Voyage of Discovery. Charleston Yearbook (Courtenay), 1884, pp. 228, 229.

[3] The Voyage of the Colonists. Charleston Yearbook (Courtenay), 1886; pp. 246–249.

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Richard Deyos the term of two years in this Province, to commence from the time of his arrival there, and ended on the 17 March last past.

The said Christopher Edwards is therefore reputed a Freeman, and has liberty granted him to take warrants for the land due him in the Province aforesaid.[1]

The privy council in England, May 27, 1684, ordered the commissions of Glasgow and Dumfries to sentence and banish to the plantations in America such of the rebels as appeared penitent, in the ship belonging to Walter Gibson, merchant. The greatest cruelty to these poor creatures, thirty-two in number, was exercised by Capt. James Gibson, who commanded the vessel. An incident occurred in this shipment of prisoners illustrative of the common danger to which all people in Great Britain were subject from the rapacity of those engaged in the nefarious business of supplying the colonies with white slaves. While the ship was lying ready to sail from the Clyde Elizabeth Linning came down to visit the prisoners, some of them being her relatives, she was seized by Captain Gibson's order, but succeeded in escaping to shore, whereupon Gibson sent ashore, recaptured her, and carried her to Carolina with the other prisoners for the purpose of selling her. She appears, however, to have been a person of some force and decision of character, for immediately upon the arrival of the vessel she found an opportunity of appealing to the governor, and informed him of her capture and of the intention of the captain to sell her. The governor took up the case at once, and cited the captain before him and his council. There he was closely interrogated as to the circumstances of her imprisonment and transportation, and failing to satisfy the council, the following order was made by that body:

At a council held at Charles Town, October of 1684, upon the reading of the petition of Elizabeth Linning against Captain James Gibson, commander of the *Carolina*, merchant, in full council, it was ordered as follows:

Whereas upon the confession of Captain Gibson that the within-written Elizabeth Linning was, without the consent of the said Elizabeth, brought to this province by force and by a pretended order from Lieutenant-Colonel Windram, but the said Gibson producing none, it was ordered that the said Elizabeth be set at liberty as a free woman.[2]

In 1686 the first act relating to servants and slaves was passed in Carolina. It was entitled "An act inhibiting the

[1] Historical Sketches (Rivers), Appendix, p. 379.

[2] Howe's History Presbyterian Church, pp. 82–83.

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trading with servants or slaves." Some of its provisions applied to white servants, others to slaves (who were either negroes or Indians). It prohibited any free man or free woman, servant or slave, to buy or sell or trade with any servant or slave during his servitude without the privity or consent of the master. If servants traded together, both buyer and seller were to serve their masters, respectively, one whole year more than their contracted terms. If the offender was a free man or free woman, he or she was to forfeit three times the real value of the thing bought or sold, to be recovered by due course of law, and the servant or slave to abide such punishment, not extending to life or limb, as the grand council or any two justices of the peace (one of whom being of the grand council) should deem fit. If a servant embezzled, wasted, consumed, or destroyed any of his master's goods, such servant was required to serve so long a time after the expiration of his term as any three justices of the peace (one of whom being a member of the grand council) should judge proper to make satisfaction. For striking a master, mistress, or overseer a servant was to be condemned by the grand council to serve one whole year over and above the contracted time of servitude. Servants absconding were to serve twenty-eight days above the contracted term of servitude.[1] Of the provisions of this act in regard to slaves we shall speak hereafter.

To avoid fraud between masters and servants when servants arrived in the province without indentures or contracts, an act was passed in 1687 prescribing terms of servitude.[2] In 1691 these acts were revised. The punishment for servants absenting themselves was increased, and they were required to serve one whole week for every day of absence and one whole year for every week over and above the contracted term of service. Other provisions were added in favor of the servants. It was provided that if any master, mistress, or overseer should, under the pretext of correction, whip or unreasonably abuse a servant, such servant complaining to the grand council and making good his complaint might be set at liberty, or such other relief given as the grand council should think just. So if the master failed to give good, wholesome, and sufficient meat, drink, lodging, and apparel, the grand council might give the servant liberty or other relief.[3]

[1] 2 Statutes, S. C., p. 22. [2] 2 Statutes, S. C., p. 30. [3] 2 Statutes, S. C., p. 52.

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The number of white servants coming into the province called for further legislation, and another act was passed in 1717[1] still further regulating the terms of service of those who came without contracts, and providing that at the end of his term of service a servant might demand a certificate of freedom. The penalty for refusing such a certificate appears, however, very slight. It was but 40 shillings in each case. While no person could be forced into servitude who had not obliged himself by contract, a person brought into the province by an importer was required to pay his passage money, with exchange, within twenty days after his arrival. A servant brought from any other colony was required to complete the term of servitude which he would have served in that colony and no more. Every person keeping a servant, whether by virtue of transportation, purchase, or otherwise, was required within six months to take such servant before the governor, one of the lord proprietor's deputies, or two justices to have his age determined and a certificate of it entered in the secretary of state's office. Without such certificate no master could claim but five years' service. The term of servitude was to begin upon the first anchoring within the province of the vessel on which the servant was imported. No bargain or agreement for a longer continuance of service was allowed to be made during the term of the first service. The same provisions were made in regard to the prohibiting of trading with servants. "Hired laborers" were included in the penalties for striking a master, and to former penalties was added the punishment of twenty-one stripes, to be inflicted by order of two justices of the peace. The time of increased servitude as punishment for running away was limited to two years over and above the contract term. But servants running away in company with slaves were to suffer as felons without benefit of clergy.

Suitable diet, clothing, and lodging were to be provided, and punishment was not to exceed the bounds of moderation. Upon any offense against these provisions servants might complain to a justice of the peace, who was to admonish the master for a first offense; for a second, two justices might levy and distrain a sum not exceeding £10, and for a third might sell and assign the time of such servant to some other white person.

[1] 3 Statutes, S. C., p. 14.

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Servants bringing goods into the province were allowed property in them, with the power of disposal. Masters were not allowed to turn away their servants upon pretense of freedom or otherwise so as to burden the parish, but were required to maintain them during the whole time the servant had to serve. The white father or mother of a mulatto child, whether free or servant, it was provided by this act, if free, should become a servant for the term of seven years; if already a servant, should serve for that additional period.

The act prescribed the clothing the master or mistress should allow the servant upon the expiration of the term of servitude. Disputes between masters and servants concerning contracts, wages, freedom, or any other matter of difference were both heard and determined by any two justices of the peace, with an appeal by either party to the governor and council.

Such was the code regarding white servants, which remained the law until 1744, when, under Governor Glen's administration, it was again revised and supervised by a more elaborate act.[1] The principal features of the act of 1717 were retained in the new code, but some of its provisions were rendered more stringent. The additions to the law were chiefly in regard to runaways. No servant was allowed to travel above two miles from his residence without a note under the master's hand. Every person was authorized to apprehend anyone suspected of being a fugitive servant, and forthwith to conduct such person to the nearest justice of the peace, who was required to examine and inquire, in the best manner he could, whether such person was really a fugitive servant or not. If he appeared to be a fugitive, the justice should immediately order him to be whipped, not exceeding twenty stripes, and deliver him to the constable, to be returned to his master, or to the constable of the next parish, if the master resided in another, and so until he reached his master. If a servant should offend by running away more than once, the first constable in whose hands he fell was required to inflict the twenty-one lashes, and each succeeding constable seven more. No ferry was allowed to be kept without one free white man in attendance, and no servant was allowed to be ferried without a note from his master.

These provisions caused not only inconvenience but danger to white freemen traveling abroad. A strange white man

[1] 3 Statutes, S. C., p. 621.

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appearing in a community was liable to arrest and summary ignominious punishment, either through mistake or malice, and so it was provided that justices of the peace should issue certificates or passports to freemen intending to travel. The servant traveled upon the master's certificate; the freeman upon that of a justice of the peace.

In 1716, that is, the year after the Indian outbreak, an act was passed[1] reciting that sad experience had taught that the small number of the white inhabitants of the province was not sufficient to defend it against their Indian enemies; and as the number of slaves was daily increasing, which must likewise endanger its safety if speedy care were not taken to encourage the importation of white servants, and providing a bounty of £25 for each white servant who had no less than four years to serve after his arrival in the province, and for all who were imported within two years after the ratification of the act, an additional £5 per head. Every owner of a plantation to which ten slaves belonged, young or old, was required to take from the public receiver, who had the disposal of them, a white servant when it fell to his lot to do so, and to pay the receiver such price for the servant as the receiver gave to the importer for the same.

The owner of every plantation to which twenty slaves belonged was required to take two white servants, and so in proportion. But still so strong was the prejudice against Roman Catholics that not even to increase the white population would the colony allow their introduction. The act provided especially that no person should be required to purchase Irish servants that were papists or persons convicted in England or elsewhere of capital crimes. So earnest were the colonists of the time against popery, even in servants, that merchants and masters of vessels were required to declare upon their oaths that to the best of their knowledge none of the servants imported by them were either what was commonly called native Irish or persons of known scandalous character or Roman Catholics. "Irish servants being Protestants" might be imported.

The agent of the colony in England petitioned for some of the persons taken in the Scottish rebellion, and in June, 1716, Deputy Governor Daniels informed the assembly that he had bought of the Highland Scots rebels at £30 per head, and wished for power to purchase more. The assembly sanctioned

[1] 2 Statutes, S. C., p. 646.

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his purchase, but wished no more "till we see how these will behave themselves."[1]

This attempt to prevent the too great disproportion of whites and blacks continued to the time of the Revolution. It was, however, but partially successful. Notwithstanding the recital of the act of 1717 of the great number of white servants which had arrived in the province, comparatively few came until the settlement of the Swiss and German in Saxe-Gotha and Orangeburg. But some did come. We find some curious advertisements in the Gazette for runaway white servants, as well as for runaway negroes.

Alexander Vanderdussen, one of the King's council, advertises July 27, 1734:

Whereas Thomas Butler Fencing Master has been runaway these two years since, and has been entertained by several gentlemen about the Ferry who pretend not to know that he had a master, this is therefore to desire that they would not do the like in the future. And any one that takes the said Butler and brings him to Goose Creek or Charles Town will have 10 *l.*

On the 30th of August, 1734, this appears:

To be sold. A white man servant's time. He is a taylor by trade and a very good workman. Enquire of Hugh Evans Taylor in Church St Charlestown.

No sale was, however, effected under the advertisement, as appears by this subsequent notice:

Run away on Tuesday the 12th instant from Hugh Evans Taylor, in Charlestown a servant man named John Thompson, a Taylor by trade about 21 years of age, fresh colored well set and nigh six foot high, squint eyed speaks broad Scots and stutters in his speech; he had on when he went away drab fly coat, bright colored worsted stockings, a new pair of shoes, a high colored natural whig. Whoever takes up the said servant and brings him to the said master in Charlestown shall have 20 *l.* paid by—Hugh Evans.

Again, on the 7th of December, 1734, there appears this notice:

Just imported and to be sold by Hutchinson & Grimke Irish servants, men and women of good trades from the North of Ireland, Irish linen, household furniture, butter tea china ware and all sorts of dry goods on reasonable terms.

On the 29th of March, 1735, are advertised as runaways:

Two Irishmen servants both talking broad Scotch one named *Roger O'Mony* a tall pock fretten freckle-faced Fellow stooping in the shoulders his hair cut and wore a linnen cap, a dark brown colour'd Coat and West-

[1] Historical Sketches of South Carolina (Rivers), p. 276.

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coat, leather breeches, and a new pair of Negro shoes, he had a double thumb with two nails on one hand. The other named Alexander Sinkler a short thick well set surly looking brown hair'd smooth faced sharp long nosed fresh coulored fellow wearing a dark gray coarse karsey new coat with buttons of the same, a pair of old brown breeches a pair of gray yarn stockings and a pair of new Negro shoes with two or three lifts, each of them about 24 or 25 years old, and also two negro men, *l.* 10 reward for them. N. B. Hue and Cry are gone after them.

These are only samples of such advertisements; there are others. As late as 1766 advertisements appear for the sale of indentures of about 220 Palatine servants just imported from Rotterdam. Among them are said to be farmers, millers, bakers, brewers, masons, smiths, carpenters, joiners, coopers, tailors, weavers, shoemakers, saltpeter makers, potash makers, some in families and others single; also boys and girls.[1]

Some of the best and most useful immigrants were persons who, too poor to pay their passage money across the ocean, were brought to America by captains of vessels, and sold on their arrival to anyone who desired to secure their labor. These were called "redemptioners." The price for which they were sold in Carolina was usually from £5 to £6. Both men and women were thus alike sold to service, from which they redeemed themselves by hard labor for a period of from three to five years. A large part of Purry's unfortunate colony, and of the Swiss and Germans who settled Orangeburg and Saxe-Gotha, now Lexington, were of this class.

The advantages, it has been observed, were mutual. Passing on into what was then the frontier, these people formed a defense to the country against the inroads of the Spaniards and Indians; and as many of them were excellent farmers and some useful artisans, and all of them hard-working people, they speedily settled and improved the country. On the other hand, as they were the poorer class of the people at home in Europe, they had nothing to risk in the shape of property. They would have remained in the same condition had they not emigrated, whereas by coming, even under this arrangement, they enjoyed the flattering prospect of securing competency, if not, indeed, wealth, at some future day. Then, again, their servitude became their apprenticeship in America, while they learned the English language and became acquainted with the laws and customs of the new country.[2]

[1] South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal, January 14, 1766.

[2] History of German Settlements, etc. (Bernheim), pp. 131, 132.

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"Yet it must be confessed," continues the author from whom we quote, "these poor settlers had to endure many hardships. Often were they rigorously treated by their ship captains; ill and insufficiently fed on their voyage across the ocean and on shore before they were purchased for their services; exposed publicly for sale as the African slave; often treated harshly by their masters who purchased them, and compelled to labor in the broiling sun of a Southern climate—many by disease and death closed their short earthly career." Several instances are cited of neglect and inhumanity on the part of the captains of vessels who brought out these people in which the Government interfered and protected the redemptioners.[1]

The slavery of the white man in the colonies was temporary, though rigid while it lasted, but that of the Indian and negro was absolute.

The enslavement of the Indian in America preceded the importation of negro slaves. The play, or opera (as it was termed), of Inkle and Yarico, the plot of which turns upon the capture of two beautiful savage women in the forests of America and their abduction and transportation to Barbados, was criticised because its first scene was laid in America instead of Africa.[2] But Coleman, the author of the play, which, it is said, was performed with success in every theater in England, and was popular because of its moral, before Wilberforce advocated the abolition of the slave trade, and had, it was claimed, the peculiar honor of preceding that movement, was a better historian than his critic. The mistake of the criticism was in assuming that the captive maidens were negresses, which is not intimated in the play. "The charming heathens, Yarico and Woroske," who were lured to Barbados were supposed to have been Indians and not Africans. The story, though embellished by the creative imagination and descriptive powers of Addison, was indeed founded upon historic fact.[3] The incident of which the playwright made so much at the time was probably not even an uncommon one. Indeed, the first Europeans who trod the soil of Carolina were Spaniards

[1] History of German Settlements, etc. (Bernheim), p. 134.

[2] Inchbald's British Theater, Vol. XX.

[3] See the story in Ligon's History of Barbadoes, p. 55.

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who had sailed in 1520 from Hispaniola for the purpose of securing in the island of Lucayos a supply of Indians to take back with them to work as slaves in the gold mines.

NOTE.—The story of Inkle and Yarico, though embellished by the creative imagination and descriptive powers of Addison (Spectator, No. 11), and added to by Coleman, was indeed, if Ligon is to be believed, based upon historic fact. The story is thus told in Ligon's History of Barbadoes, p. 55:

"An English ship having put into a bay sent some of her men ashore to try what victuals or water they could find; but the Indians, perceiving them to go far into the country, intercepted them on their return, and fell upon them, chasing them into a wood, where some were taken and some killed. A young man, whose name was Inkle, straggling from the rest, was met by an Indian maid, who upon the first sight fell in love with him, and hid him close from her countrymen in a cave, and there fed him till they could safely go down to the shore where the ship lay at anchor, expecting the return of their friends. But the youth when he came to Barbadoes forgot the kindness of the poor maid who had ventured her life for his safety, and sold her for a slave. And so poor Yarico for her love lost her liberty."

Ligon, describing her, speaks of "her excellent shape and colour, which was a pure bright bay; and small breasts, with nipples of porphyrie." The story goes on, however, to tell that the Indian maiden did not long mourn her faithless lover, but soon consoled herself with others.

It was the observation of the horrors inflicted upon the Indian slaves in the Spanish West Indies that induced the good Las Casas, the early friend of the red man, to remonstrate with his Government against the system and to urge the importation of negroes accustomed in their native land to a state of bondage.

Indian captives everywhere in America were enslaved. Among the "fundamentals," or body of liberties, adopted in Massachusetts as early as 1641 we find the distinct recognition of the lawfulness of Indian and negro slavery, as well as an approval of the African slave trade.[1] The articles of the New England Confederacy in 1643 not only provided for the return of fugitive slaves, but classed persons among the spoils of war, and the strictest morals of the day doomed captive red men to slavery.[2] In 1650, Indians who failed to make satisfaction for injuries in Connecticut were ordered to be seized and delivered to the injured party, "either to serve or to be shipped out and exchanged for negroes, as the case will justly bear."[3] So, too, Indians were doubtless taken and held as slaves in

[1] Cobb on Slavery, p. cxlvii; 1 Hildreth's History, p. 278.
[2] Bancroft, Vol. I (ed. 1883), pp. 125–293.
[3] 1 Hildreth, p. 372.

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Carolina. In 1684 Maurice Mathews, James Moore, and Arthur Middleton were displaced from the council for sending away Indian slaves[1]—not because the kidnapping of Indians was deemed wrong in itself, but because they were trespassing upon the privileges of the proprietors in the matter. The provisions of all the acts in regard to slavery from 1690 onward are made to apply to Indian as well as to African slaves. Sir Nathaniel Johnson, the governor, and his council wrote to the lord proprietors on the 17th of September, 1708, giving an account of the condition of the province, in which they state:

> The number of inhabitants in this province of all sorts are computed to be 9,580 souls, of which there are 1,360 freemen, 900 free women, 60 white servant men, 60 white servant women, 1,700 white free children, 1,800 negro men slaves, 1,100 women negro slaves, 500 Indian men slaves, 600 Indian women slaves, 1,200 negro children slaves, and 300 Indian children slaves.
>
> The freemen of this province, by reason of the late sickness, brought hither from other parts, though now very healthy, and small supply from other parts, are within these five years last past decreased about 100, free women about 40; white servants, from the aforesaid reasons and having completed their servitude, are decreased 50; white servant women, for the same reasons, are decreased 30; white children are increased 500; negro men slaves, by importation, 300; negro women, slaves, 200. Indian men slaves, by reason of our late conquest over the French and Spaniards and the success of our forces against the Appalaskys and other Indian engagements, are within these five years increased to the number of 400 and the Indian women slaves to 450, negro children to 600, and Indian children to 200.[2]

The white man served out his term, was declared a freeman, took out warrants for the land to which he was entitled, and became a citizen of the province. The Indian pined, sickened, and died. The African alone remained, improved, and prospered in slavery.

There were no African slaves in the colony until Sir John Yeamans brought over his from Barbados, but it can not be said that he introduced slavery into the province. Negro slavery was an existing and recognized institution in all the other colonies before that of South Carolina was planted.

Thirteen years after the first successful English colony was begun at Jamestown, in Virginia—that is, in 1620—a Dutch

[1] Historical Sketches of South Carolina (Rivers), p. 139.

[2] Ibid., p. 232; Collections Historical Society South Carolina, Vol. II, p. 217.

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man-of-war landed twenty slaves and sold them to the colonists. These slaves and the Pilgrims in the *Mayflower* landed in America the same year—the slaves in Virginia and the Pilgrims in Massachusetts. As early as 1626 the West India Company imported negro slaves among the quiet burghers of New Amsterdam. The city itself owned shares in a slave ship, advanced the money for its outfit, and participated in the profits. The slaves were sold at public auction to the highest bidder, and the average price was less than $140. Stuyvesant was instructed to use every exertion to promote the sale of negroes.[1]

"That New York is not a slave State like South Carolina," said the great historian of the United States, "is due to climate and not to the superior humanity of the founders."[2] In 1637, negro slaves were imported into New England from Providence Isle.[3] The year after New Jersey was divided from New York—that is, in 1665—a bounty of 75 acres of land was offered by the proprietors for the importation of each able-bodied slave.[4]

Not even did the Quakers of Pennsylvania entirely eschew the holding of negro slaves. William Penn was a slaveholder. In his last will he directed his own slaves to be emancipated, but this direction was disregarded by his heir.[5]

Four of the proprietors of Carolina, the Earl of Shaftesbury, Earl Craven, Sir George Carteret, and Sir John Colleton, with Ralph Marshall and John Portman, who came out with Governor Sayle, were all members of the Royal African Company, of which James, Duke of York, was chief, and which was chartered and given the sole trade in slaves on the African coast.

Negro slavery being thus a recognized institution in all the colonies, it was assumed that it would exist also in Carolina; and so we find the philosopher Locke and his friend Shaftes-

[1] Cobb on Slavery, p. cxlix.

[2] Bancroft (ed. 1883), Vol. I, p. 513.

[3] Ibid. (ed. 1883), Vol. I, p. 293. The edition of the News Letter, published in Boston, for the week from May 22 to May 29, 1710, contains but one advertisement, which is this:

"*Advertisement.*—Two negro women, one aged about 25 and the other abut 50 years old, to be sold by Mr. Wm. Clark, junior, merchant, to be seen at his house, Common street, Boston." (The Newspaper Press, William L. King, p. 12.)

[4] Cobb on Slavery, supra.

[5] Bancroft (ed. 1883), Vol. I, p. 572.

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bury, in their proposed fundamental constitutions of 1669, two years before the first negro was brought to the colony, providing that "*every freeman of Carolina shall have absolute power and authority over his negro slaves, of what opinion or religion soever.*"

The significance of this provision was not in the recognition of slavery as an institution in the province—that was assumed—nor yet in the absolute power it proposed to give to the freeman over his slave, great as that was, but in the last words, wherein it was intended to provide against the effect of the possible conversion and baptism of the negroes. A doubt had arisen and prevailed extensively upon this point. The idea was that as the enslavement of negroes was mostly justified on the ground that they were heathen, upon their becoming Christians they would be enfranchised. It is curious to observe the effect of this scruple, which appears to have been an honest one. Some Christian masters, rather than offend their conscience by holding fellow-Christians in slavery, withheld the gospel from their people, lest they might hear and believe and be converted and become as one of them. We shall see directly how church and state agreed in dispelling this idea.

With the slaves which Sir John Yeamans and others brought over from Barbados and the other West India Islands they brought with them the slave code of those islands, especially that of Barbados, from which place most of the customs and institutions of the province of South Carolina were derived. The first statutory provision in South Carolina in regard to slaves was that of the act of 1686, already mentioned, inhibiting trading with them and declaring that it should not be lawful for a negro or other slave to travel or go abroad from the owner's house between sunsetting and sunrising without a note from the master, mistress, or overseer, and authorizing any person to apprehend any such and reasonably to chastise and correct such slave and cause him to be sent home.

On the 29th of April, 1668, an act was passed in Barbados declaring negro slaves real estate, and not chattels, and enacting that they should descend to the heir and widow of any person dying intestate, according to the manner and custom of lands of inheritance held in fee simple.[1] This provision was

[1] The Laws of Barbados.

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followed to a modified extent in South Carolina in this curious clause of the act of 1690, viz:

And it is further enacted, That all slaves shall have convenient clothes once every year, and that no slave shall be free by becoming a christian, but as to payment of debts shall be deemed and taken as all other goods and chattels, and when other goods and chattels are not sufficient to satisfy the said debts, then so many slaves only as are necessary, as well proportionately out of the slaves assigned for dowry, as those that belong to the heirs and executors, shall be sold for payment of debt, and all negroes and slaves shall be accounted as freehold in all other cases whatsoever and descend accordingly.[1]

And so it was that President Middleton declared to the Spanish ambassador, in 1725, that negroes were real property, such as houses and lands, in Carolina.[2] They were nevertheless always returned as personal property in the inventories of intestates, as the records of the ordinary's or probate office in Charleston abundantly show. This condition continued until 1740, when it was declared that negroes and Indian slaves should be reputed and adjudged in law to be chattels personal in the hands of their owners and possessors and their executors, administrators, and assigns.[3]

On the 8th of August, 1688, "an act for the governing of negroes" was adopted in Barbados,[4] which served as the basis and model of all the legislation in South Carolina upon the subject. The first attempt in providing a slave code for this province was made under Sothell in 1690. It followed generally the Barbadian act of 1688;[5] but was superseded by the more elaborate act of 1712 under the administration of Governor Charles Craven.[6] Hildreth, commenting upon enactments of 1712 in Pennsylvania and Massachusetts imposing prohibitory duties upon the importation of Indian and negro slaves, observes:[7] "Contemporaneously with these prohibitory acts of Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, the first extant slave law of South Carolina was enacted, the basis of the existing slave code of that State." He writes:

"Whereas," says the preamble of this remarkable statute, "the plantations and estates of this province can not be well and sufficiently managed

[1] 7 Statutes, pp. 343, 344.
[2] Hewatt, Vol. I, p. 314.
[3] 7 Statutes, p. 397.
[4] The Laws of Barbados, act No. 82.
[5] 7 Statutes, p. 343.
[6] Ibid, p. 352.
[7] Hildreth's History of the United States (1840), Vol. II, p. 271.

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and brought into use without the labor and service of negro and other slaves; and forasmuch as the said negroes and other slaves brought unto the people of this province are of barbarous, wild, savage natures and such as render them wholly unqualified to be governed by the laws, customs, and practices of this province, but that it is absolutely necessary that such other constitutions, laws, and orders should in this province be made and enacted for the good regulation and ordering of them as may distrain the disorders, rapine, and inhumanity to which they are naturally prone and inclined, and may also tend to the safety and security of the people of this province and their estates," it therefore enacts, etc. And then follows an analysis of the act in which the objectionable features are set forth. "South Carolina, it thus appears," continues the historian, "assumed at the beginning the same bad preeminence on the subject of slave legislation which she still maintains."

The fact is that this preamble, as well as many of the provisions of the act thus criticised, were taken verbatim from the Barbadian statute of 1688, and were not original declarations and measures entitling Carolina to a preeminence, either for good or evil, over other slaveholding communities. The act of 1712, as has appeared, was not "the first extant slave law" of the province, as the historian alleges; nor was it by any means the last. Had he turned but a page of the volume, from which he extracted the provisions of the law he so condemned, he would have found the following enactment of two years after, 1714, in the same direction as those of the two northern provinces to which he alludes:[1]

IX. And whereas the number of negroes do extremely increase in this province, and through the afflicting providence of God the white persons do not proportionably multiply, by reason whereof the safety of the said province is greatly endangered; for the prevention of which for the future: *Be it further enacted* by the authority aforesaid that all negro slaves from twelve years old and upwards imported into this part of the province from any part of Africa shall pay such additional duties as is hereafter named; that is to say, that every merchant or other person whatsoever who shall six months after the ratification of this act import any negro slave as aforesaid shall for every such slave pay unto the public receiver for the time being (within thirty days after such importation) the sum of two pounds current money of this Province.

It has already been seen that provisions were made in 1716 to require each planter to have one white servant for every ten negro slaves, and that a bounty of £25 was offered for every white servant, and £5 more for such as were imported in two years. In the same year by another act a duty of £30 per head was laid upon all negroes imported from any of the

[1] 7 Statutes, S. C., p. 367.

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colonies.[1] In 1719 a duty was exacted of £10 per head on all negroes imported from Africa directly and £30 on all imported from the plantations.[2] In 1722 the same duty was laid on negroes imported from Africa, £10, and that on negroes from the other colonies still further increased to £50. The reason given for this discrimination is that the negroes imported from the colonies were either transported thence by courts of justice or sent off by private persons for their ill behavior.[3]

The slave code was again thoroughly revised under Governor Nicholson's provisionary government in 1722. The preamble taken from the Barbadian act was still preserved and the principal features of it reenacted, following, indeed, its very phraseology in many instances.[4]

All negroes, mulattoes, mustizoes, or Indians that had theretofore been sold and were then held for slaves were declared to be slaves, excepting such as had been or thereafter should for any peculiar merit be declared free by the governor and council under any law of the province.

No master, mistress, or overseer was allowed to give their negroes or other slaves leave on Sundays, fast days, holy days, or any other time to go out of their plantations without a letter or ticket, unless such negro or slave wore a livery; and any person seeing a negro or slave out of his master's plantations without a ticket or in company with a white person was empowered to correct such servant by whipping, not exceeding twenty lashes. An overseer who found a strange negro on his master's plantation without leave, and did not apprehend and whip him, forfeited 20 shillings.

Justices of the peace had power at all times to search for guns, pistols, swords, and other "offensive weapons" in negro houses, and to take them, unless the negro or slave having them had a ticket or license in writing from his master allowing him to hunt, to be renewed once every month, or unless when in company with a white person hunting. No master or mistress should allow more than one negro on one plantation the privilege. If any slave so intrusted killed another man's cattle, sheep, or hogs, or did any damage with it, the master was liable in double the value.

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[1] 2 Statutes, S. C., p. 651.
[2] 3 Statutes, S. C., p. 57.
[3] Ibid., p. 195.
[4] 7 Statutes, S. C., p. 371.

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Patrols had full power and authority to enter any plantation and break open negro houses or other places when negroes were suspected of keeping arms; to punish runaways or slaves found out of their masters' plantations without a ticket; to correct by moderate whipping any slave who should affront or abuse them in the execution of their office; and to apprehend and take up any slave suspected of stealing or other criminal offense, and to carry him to the next magistrate.

Upon complaint made to any justice of the peace of any heinous or grievous crime or capital offense, such as murder, burglary, robbery, willful burning of dwelling houses, barns, stables, kitchens, or stacks of rice or tar kilns, barrels of pitch or tar, or any other capital offense for which clergy is taken away by the laws of England and of the province, committed by any slave, the justice should issue his warrant for apprehending the offender; and if upon examination it probably appeared that the person was guilty, he should commit him to prison, or immediately proceed to try him according to the form specified. To do this he was to certify to the justice next to him the cause, and to require him "to associate himself to him" in the trial. The justices so associated were to issue their summons to three sufficient freeholders, acquainting them with the matter, and appointing a time and place when and where the same should be heard; upon which hearing the freeholders, being first sworn to judge uprightly according to the evidence, in case they found the negro or slave guilty, should give sentence of death, the kind of death to be left to their judgment. Of this court, two justices and one freeholder, or one justice and two freeholders, constituted a quorum, and their acquittal or conviction was final. For lesser offenses, such as stealing or killing neat cattle, sheep, hogs, shoats, or pigs, for the first offense such slave was branded with an R on the right cheek; for the second, with an R on the left cheek and whipped not exceeding forty lashes, and for the third offense he should suffer death. The master or mistress was required to satisfy the party from whom the stealing or killing was done, except when the negro was put to death.

For every offense not particularly named in the act for which a white man was allowed the benefit of clergy and was punished by burning in the hand, the slave was to be burned with the letter R on the forehead, and for a second offense should suffer death. For burglary, an offense for which the white man suffered death without the benefit of the clergy, for the first

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offense the negro was not to be put to death, but branded on the right cheek and whipped not exceeding thirty-nine lashes; for the second offense, branded on the left cheek and likewise whipped, and to suffer death only for the third offense. For stealing fowls, robbing henroosts, or any other less offense a single justice might inflict punishment by whipping. In case of mutiny the court of justices and freeholders might inflict death or any other penalty.

The confession of any slave accused, or the testimony of any other slave that the justices and freeholders should believe, was to be held good in all crimes not capital. But no negro or other slave was to suffer the loss of life or limb but upon conviction on his own free and voluntary confession or "by the oath of Christian evidence, or at least by the plain and positive evidence of two negroes or slaves so circumstanced that there shall not be sufficient reason to doubt the truth thereof," except in the case of murder, in which the evidence of one slave, attended with circumstances of which the justices and freeholders on the court were made the judges, or "upon violent presumption" of the accused persons guilt, was sufficient.

If any white person, freeman or servant, tempted or persuaded a negro to leave his master's service with the design of carrying him out of the province, he forfeited to the master £25; and in case he did not pay, the next magistrate should order the offender to be publicly whipped, not exceeding forty lashes. If he succeeded in actually carrying the negro out of the province, it was declared felony without the benefit of clergy, and the offender was to suffer death as a felon. A slave running away with intent to go from the province to deprive his master of his services was to suffer death; but if several went off together, one (or two, at the most) should be executed, the rest to be punished corporeally as the justice should adjudge, and the owner of the negroes saved to contribute proportionately to the loss of those whose slaves were executed. In all cases in which negroes or slaves were executed, the justices and freeholders were to value them, and to assess the value on the lands and negroes within their respective jurisdictions, so that the loss should not fall only upon the owner.

If a negro or slave should strike a white person, for the first offense he was to be severely whipped and to have his right ear cut off, and for the second, the justices and freeholders might

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inflict any punishment, according to their discretion, except death.

And because there was sometimes reason to suspect that slaves ran away for want of sufficient allowance of provisions, any two justices of the peace might inquire whether slaves throughout the several plantations were sufficiently provided with corn or other provisions, and were to inform the justices of the courts of the province of any cases in which the slaves were not sufficiently provided for, in which cases the owners were to be fined.

No master was liable to any penalty if his negro or other slave suffered in life or member under punishment by him or his order for running away, or other crimes or misdemeanors; but if any person should, out of cruelty or willfully, kill a negro or other slave of his own he was fined £50. If the person so offending was a servant, or one incapable of making satisfaction, he was to receive thirty-nine lashes on his bare back. A negro found stealing or robbing, and resisting or refusing to submit, might be killed.

Such were the main features of the slave code as revised and adopted in South Carolina under the Royal Government. However harsh they may appear to the reader of the present day, it must be remembered that the penal codes under which white men then lived in England and elsewhere were scarcely less so. Granting the subordination of slavery, the prohibition of slaves going beyond the limits of their master's plantations was no more than that applied to soldiers and sailors, whose liberties did not extend beyond the camp barrack or ship; so, too, in regard to the provision as to a slave striking a white man. "Is the soldier who fights the battles of his country and lifts his hand against his commanding officer," it was asked, "more criminal or punished with less severity than the audacious slave who strikes his master? Is the gallant sailor who upholds the nation's glory and protects it by his valor and prowess subject to a milder punishment if, in a moment of unguarded resentment, he should strike the officer whose orders he is bound to obey! No! an ignominious death awaits the rash offender, his former services are forgotten, and he is consigned to a premature grave for his temerity, while the slave lives to repeat his crime and exult in his audacity."[1]

[1] The History of Barbadoes (Poyer), p. 138.

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The scheme of the court of justices and freeholders was taken also from the Barbadian act. And in regard to that statute it was claimed that the form of trial it provided was in all respects competent to the regular administration of justice, "and candid men," it was observed, "may probably think that a tribunal consisting of two magistrates and three jurymen may be as capable of deciding justly as the military and naval courts-martial which are allowed to decide upon the lives of freemen."[1] In this connection it may be remarked in passing that in the whole system of government brought over from Barbados, with its interwoven military organization and slave system, there is a strong flavor and element of martial law. Thus the chief executive officer of the court was not styled high sheriff, as Locke's constitutions proposed, but provost-marshal.

In considering the measure of severity of this code it must be borne in mind that the punishments inflicted upon white men for crime in England were at that time, and, indeed, for a century later, not less brutal. In high crimes, as in treasons of all kinds, superadded to the terror and disgrace of an ignominious death, the offender was drawn or dragged to the place of execution. In cases of high treason the law was that men should be disemboweled alive, beheaded, and quartered; women burned. For some comparatively minor offenses the punishment was mutilation or dismemberment, by cutting off the hand or ears, as in forgery under the statutes of Elizabeth; for others, a lasting stigma was fixed upon the offender by slitting his nostrils or branding in the hand or cheek.[2] Blackstone laments that, among the variety of actions which men are daily liable to commit, no less than 160 have been declared by act of Parliament without benefit of clergy, or, in other words, to be worthy of death.[3]

The most objectionable and really dreadful feature of the law, undoubtedly, was the power over life and death of the slave, which was virtually in the master's hands. But this was in a great measure neutralized and controlled by the master's interest. To kill or injure his slave, whether punished or exculpated by the law, was to impose upon himself a pecuniary

[1] The History of Barbadoes (Poyer), p. 140.
[2] Blackstone, Vol. IV, p. 217 (Sharswood edition).
[3] Ibid., p. 19.

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fine to the extent of the value of the slave. The effective motive of interest came in to the protection of the negro's life. It has been pointed out that in Barbados, under the same law, where the population consisted of 75,000 blacks and 15,000 whites, homicide among the whites, though of rare occurrence and punished in the same exemplary manner as at the Old Bailey, was of more frequent occurrence than the murder of a slave by a freeman. In a period of thirty-four years there had been no authentic accounts of more than sixteen negroes killed by white men, and of these only six came within the legal description of that species of homicide which even the English criminal judicature would punish with death. Lord Seaforth during his administration (1801) instituted a minute inquiry into offenses of this sort, and though he employed no ordinary degree of industry in pursuing the inquisition, three instances of extreme cruelty were all that he could ascertain to have been committed for several years.[1]

No such investigation was made in South Carolina, but Hewatt, the historian, who was pastor of the Scotch Presbyterian Church in Charleston from 1763 to 1776 and who was not blinded to the evils of slavery as they existed in his time, but was indeed bitterly opposed to the whole institution, writes that it must be acknowledged that the planters of South Carolina treat their slaves with as much and more tenderness than those of any British colony where slavery exists. The working of the same system produced like effects in Carolina as in Barbados. The master's interest not only protected the life of the slave against violence at his own hands, but extended to his defense from violence at the hands of others. It brought the powerful influence of the master to the prosecution of the assailants of his slaves, as well as to the concealment of his crimes. So great, indeed, was this influence that in 1740 it was found necessary to provide a penalty for concealing an accused slave.[2]

In the act of 1712 there was this provision,[3] explicitly declaring and providing against the danger to which section cx of Locke's constitution, heretofore quoted, alluded, and was intended to guuard against:

XXXIV. Since charity and the Christian religion which we profess

[1] History of Barbadoes (Poyer), pp. 134, 135.
[2] 7 Statutes, p. 403.
[3] Ibid., p. 364.

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obliges us to wish well to the souls of all men, and that religion may not be made a pretence to alter any man's property and right, and that no person may neglect to baptize their negroes or slaves, or suffer them to be baptized for fear that thereby they should be manumitted and set free: *Be it therefore enacted* by the authority aforesaid, That it shall be, and is hereby, declared lawful for any negro or Indian slave, or any other slave or slaves whatsoever, to receive and profess the christian faith and be thereinto baptized; but that, notwithstanding such slave or slaves shall receive and profess the christian religion and be baptized, he or they shall not thereby be manumitted or set free, or his or their owner, master, or mistress lose his or their civil right, property, and authority over such slave or slaves, but that the said slave or slaves with respect to his servitude shall remain and continue in the same state and condition that he or they was in before the making of this act.

This provision was omitted from the act of 1722. The reason for its omission will be found in the opinion of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke in the case of *Pearne* v. *Lisle*.[1] "There was once," he said, "a doubt whether if they (negro slaves) were christened they would not become free by that act, and there were precautions taken in the colonies[2] to prevent their being baptized till the opinion of Lord Talbot and myself, then attorney-general and solicitor-general, was taken on that point. We were both of opinion that it did not at all alter their state." This doubt, which Locke had endeavored to provide against in his Constitutions, had prevailed to a great extent from New England to Carolina, and as it was interfering with the slave trade the merchants of London had secured the opinion of the two law officers of the Crown that it was groundless. This legal difficulty having been thus removed, Dr. Gibson, the bishop of London, in a pastoral letter of the 19th of May, 1727, addressed to the masters and mistresses of families in the English plantations abroad, exhorting them to encourage and promote the instruction of their negroes in the Christian faith, thus discussed the subject in its religious aspect:[3]

11. But it is further pleaded that the instruction of heathens in the Christian Faith is in order to their Baptism, and that not only the Time to be allowed for instructing them would be an Abatement from the Profits of their Labor, but also that the baptizing them when instructed would destroy both the property which the Masters have in them as Slaves bought with their Money and the Right of selling again at pleasure, and that the making of them Christians only makes them less diligent and more ungovernable. To which it may be very truly replied that Chris-

[1] Ambler's Report, p. 75.

[2] Similar acts were adopted in Maryland and Virginia.—Bancroft, Vol. II, (ed. 1883), p. 275.

[3] Dalcho's Church History, p. 108.

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tianity and the embracing of the Gospel does not make the least Alteration in civil Property or in any of the Duties which belong to Civil Relations, but in all these Respects it continues Persons just in the same State it found them. The freedom which Christianity gives is a Freedom from the bondage of Sin and Satan and from the Dominion of Men's Lusts and Passions and inordinate Desires; but as to their *outward* Condition, whatever that was before, whether bond or free, their being baptized and becoming Christians makes no manner of Change in it. As St. Paul has expressly told us (I Corinthians, vii, 20), where he is speaking directly to this very point: "*Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called;*" and at the 24th verse: "*Let every* Man, *wherein he is called therein abide with God.*"

The anxieties of the London merchants having been thus allayed and the legal and religious doubts satisfied, the importation of negroes into the colonies was continued with renewed vigor. We have seen that in 1708 the number of whites and of negroes was almost exactly equal, viz, whites, 4,080; negroes, 4,100. In 1715, while the white population had increased but to 6,250, the negroes had reached 10,500.[1] In seven years, while the whites had increased but 53 per cent, the negroes had increased 156 per cent, three times as much. In A Description of South Carolina, published in 1761[2] in London, (but which is supposed to have been the basis of Governor Glen's answers to the queries of the lords commissioners for trade and plantations, made probably in 1749,[3] the number of white people in South Carolina, including men, women, and children, it is said, was about 14,000 in the year 1724, and the number of slaves there at that time, reckoning men, women, and children, was about 32,000, mostly negroes.[4]

In the last nine years, therefore, while the whites had little more than doubled, the negroes had trebled. In 1733 the colonization of Georgia commenced, and the separate government in North Carolina having just before been established, this province lost inhabitants on both sides. In a memorial in 1734, signed by the governor, Robert Johnson, the president of the council, and the speaker of the commons, transmitted to His Britannic Majesty, it was stated that the inhabitants of both

[1] Hildreth's History of the United States, Vol. II, p. 278.

[2] Carroll's Collections, p. 261.

[3] Documents Connected with South Carolina (Weston), p. 63.

[4] Drayton, in his View of South Carolina, p. 103, gives a table of population in which, in 1723, the whites are put at 14,000, but the negroes at only 18,000. The account given by Governor Glen shows that Drayton's figures in this instance are incorrect.

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Georgia and South Carolina composed a militia of only 3,500 men, and the negroes at least 22,000, in the proportion of 3 to 1 for all white inhabitants of South Carolina.[1] This loss of population by the removal of so many to the neighboring provinces was soon made up, at least so far as the negroes were concerned, and the apprehensions of the people became aroused at the great disproportion in the relative number of the two races. In the Gazette of April 2, 1737, a communication appears under the signature of "Mercator," in which it was stated that in four years past there had been imported 10,447 negroes, and in the four years before only 5,153. To the running in debt for negroes, more than the planters had the means of paying for, the writer attributes the scarcity of money. He went on to say that if some method were not speedily taken to prevent the large importation of negroes it would not only increase the scarcity of money but also be of the most fatal consequences to the province.

Another writer in the Gazette of March 9, 1738, repeats the warning. He writes:

> I can not avoid observing that altho'h a few Negroes annually imported into the province might be of Advantage to most People, yet such large importation of 2,600 or 2,800 every year is not only a loss to many, but in the end may prove the Ruin of the Province, as it most certainly does that of many industrious Planters who unwarily engage in buying more than they have occasion or are able to pay for.

This writer states that until the year 1732 the common method of selling negroes in the province was for payment in rice, whereby sellers were enabled to make 10 per cent per annum profit by forbearance of requiring payment. The rice was valued at about 37s. 6d. per hundredweight, the casks going for nothing. The factors were in general under no other contract with their employers than to remit the rice when they received it. But now he complains that the case is altered, the sales being upon a new and quite a different footing. The factor here is bound to make good all debts and to remit two-thirds of the value in twelve months and the other one-third in two years after the day of sale. This the writer held that the planter could not do. He maintained that a good crop of rice, even at 60s. per hundredweight, was not sufficient to pay all the planter's debts, nor would a good crop the next year pay half the debts then due to the trading man in town.

[1] Drayton's View of South Carolina, p. 102; Hewatt, Vol. II, p. 31.

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That the apprehensions of the writer as to the dangers of this influx of barbarous savages were not altogether groundless was demonstrated by the insurrection which broke out soon after. It was estimated that the number of negroes in the province at this time (1740) was 40,000[1]. This outbreak had undoubtedly been instigated by the Spaniards at St. Augustine. Liberty and protection had been proclaimed to them, and emissaries had been found secretly persuading them to fly from their masters to Florida. Many had made their escape to that settlement. Of these negroes the governor of Florida formed a regiment, appointed officers from among them, and allowed them the same pay and clothed them in the same uniform with the regular Spanish soldiers. Of all this the negroes in Carolina were kept informed, and when they ran away they constantly directed their course to that quarter.

At length, a number of negroes assembled at Stono, and began their movement by killing two young men in a warehouse, and plundering it of guns and ammunition. Thus provided with arms, they chose one of their number captain, put themselves under his command, and marched in the direction of Florida, with colors flying and drums beating. They entered the house of Mr. Godfrey, murdered him, his wife, and children, took all the arms, in the house, and, setting fire to it, proceeded toward Jacksonboro. In their march they plundered and burned every house, killed the white people, and compelled the negroes to join them.

Lieutenant-Governor Bull happening to be on his way to Charleston, probably from Beaufort, and observing this body of armed negroes, quickly rode out of their way. He crossed over to Johns Island, and from thence came to Charleston with the first intelligence. Mr. Golightly, also seeing and avoiding them, went directly to the Presbyterian church at Wiltown, and gave the alarm. By a law of the province all persons were required to carry their arms to church, and as it was a Sunday Mr. Golightly found there a body of armed men, and proceeded with them directly from the church to engage the negroes, about eight miles distant. The women were left trembling with fear while the militia marched in quest of the negroes, who by this time had become formidable from their numbers. They

[1] Hewat History of South Carolina, Vol. 2, p. 71. Governor Glen, however, in 1749, estimates the number of negroes at 39,000.

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had for fifteen miles spread desolation through all the plantations on their way. Having found rum in some houses, and drunk freely of it, they halted in an open field, and began to sing and dance. During these rejoicings the militia came up, and took positions to prevent escape; then advancing, and killing some of them, the remainder of the negroes dispersed and fled to the woods. Many ran back to the plantations to which they belonged, in the hope of escaping suspicion of having joined the rising, but the greater part were taken and tried. Such of them as had been compelled to join were pardoned; the leaders suffered death.[1] Twenty-one whites and 44 negroes lost their lives in this insurrection.

The slave code had been revised in 1735.[2] This insurrection led to another thorough revision in 1740,[3] but to the honor of the province be it said that, so far from this rising of the negroes adding to the severities of the law, it was made the occasion of ameliorating the condition of the slave. More stringent provisions were made against the assembling of slaves and provisions against insurrections, but in the main the amendments to the code were in the negro's favor.

A penalty of £5 currency was imposed upon any person who employed any slave in any work or labor (work of necessary occasions of the family only excepted) on the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday. The selling of strong liquor to slaves was prohibited. Slaves were to be provided with sufficient clothing, covering, and food; and in case any owner or person in charge of slaves neglected to make such provision, any neighboring justice, upon complaint, was required to inquire into the matter, and if the owner or person in charge failed to exculpate himself from the charge, the justice might make such orders for the relief of the slave as in his discretion he should think fit.

And because, it was said, by reason of the extent and distance of plantations in the province the inhabitants were far removed from each other, and many cruelties might be committed on slaves, it was provided that if any slave should suffer in life or limb, or be beaten or abused contrary to the direction of this act, when no white person was present, or, being present, refused to give evidence, the owner or person in

[1] Ramsay, History of South Carolina, Vol. I, p. 109.
[2] 7 Statutes, S. C., p. 385.
[3] Ibid., p. 397.

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charge of such slave should be deemed to be guilty of the offense, unless he made the contrary appear by good and sufficient evidence, or by his own oath clear and exculpate himself. This oath was to prevail if clear proof of the offense was not made by at least two witnesses. In case of cruelty to a slave, in the absence of white witnesses the burden of proof of innocence was thrown upon the party charged; and while his own oath might exculpate him unless two witnesses appeared against him, it was something at least that the owner was called upon to show his innocence. By this act, also, the apparel of the slave was regulated, as were also the hours of labor. Owners were prohibited from working slaves more than fifteen hours in twenty-four from the 25th of March to the 25th of September or more than fourteen hours in twenty-four from the 25th of September to the 25th of March.

The slave code, as revised in 1740, remained substantially the law in regard to slavery during the continuance of the institution in South Carolina for one hundred and twenty years after, and its provisions in regard to the killing of negroes were repeatedly enforced. It was, however, so amended in 1821 as to provide that if anyone should murder a slave he should suffer death without the benefit of clergy; and if anyone should kill a slave in sudden heat and passion, he should be fined not exceeding $500 and be imprisoned not exceeding six months. It happened that immediately before the passage of the act—very probably the cause of its passage—a negro who had run away was killed by his master, and in his defense the plea was made that he could not be tried under the new act, and that the new act repealed the old. But the court of appeals held that while the new act could not apply to his case as *ex post facto*, he could not thus escape, and punished him under the act of 1740.[1] As late as 1853 two white men we convicted and executed under the provisions of the acts of 1740 and 1821 for killing a negro whose identity was not established, but who, under the act of 1740, was presumed to have been a slave.

In this case the judge who both tried the case and pronounced the opinion of the highest court upon appeal stated that no eye-witness had testified to the killing, and the mutilated remains when discovered offered no means of recognition.[2]

[1] State *v.* Taylor, 2 McCord, p. 483. State *v.* Guy Raines, 3 McCord's Reports, p. 542.

[2] Richardson's Law Reports, Vol. VII, p. 327.

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The men accused were nevertheless convicted and executed, the governor at the time ordering out a strong military force to escort the sheriff with the condemned men from Charleston, where they had been imprisoned for safe-keeping, to Walterboro, the place of execution.

The negro insurrection of 1740 had, however, naturally increased the apprehensions of danger from this source, and the disastrous fire of the same year had added the fear of incendiarism to others. In this condition of the public mind a dwelling house of Mr. Snowden was set on fire by a negro man. Upon the evidence of his accomplice and upon his own confession he was publicly burned to death on the 14th of August, 1741.[1] But it must be observed that this awful punishment was not inflicted under any provision of the slave code, but under the ancient law of England, imposed as a kind of *lex talionis* under the statute of Edward I.[2] Chief Justice Trott, in a charge to the grand jury in 1708, in explaining the different offenses and their punishments, had told them that "burners of houses, by the civil law, were to be burned;" and so they were anciently by the common law of England, as appears by Bracton. In 1703 a white woman was convicted of poisoning her husband, with two men as her accomplices, and Trott sentenced the men to be hanged and the woman to be burned.[3] We have no record, however, of the execution of the sentence.[4]

Having thoroughly revised the slave code, the assembly made another attempt to check the further importation of negroes. An act was passed[5] reciting that the importation of negroes from the coast of Africa, as they were generally of a barbarous and savage disposition, was dangerous to the peace and safety of the province, and that to prevent these fatal mischiefs for the future it was necessary that a method should be

[1] South Carolina Gazette, August 15, 1741.

[2] Blackstone, Vol. IV, 222.

[3] MSS. Charges of Chief Justice Trott, Charleston Library.

[4] It was at least a curious coincidence, if indeed it was not really the suggestion of the burning in Charlestown, that in the South Carolina Gazette of July 30, 1741, there is a letter giving an account of incendiary fires in New Jersery, and an insurrection of negroes in New York, attributed like that in South Carolina, to Spanish instigation, in consequence of which two negro men were burned at the stake in New York at one time, and seven at another.

[5] 3 Statutes, S. C., p. 556.

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established by which a proportional number of white inhabitants should be introduced. By this act a tax was imposed on the purchase of negroes according to their height; a tax of £10 was laid, to be paid by every person who in fifteen months after its passage first purchased any negro of 4 feet 2 inches high that had not been six months before in the province, and £5 for every such negro under that height and above 3 feet 2 inches, and all under that height, £2 10s.; and after fifteen months from the term of three years next ensuing, £100 for every negro over 4 feet 2 inches, and £50 for every one under that height and above 3 feet 2 inches; and for all under, £25. The sums raised from this tax were to be appropriated for defraying the charge of transportation of poor protestants from Charlestown to the place of settlement and for purchasing tools necessary for planting and settling, with provisions for one year, each poor Protestant (not being above 50 years of age) who would come and settle in the province, and for purchasing one cow and calf over and above such provisions for every five persons who should actually become settled in any of the townships laid out, or in any other of the frontier places in the province in which such poor Protestant might be directed by the governor to settle. Besides the tax upon the first purchaser, the slaves themselves imported were taxed £50 additional. This measure was intended to act as a prohibition, and it did so.

To the honor of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, writes Hewatt, it must be acknowledged that they had made some attempts for the conversion of these heathen. They had no less than twelve missionaries in Carolina, who had instructions to give all the assistance in their power to this laudable purpose, and to each of them they allowed £50 in the year over and above their provincial salaries. But it was well known, he adds, that the fruit of their labors had been very small and inconsiderable. Such feeble exertions were noways equal to the extent of the work required, nor to the greatness of the end proposed. Whether their small success ought to be ascribed to the rude and intractable dispositions of the negroes, to the obstructions thrown in their way by the owners, or to the negligence and indolence of the missionaries themselves he does not undertake to determine. Perhaps, he ventures to assert, it was more or less owing to all these different causes. One thing,

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he observes, was very certain, that the negroes of the country, a few only excepted, were, when he wrote, as great strangers to Christianity and as much under the influence of pagan darkness, idolatry, and superstition as they were on their first arrival from Africa.

The Rev. Samuel Thomas was the first missionary sent out by the society. He ministered from 1702 to 1706 at Goose Creek, which he described as one of the largest and most populous country towns, and settled by English families well affected to the church. He reported to the society that though his communicants were but five, they soon increased to thirty-two, and that he had taken much pains also in instructing negroes, and had taught twenty of them to read.[1] He was succeeded by the Rev. Dr. Le Jeau, who wrote that the parents and masters were indued with much good will to have their children and servants taught the Christian religion. He instructed and baptized many negroes and Indian slaves.[2] The Rev. Mr. Taylor, missionary in St. Andrews' parish, wrote to the society (1713) that Mr. Haig and Mr. Edwards had taken extraordinary pains to instruct a considerable number of negroes in the principles of the Christian religion and to reclaim and reform them. The wonderful success they met with in about half a year's time encouraged him to examine these negroes about their knowledge of Christianity.

They declared to him their faith in the chief articles of religion, which they sufficiently explained; they rehearsed by heart very distinctly the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer. Fourteen of them gave him so great satisfaction and were so desirous to be baptized that he thought it his duty to do it on the last Lord's day. Mr. Taylor was nevertheless very severe upon his parishioners generally. "If the masters were but Christians themselves," he wrote, "and would but concur with the ministers, we should then have good hopes of the conversion and salvation of at least some of their negro and Indian slaves. But too many of them rather oppose than concur with us, and are angry with us, I may say with me, for endeavoring as much as I do the conversion of their slaves."[3] Humphreys, however, mentions that there

[1] Humphreys' Historical Account of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, p. 82.

[2] Ibid., pp. 83, 84.

[3] Digest of S. P. G. Records, 1701–1892, 15, 16.

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had been "contentious disputes at first, and afterwards an unhappy distaste between him and his parishioners," and observes that his successor, Mr. Guy, "made amends by his prudence and courteous demeanor for the disobliging conduct of his predecessor."[1] Mr. Taylor's own conduct may have been the cause of some of the opposition to his ministrations of which he complained. The Rev. Mr. Varnod reported to the society that he had, a year after his arrival (1723), 50 communicants, among whom were 17 negroes, and baptized several grown persons, besides children and negroes belonging to Mr. Alex. Skeene, and in 1733 that out of 31 communicants of his parish 19 were negroes.[2]

Mr. John Morris, of St. Bartholomew's; Lady Moore, Capt. David Davis, Mrs. Sarah Baker, and several others, of Goose Creek; Landgrave Joseph Morton and his wife, of St. Paul's; Mr. and Mrs. Skeene, Mrs. Haig, and Mrs. Edwards and the governor (Robert Gibbes) are recorded as those who were most zealous, in 1711, in encouraging the instruction of their slaves.[3]

Neither the church nor the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel entertained any scruples as to the institution of slavery. The church act of 1704 anticipated that the society would give negro slaves as part of the endowment of the parishes, and it provided that the negroes so given were to be a part of the glebe.[4] The society itself accepted a devise by General Codrington, in 1710, of two valuable plantations in Barbados upon the condition that these plantations should be kept entire with at least 300 negroes upon them, the produce of which was to be allotted to maintain a convenient number of professors and scholars, under vows of chastity and obedience, who were required to study and practice physic and surgery as well as divinity, that they might endear themselves to the people and have the opportunity of doing good to men's souls while they were taking care of their bodies.

[1] Humphreys' Historical Account of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, p. 112; Dalcho's Church History, p. 387.

[2] Ibid., p. 117; Dalcho's Church History, pp. 346, 347.

[3] Digest of S. P. G. Records, 701–1892, p. 115.

[4] 2 Statutes, S. C., p. 239.

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The venerable society, says Bryan Edwards,[1] found themselves under the disagreeable necessity not only of supporting the system of slavery which was bequeathed to them with the land, but were induced also, from the purest and best of motives, to purchase occasionally a certain number of negroes "to keep up the stock." But the Society went a step further in Carolina and a considerable step further. It not only accepted, as we shall see directly, a devise of negroes to work upon a plantation, and purchased others to keep up the stock, to support its missionaries, but it fell upon the singular plan of purchasing negroes to educate and devote as slaves to the purpose of educating other negro slaves.

We find an advertisement by the Rev. Alexander Garden, the Commissary of the Bishop of London, in the South Carolina Gazette of March 11, 1743, stating that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, having long had much at heart the propagation of the gospel among the negroes and Indian slaves in His Majesty's colonies in America, had resolved on the following method of pursuing that end, viz, by purchasing some country-born young negroes, causing them to be instructed to read the Bible and in the chief precepts of the Christian religion, and thenceforth employing them (under the direction of proper trustees) as schoolmasters for the same instruction of all negro and Indian children as might be born in the colonies.

The advertisement goes on to state that in pursuance of this plan the society had purchased, about fifteen months before, two such negroes for this service, and appropriated one of them for Charlestown, who would be sufficiently qualified in a few months, and to whom all the negro and Indian children of the parish might be sent for education without any charge to the masters and owners; and the Commissary concludes with an appeal for a voluntary contribution of £400 currency to build a schoolhouse for the purpose, which he consents should be put up in a corner of the glebe land, near the parsonage.

This appeal was answered, and in the Gazette of April 2, 1744, Dr. Garden publishes an account of receipts and expenditures, in which it appears that he had received contributions to the amount of £226. Among the contributors were Hon. Charles Pinckney, Joseph Wragg, Robert Pringle, Jacob Motte, Col. Otheneil Beale, Benjamin Smith, and Sarah Trott.

[1] Edwards, History of West Indies, Index, Vol. II, p. 35.

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The two negro boys so purchased received the baptismal names of Henry and Andrew. The school was established and the experiment tried in the hope that the negroes would receive instructions from teachers of their own race with more facility and willingness than from white teachers. The school was continued for twenty-two years, first under the supervision of Commissary Garden as rector of St. Philip's, then of his successor, the Rev. Mr. Clarke, and then of the Rev. Robert Smith, afterwards the first bishop of South Carolina.

The Rev. Mr. Commissary Garden wrote to the Society October 10, 1743, that the negro school in Charlestown was likely to succeed and consisted of 30 children. He further informed them that he intended to employ both the negro youths in teaching in this school until their services should be wanted for similar institutions in the country parishes. He was of opinion that thirty or forty children would annually be discharged, capable of reading the scriptures and sufficiently instructed in the chief principles of the Christian religion. In consequence of this favorable information the Society sent to the school a large quantity of Bibles, Testaments, Common Prayer books, and spelling books.

In 1744 upward of 60 children were instructed in it daily, 18 of whom read in the Testament, 20 in the Psalter, and the rest in the spelling book.[1] In 1746 there were 55 children under tuition and 15 adults were instructed in the evening.[2] In 1755 there were 70 children in the school, and books were given for their use.[3] In 1757 Mr. Clarke informed the society that the negro school in Charleston was flourishing and full of children, and from the success of the institution he lamented "the want of civil establishments" in the province for the Christian instruction of 50,000 negroes.[4] Reverend Mr. Smith examined the proficiency of the children twice a week, and the school was deemed in a flourishing condition. But Andrew, one of the teachers, died, and the other, Harry, "turned out profligate;" and as the society had not invested to any greater extent in slaves "to keep up the stock" for the purpose of education, they had no other black or colored persons to take charge of the school, and it was discontinued.[5] It is not so mentioned, but the education of these negro children must have been restricted to reading, as they were prohibited by law from being taught to write.

[1] Dalcho's Church History, pp. 156, 157. [2] Ibid., p. 158.
[3] Ibid., p. 174. [4] Ibid., p. 178. [5] Ibid., p. 193.

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But the purchase of negro slaves for devotion to pious and religious purposes was not confined to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The Rev. George Whitefield and Mr. James Habersham, who together had established the Bethesda Orphan House in Georgia, were mainly instrumental in bringing the trustees of the colony to relax their prohibition against the introduction of slavery in that province. Mr. Whitefield, as early as 1741, gave the trustees a most practical lesson in his views by planting a portion of land, which he called "Providence," with negro labor, bought and paid for as his own slaves, with the design of thereby supporting his orphan house at Bethesda. He writes, under date of March 15, 1747:

I last week bought at a very cheap rate a plantation of 640 acres of excellent land, with a good house, farm, and outhouses and 60 acres of ground cleared, fenced, and fit for rice and everything that will be necessary for provisions. One negro has been given me; some more I propose to purchase this week.

And again, in June of the same year, he says:

God is delivering me out of my embarrassments by degrees. With the collections made at Charlestown I have purchased a plantation and some slaves, which I intend to devote to the use of Bethesda.

On the 6th of December, 1748, he complains to the trustees that very little proficiency had been made in the cultivation of his tract, and that entirely owing to the necessity he was under of making use of white hands. He writes:

Had a negro been allowed I should have had a sufficiency to support a great many orphans without expending about half the sum which has been laid out. An unwillingness to let so good a design drop, and having a rational conviction that it must necessarily if some other method was not fixed upon to prevent it—those two considerations, honored gentlemen, prevailed upon me about two years ago, through the bounty of my friends, to purchase a plantation in South Carolina, where negroes are allowed. Blessed be God, the plantation has succeeded, and though at present I have only eight working hands, yet in all probability there will be more raised in one year, and with a quarter the expense, than has been produced at Bethesda for several years last past. This confirms me in the opinion I have entertained for a long time *that Georgia never can or will be a flourishing province without negroes are allowed.*[1]

Thus it was that the Church of England and the evangelist Whitefield not only countenanced the system of slavery, but

[1] History of Georgia (Stevens), pp. 308–310.

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actually participated in its maintenance. We have already seen that the Bishop of London, in his zeal for the conversion of the negroes, assured their masters of the rightfulness of the institution, and enjoined upon the negroes to submit to its bondage as ordained of God, explaining that baptism was no means of freedom in this world, but only of salvation in the next. All this, of course, tended to strengthen its hold upon the people, whose apprehensions in regard to the increasing number of negroes were inducing them to check its growth. But even in this effort they were thwarted by the action of the royal Government.

Governor Glen wrote to the lords of trade in 1749 that though the law passed in the province (Statutes of 1740) laying a heavy duty on negroes imported, which amounted to a prohibition, had expired for some time, and though the importation had since been prevented by the war then raging in Europe, he did not think that their numbers had diminished, but on the contrary, though it was then upward of nine years since the law had been passed.[1] The act of 1740 having expired in 1751, and the peace of Aix la Chappelle having been proclaimed and the slave trade again opened, a new duty of £10 was laid on each imported slave of the height of 4 feet 2 inches, and proportionately for those under that height. This act was by its terms to continue in force for the term of ten years.[2]

The province of Virginia had pursued the same policy and had endeavored to suppress the importation of negroes. The merchants of London took alarm at this conduct of the southern colonies. One, signing himself "A British Merchant," in 1745 published a paper, which he entitled "The African Slave Trade, the Great Pillar and Support of the British Plantations in America." New England rum, manufactured at Newport, was profitably exchanged on the coast of Africa for negroes to be sold in the southern colonies, and vessels sailed on this business from Boston and New York; but the trade was principally carried on by English merchants of Bristol and Liverpool. Charters for the exclusive privilege of carrying on the slave trade had been granted to merchants from London in 1618 under the reign of James I; in 1631 under that of Charles

[1] Documents connected with South Carolina (Weston), p. 92.

[2] 3 Statutes, S. C., p. 739.

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I; in 1662 under Charles II to a company of which the Duke of York, the King's brother, was at the head; and in 1672 to another in which not only the King's brother, but the King himself was a stockholder.

The revolution of 1688 abolished all exclusive charters, and in 1698 the trade to the coast of Africa was, by act of Parliament, made free to all persons. This act operating hardly, as it was regarded, upon the "Royal African Company," Parliament voted them annually, from 1739 to 1746, £10,000. But while the monopoly of the company was destroyed, the monopoly of British subjects in furnishing slaves to the British colonies was strictly secured. Ten judges, among whom were Holt and Pollexfen, declared that "negroes are merchandise," and hence within the navigation acts."[1]

It was not to be supposed that the lords of trade and plantations would be deaf to the remonstrances of the merchants of London against the suppression of so valuable a trade; and so we find that when Governor Littleton came out in 1756 he brought with him instructions to put a stop to this colonial interference with the legitimate business of English merchants and skippers. Their lordships, in the name of the King, directed:[2]

Whereas acts have been passed in some of our plantations of America for laying duties on the importation and exportation of negroes, to the great discouragement of the merchants trading thither from the coast of Africa; and whereas acts have likewise been passed for laying duties on felons imported, in direct opposition to the act of Parliament passed in the tenth year of his late Majesty our royal grandfather's reign for the further preventing robbery and burglary and other felonies and the more effectual transportation of felons, etc.: It is our said pleasure that you do not give your assent to or pass any law imposing duties on negroes imported into our said Province of South Carolina payable by the importers or upon any slaves exported that have not been sold in our said province and continued there for the space of twelve months. It is our further wish that you do not give assent to or pass any act whatsoever for imposing duties on the importation of any felons from this Kingdom into South Carolina.

These instructions were repeated to Governor Boone when he was commissioned in 1761.[3] The general-duty act of the province, as it was called, of 1751, by which duties were laid on all imported negroes for ten years, expired just before Gov-

[1] Cobb on Slavery, p. cxliv. Bancroft's History of the United States, Vol. II, p. 279.

[2] Public Records, Columbia, S. C., Vol. XXVI, p. 291.

[3] Ibid., Vol. XXIX, p. 147.

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ernor Boone's arrival. No renewal of such duties was made during his administration, but immediately upon his leaving the province, in 1764, an act was passed reciting:

Whereas an importation of negroes equal in number to what has been imported of late years may prove of the most dangerous consequence in many respects to this province, and the best way to obviate such danger will be by imposing such additional duty upon them as may totally prevent the evils, we therefore humbly pray his most sacred Majesty that it may be enacted, etc., that an additional duty of £100 current money might be imposed on every person first purchasing any negro or other slave imported into the province except those brought from any other colony in America by persons actually to reside in the province.[1]

The act was not to go into effect until the 1st of January, 1766, and was to continue in force for a term of three years. It was assented to by Lieutenant-Governor Bull, as by its terms it was not to be in operation before the Government in England could pass upon it. It was allowed by the Board of Trade, and went into effect, but was not renewed. The result was that upon its expiration there was another influx of slaves.

During the discussion of the nonimportation agreement the Gazette of July 6, 1769, stated that upon an examination of the imports from the year 1756 to 1766 it appeared that 23,743 negroes were brought into the province during that period, the medium of which was 2,374 a year; but if the last of those years were taken off, when 6,701 were poured into the province, in anticipation of the high duty which was to take place the year following, and which did then put an entire stop to the importation till January 1769, the medium was 1,894. "From the 1st of January last," continued the Gazette, "to the 1st of July, no less than 4,233 had been imported, and many more were expected before the close of the year." The Gazette observes, in italicized lines:

This scarcely needs comment; every man's own mind must suggest the consequences of such enormous importation, especially at this time.

This suggestion was acted upon, and the nonimportation agreement then in force was, on the 22d of July, enlarged so as to read:

IV. That from and after the 1st day of January, 1770, we will not import, buy, or sell any negroes that shall be brought in the province from Africa; nor after the 1st day of October next any negroes that shall be imported from the West Indies or any other place excepting Africa aforesaid. And

[1] 4 Statutes, S. C., pp. 187, 188.

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if any such negroes or goods shall be sent to us contrary to the agreement in the subscription such goods shall be reshipped or stored and such negroes reshipped from the province, and not by any means offered for sale therein.[1]

There was a double motive, doubtless, in this resolve. The inhabitants, alarmed at the increasing number of negroes, were ready to avail themselves of the opportunity of putting a stop to their importation, which had been forbidden by the Government in England. But while this motive was no doubt efficacious in the adoption of the resolution, the fact that this was a means of touching the pocket nerve of the British merchant in its most sensitive point was probably a still greater inducement to its passage.

This the Board of Trade was likely to appreciate, for on the 6th of December, 1669, Lieutenant-Governor Bull had written to the Earl of Hillsborough, His Majesty's principal secretary of state for the colonies, that since the 1st of January, at which time the late prohibition had expired, 5,438 negroes had been imported, which, being mostly adults for immediate use, sold upon an average of nearly £40 each.[2]

The Gazette, which carried on its war against the importation of negroes after the nonimportation agreement had fallen through, on May 31 states that the greatest number imported before in one year was 7,184 in 1765, which it says is 4,457 less than have arrived the present year. In 1773 therefore the importation had reached the figure 11,641. The next greatest numbers imported in a year, it says, were 4,865 in 1772, 4,612 in 1769, and 3,740 in 1760. The whole number of slaves imported from the 1st of January, 1753, to the 1st of January, 1773, it states to have been 43,695.

It was because of the climatic differences between New York and South Carolina, observes Bancroft, that one ceased to be, while the other remained a slave State. It turned out ultimately to have been the misfortune of South Carolina not only that her climate suited the negro race, but that rice, an article of food for foreign commerce, as well as home consumption, was found capable of production by negro labor at great profit—and that too in portions of her territory in which the white man could not continuously live. This at once made Charlestown an emporium of the trade, which the English merchants

[1] South Carolina Gazette. See also South Carolina American and General Gazette of same date.

[2] Public Records, Columbia, S. C.

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were so vigorously prosecuting under the protection of the British Government.

The celebrated "Somerset" or "The Negro Case," as it was called, was decided by Lord Mansfield and the court of King's bench with great reluctance in 1771.[1] His lordship endeavored to avoid a decision, holding the case over in the hope that some arrangement might be come to by which he might be relieved of the responsibility. "If the parties will have judgment," said his lordship at last, "*fiat justitia ruat cœlum*, let justice be done whatever be the consequences. Fifty pounds a head may not be a high price: then a loss follows of above £700,000," etc. It is probable, however, that meanwhile many of the slaves had been spirited out of the kingdom pending the decision. This decision put an end to the holding of slaves in bondage in England, but it did nothing more. It did not in the least relieve the mother country of the responsibility of slavery in the colonies. It was admitted in that case that by the laws of the British-American colonies slavery existed, and was recognized by the laws of England as so existing. "The question before the court," said Lord Mansfield, "was whether any dominion, authority, or coercion can be exercised in this country [England] on a slave according to the American laws." The difficulty of adopting the relation without adopting it in all its consequences, his lordship admitted, was extreme. But, in delivering the opinion of the court, slavery, he declared, was of such a nature—was so odious—that nothing could be suffered to support it but positive law. Whatever inconvenience, therefore, might follow from the decision, he could not say that slavery was allowed or approved by the law of England, and therefore the black must be discharged.

This case was heard and decided by the King's bench alone, and was not argued before all the judges, as was usual in habeas corpus cases, nor was it taken to the House of Lords, the supreme court of judicature of the Kingdom. It was, however, acquiesced in by the nation, and has since been regarded as the law of the land. It was, nevertheless, a most extraordinary decision, in view of the well-known historical facts and previous decisions of the courts of England.

The bald question was whether slavery could be recognized to exist under the same government in the colonies and not in

[1] "The Negro Case," State Trials, Vol. XX, pp. 1–82.

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England itself. It was the fundamental law of all the colonies that their laws should not be repugnant nor contrary to the laws of England. This was expressly prescribed in all their charters. If, therefore, slavery was repugnant or contrary to the laws of England, it could not exist in the colonies. So plain is this proposition that Hildreth, the historian, has adduced the result that slavery was never legal in the colonies themselves.[1] This is logical; but to such logical conclusion the courts of England refused to go. This was the difficulty to which Lord Mansfield alluded and declared extreme in the way of adopting the course he did without adopting all of its consequences. There can be little doubt that, had the alternative been pressed upon the court of King's bench—that its decision must revoke slavery in the colonies as well as in England—Somerset would never have been declared free.

The merchants and manufacturers in England clamored for protection to the slave trade, which opened to them the African market. Parliament, by repeated declarations and statutes, had declared the trade lawful, beneficial, and advantageous to the Kingdom and the colonies.[2] The entire number of slaves exported from Africa prior to 1776 was, at the lowest estimation, 3,250,000. More than one-half of these were carried in English ships, and the profits of the traffic to English merchants is reported to have been at least $400,000,000. In the year 1771, the very year in which the Somerset decision was made, there sailed from England alone 192 ships, provided for the exportation of 47,146 slaves.[3] No government could have stood which declared against this trade.

We have seen that two of the greatest lawyers of England, Talbot and Yorke, both afterwards lord chancellors, the latter celebrated as Lord Hardwicke, had given their opinions when attorney and solicitor general, respectively, maintaining the legality of the institution of slavery and protecting it against the apprehended effect of Christian baptism. Chief Justice Holt, it is true, is reported to have held in 1702 "that as soon as a negro comes into England he becomes free."[4] But, as

[1] Hildreth's History of the United States, Vol. II, p. 275.

[2] Bancroft (edition 1883), Vol. II, p. 278.

[3] Cobb on Slavery, p. cliv, citing 3d Bancroft, pp. 411–412; Edwards' West Indies, Vol. II, p. 868; Copley's History of Slavery, p. 114.

[4] Smith v. Brown and Cooper, 2 Lord Raymond's Reports, p. 1274; 2 Salkeld, p. 666.

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Lord Chancellor Hardwicke pointed out in *Pearne* v. *Lislie*, before cited, that was a mere obiter dictum, if the report of the case was correct, for the question before the court was one merely of pleading. The assertion, if made by Holt, was against the fact, if not against the law, for at that time large numbers of negro slaves were held in subjection in the British Isles without question as to the master's title. At one time the negro page was indispensable to the English lady on her daily walks through the city thoroughfares; and for fear "the pure air of Britain" might engender some ideas of liberty, the collar known to the Roman slave was fastened around his neck, with the name and residence of his mistress neatly engraved thereon.[1] At the time of the decision of the "Somerset case," 1771, it was estimated that there were 14,000 or 15,000 negro slaves held in England, and it was to allow their masters an opportunity of getting these out of his jurisdiction that Lord Mansfield withheld his decision.[2]

The case of *Smith* v. *Brown and Cooper*, in which Holt is reported to have made the famous declaration, is reported in the law books, upon reference to which it appears that the question argued before the court was one of special pleading, namely, whether a declaration in *indebitatus assumpsit* would lie for a negro sold. And this is what was actually decided:

"Holt, C. J. You should have averred in the declaration that the sale was in Virginia, and by the laws of that country negroes are salable, for the laws of England do not extend to Virginia. Being a conquered country, and their law is what the King pleases, and we can not take notice of it but as set forth;" therefore he directed that plaintiff should amend, and the declaration should be made that the defendant was indebted to the plaintiff for a negro sold here at London, but that the said negro at the time of sale was in Virginia, and that negroes by the laws of and statutes of Virginia are salable as chattels. Then the attorney-general coming in, said they were inheritances, and transferable by deed, and not without; And—the Reporter adds—nothing was done.

In 1704 there was another case reported in the same books (*Smith* v. *Gould*) in which Chief Justice Holt is again reported to have said that there was no such thing as a slave by the law of England; that men may be owners, and can not, therefore, be the subject of property. But the only point decided was in

[1] Cobb on Slavery, p. cxlvi, citing London Quarterly Review, 1855, Article, "Advertising;" also Granville Sharp's Just Limitation of Slavery, p. 34.

[2] "The Negro Case," State Trials, Vol. XX, p. 79.

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direct contradiction of that dictum, for he held that while the action of "trover lies not for a negro, in trespass *quare captivum suum cepit*, plaintiffs may give in evidence that the party was his negro and he bought him."

Out of decisions upon these subtle distinctions in the old metaphysical technical pleading of the common law has been evolved the celebrated saying that the air of England was too pure to be breathed by a slave. This is all the more curious, too, when it is recalled that Chief Justice Holt was one of the ten judges who declared that "negroes are merchandise and within the navigation acts."[1]

But Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, who, as Attorney-General Yorke, had given the opinion in 1727 that Christian baptism did not release a negro from bondage, in 1749 repudiated not only Chief Justice Holt's obiter dictum, but his actual decision as well.

"I have no doubt," he said in the case of *Pearne* v. *Lisle*, before quoted, "but trover will lie, for a negro slave is as much property as any other thing. The case in Salk., p. 666, was determined on the want of a proper description. It was trover *pro uno Æthiope vocat negro* without saying slave, and the being negro did not necessarily imply slave. *The reason said at the bar to have been given by Lord Chief Justice Holt in that case as the cause of his doubt*, viz, *that the moment a slave sets foot in England he becomes free, has no weight with it, nor can any reason be found why they should not be equally so when they set foot in Jamaica or any other English plantation. All our colonies are subject to the laws of England, although, as to some purposes, they have laws of their own.*"

Until the decision in the Somerset case slavery was thus recognized to exist by every branch of the Government of England, as well in England itself as in the colonies. It was so recognized by the King and his ministers, by Parliament, and by the courts. In that decision Lord Mansfield and his court of King's bench undertook to do what Lord Hardwicke had declared could not be done—to declare one law for England and another for the colonies.

The Government of England, with the sanction of the church, was thus forcing upon Carolina an institution which, with pharasaic zeal, it was declaring itself too righteous to tolerate at home—an institution which from its very nature must incorporate itself with the political and social system of the country, and become so interwoven into its structure as to be eradicated only when in the fullness of time its continuance must end by revolution, war, and desolation.

[1] Bancroft, Vol. III, p. 414; Cobb on Slavery, p. cxliv.

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XXIX.—BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETIES (THE UNITED STATES AND THE DOMINION OF CANADA).

By APPLETON PRENTISS CLARK GRIFFIN.

REPRINTED, WITH ADDITIONS AND REVISION, FROM THE ANNUAL REPORTS OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATIONS FOR 1890 AND 1892.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

By APPLETON PRENTISS CLARK GRIFFIN.

A.—NATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS.

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Washington, D. C.

Organized at Saratoga, N. Y., September 10, 1884. Incorporated by act of Congress, approved January 4, 1889. Reports annually to Congress through the Smithsonian Institution.

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Part 3, July, 1890. The Mutual Obligation of the Ethnologist and the Historian, by Otis T. Mason, pp. 3–13 [203–213]; Historical Survivals in Morocco, by Talcott Williams, pp, 13–34 [213–234]; The Literature of Witchcraft, by Prof. George L. Burr, pp. 35–66 [235–266]; The Development of International Law as to Newly Discovered Territory, by Walter B. Scaife, Ph. D., pp. 67–93 [267–293]; The Spirit of Historical Research, by James Schouler, pp. 95–106 [295–306]; A Defense of Congressional Government, by Dr. Freeman Snow, pp. 107–128 [307–328].

Part 4, October, 1890. Materials for the History of the Government of the Southern Confederacy, by John Osborne Sumner, pp. 3–19 [329–345]; The Constitutional Aspect of Kentucky's Struggle for Autonomy, 1784–1792, by Ethelbert D. Warfield, pp. 21–39 [347–365]; The Pelham Papers—Loss of Oswego, by William Henry Smith, pp. 41–53 [367–379]; Notes on the Outlook for Historical Studies in the South, by Prof. William P. Trent, pp. 55–65 [381–391]; Economic and Social History of New England, 1620–1789, by William B. Weeden, pp. 67–78 [393–404]; The Early History of the Ballot in Connecticut, by Prof. Simeon E. Baldwin, pp. 79–96 [407–422]; Bibliography of the American Historical Association, by Paul Leicester Ford, pp. 97–103 [423–429]; Brief Notes on the Present Condition of Historical Studies in Canada, by George Stewart, jr., D. C. L., LL. D., pp. 105–109 [433–435]; The Trial and Execution of John Brown, by Gen. Marcus J. Wright, pp. 111–126 [437–452]; A Few Facts from the Records of William and Mary College, by President Lyon G. Tyler, pp. 127–141 [453–467]; The Impeachment and Trial of President Johnson, by Dr. William A. Dunning, pp. 143–177 [469–503]; Committees, Historical Societies, etc., 179–211 [505–537].

NOTE.—The publication of the Papers ceased with this volume. The Annual Reports thenceforth took their place.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the year 1889. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1890.

8vo, pp. viii, 427.

Transmitted by the secretary of the Association to the Secretary of the Smith-

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sonian Institution and submitted to Congress in accordance with the act of incorporation of the Association. Printed as Senate Miscellaneous Document No. 170 of the Fifty-first Congress (first session).

Contents: Report of Proceedings at Sixth Annual Meeting, by Herbert B. Adams; Recent Historical Work in the Colleges and Universities of Europe and America, by Charles Kendall Adams; The Spirit of Historical Research, by James Schouler; The Origin of the National Scientific and Educational Institutions of the United States, by G. Brown Goode; A Partial Bibliography of the Published Works of Members of the American Historical Association, by Paul Leicester Ford; Index.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the year 1890. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891.

8vo, pp. x, 310. Price, bound, $4; paper covers, $3.

Transmitted by the secretary of the Association to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution and submitted to Congress in accordance with the act of incorporation of the Association. Printed as Senate Miscellaneous Document No. 83 of the Fifty-first Congress (second session).

An author's edition of each article is also issued in pamphlet form.

Contents: Report of Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, held in Washington, D. C., December 29-31, 1890, by Herbert B. Adams, pp. 3-12; The Demand for Education in American History, inaugural Address by Hon. John Jay, LL. D., pp. 15-36. The following references are abstracts of papers read by the persons named: Canada and the United States from Historical Points of View, by J. G. Bourinot, C. M. G., LL. D., pp. 39, 40; New England Settlements in Acadia, by Benjamin Rand, Ph. D., pp. 41, 42; The Legislative Work of the First Parliament of Upper Canada, by William Houston, M. A., pp., 43, 44; The Fate of Dietrich Flade, by Prof. George L. Burr, p. 47; Theory of Village Community, by Dr. Charles M. Andrews, pp. 49, 50; A Plea for Reform in the Study of English Municipal History, by Dr. Charles Gross, pp. 51, 52; Mirabeau's Speech of May 20, 1790, by Dr. Frederick M. Fling, pp. 53, 54; The Formation of the French Constitution, by Prof. Adolphe Cohn, pp. 55, 56; Karl Follen and the Liberal Movement in Germany, by Prof. Kuno Francke, pp. 57, 58; Bismarck, the Typical German, by William G. Taylor, p. 59; How the Written Ballot came into the United States, by Douglas Campbell, pp. 63-65; A Virginia Bill of Attainder—The Case of Josiah Philips, by Prof. William P. Trent, pp. 67, 68; Amendments to the Constitution of the United States, by Herman V. Ames, pp. 66-70; Congressional Demands upon the Executive for Information, by Edward Campbell Mason, pp. 71, 72; Responsible Government in Canada, by J. G. Bourinot, LL. D., pp. 73, 74; Bills of Rights in State Constitutions, by Gen. R. D. Mussey, pp. 75-77; The Historical Development of the Budget in the United States, p. 81; The Yazoo Land Companies, by Dr. Charles H. Haskins, p. 83; State Activities and Politics, by William F. Willoughby, pp. 85, 86; Slavery in New York—The Status of the Slave under the English Colonial Government, by Edwin Vernon Morgan, A. B., pp. 87, 88; Slavery in the District of Columbia—The Policy of Congress and the Struggle for Abolition, by Mary Tremain, A. M., pp. 89-91; Remarks on Miss Tremain's Paper, by William Birney, pp. 91-93; Raleigh's Settlement on Roanoke Island—An Historical Survival, by Dr. Stephen B. Weeks, pp. 97, 98; The Political Ideas of the Puritans, by Dr. Herbert L. Osgood, pp. 99, 100; State Historical Societies, by Gen. C. W. Darling, pp. 101, 102; Organization of Historical Material, by W. H. Mace, A. M., pp. 103-107; Is History a Science? by Prof. A. H. Dabney, Ph. D., p. 109; Webster's Seventh of March Speech, by James Schouler, pp. 111, 112; The Border Land between the Historian and the Archæologist, by Prof. Otis T. Mason, p. 113; Bibliography of the Writings of the Members of the American Historical Association for the year 1890, by Paul Leicester Ford, pp. 117-160; Bibliography of the Historical Societies of the United States, by Appleton Prentiss Clark Griffin, pp. 161-267; Index, pp. 269-310.

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AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the year 1891. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1892.

8vo, pp. ix, 499. Price, bound, $4; paper covers, $3.

Transmitted by the secretary of the Association to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, and submitted to Congress in accordance with the act of incorporation of the Association. Printed as Senate Miscellaneous Document No. 173 of the Fifty-second Congress (first session).

[An author's edition of each article is also issued in pamphlet form.]

Contents: Report of Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association; held in Washington, D. C., December 29–31, 1891, by Herbert B. Adams, pp. 3–11; Inaugural Address of Hon. William Wirt Henry, LL. D., President of the Association, on the Causes which produced the Virginia of the Revolutionary Period, pp. 15–29; The Expenditures of Foreign Governments in Behalf of History, by Prof. J. Franklin Jameson, pp. 33–61; The United States and International Arbitration, by Prof. John Bassett Moore, pp. 65–85; Some recent Discoveries concerning Columbus, by President Charles Kendall Adams, pp. 89–99; The History and Determination of the Lines of Demarcation established by Pope Alexander VI, between the Spanish and Portuguese Fields of Discovery and Colonization, by Prof. Edward G. Bourne, pp. 103–130; Slavery in the Territories, by President James C. Welling, pp. 133–160; The Enforcement of the Slave-Trade Laws, by W. E. B. Du Bois, pp. 163–174; State Sovereignty in Wisconsin, by Albert H. Sanford, pp. 177–195; The Earliest Texas, by Mrs. Lee C. Harby, pp. 199–205; Governor William Leete and the Absorption of New Haven Colony by Connecticut, by Dr. Bernard C. Steiner, pp. 209–222; The Visitorial Statutes of Andover Seminary, by Prof. Simeon E. Baldwin, LL. D., pp. 226–241; Some Neglected Characteristics of the New England Puritans, by Prof. Barrett Wendell, pp. 245–253; Henry Clay as Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, by Mary Parker Follett, pp. 257–265; Lord Lovelace and the second Canadian Campaign, 1708–1710, by Gen. James Grant Wilson, pp. 269–297; Commerce and Industry of Florence during the Renaissance, by Walter B. Scaife, Ph. D., pp. 301–308; Parliamentary Government in Canada—A Constitutional and Historical Study, by J. G. Bourinot, LL. D., D. C. L., pp. 311–407; Bibliography of Published Writings of Members of the American Historical Association for 1891, by A. Howard Clark, pp. 411–463; Index, pp. 465–499.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the year 1892. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1893.

8vo, pp. vii, 698. Price, bound, $4; paper covers, $3.

Transmitted by the secretary of the Association to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, and submitted to Congress in accordance with the act of incorporation of the Association. Printed as Senate Miscellaneous Document No. 57, Fifty-second Congress (second session).

[An author's edition of each article is also issued in pamphlet form.]

Contents: Summary of the Work of the American Historical Association during the year 1892, by Herbert B. Adams, secretary, pp. 1–16; Copy of Tracts Relating to America (Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries) found in the Bodleian Library, at Oxford, by Prof. James E. Thorold Rogers, and by him obtained for the American Historical Association, pp. 17–70; Some Account of George Washington's Library and Manuscript Records and their Dispersion from Mount Vernon, with an Excerpt from his Diary in 1774 during the First Session of the Continental Congress, with Notes, by J. M. Toner, M. D., pp. 71–169; Lotteries in American History, by A. R. Spofford, Librarian of Congress, pp. 171–195; United States Provisional Court for the State of Louisiana, 1862–1865, by Judge Charles A. Peabody, pp. 197–210; Bibliography of Published Writings of Members of the American Historical Association for the year 1892, by A. Howard Clark, assistant secretary, pp. 211–302; Bibliography of Historical Societies of the United States and British America, by Appleton Prentiss Clark Griffin (continued from Annual Report for 1890), pp. 305–619; Index, pp. 621–698.

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AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the year 1893. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1894.

8vo, pp. x, 605.

[An author's edition of each article is also issued in pamphlet form.]

Contents: Report of Proceedings of Ninth Annual Meeting, in Chicago, July 11-13, 1893, by Herbert B. Adams, secretary, pp. 1-9; Report of the treasurer, pp. 10-11; List of committees, p. 12; Inaugural address of President James B. Angell on the Inadequate Recognition of Diplomatists by Historians, pp. 13-24; The Value of National Archives, by Mrs. Ellen Hardin Walworth, pp. 25-32; American Historical Nomenclature, by Ainsworth R. Spofford, pp. 33-42; The Definition of History, by William Preston Johnston, pp. 43-53; Historical Industries, by James Schouler, pp. 55-66; The Historical Method of Writing the History of Christian Doctrine, by Charles J. Little, pp. 67-75; The Requirements of the Historical Doctorate in America, by Ephraim Emerton, pp. 77-90; The First Fugitive-Slave Case of Record in Ohio, by William Henry Smith, pp. 91-100; The Present Status of Pre-Columbian Discovery of America by Norsemen, by James Phinney Baxter, pp. 101-110; Prince Henry, the Navigator, by Edward Gaylord Bourne, pp. 111-121; The Economic Condition of Spain in the Sixteenth Century, by Bernard Moses, pp. 123-133; The Union of Utrecht, by Lucy M. Salmon, pp. 135-148; English popular Uprisings in the Middle Ages, by George Kriehn, pp. 149-161; Jefferson and the Social Compact Theory, by George P. Fisher, pp. 163-177; The Relation of History to Politics, by Jesse Macy, pp. 179-188; Early Lead Mining in Illinois and Wisconsin, by Reuben Gold Thwaites, pp. 189-195; The Significance of the Frontier in American History, by Frederic J. Turner, pp. 197-227; Roger Sherman in the Federal Convention, by Lewis Henry Boutell, pp. 229-247; The Historical Significance of the Missouri Compromise, by James A. Woodburn, pp. 249-297; The First Legislative Assembly in America, by William Wirt Henry, pp. 299-316; Naturalization in the English Colonies of America, by Miss Cora Start, pp. 317-328; The Establishment of the First Southern Boundary of the United States, by A. B. Hinsdale, pp. 329-366; The Historic Policy of the United States as to Annexation, by Simeon E. Baldwin, pp. 367-390; The Origin of the Standing Committee System in American Legislative Bodies, by J. Franklin Jameson, pp. 391-399; General Joseph Martin and the War of the Revolution in the West, by Stephen B. Weeks, pp. 401, 477; The Annals of an Historic Town, by F. W. Blackmar, pp. 479-499; Contributions toward a Bibliography of American History, 1888-1892, by John Martin Vincent, pp. 501-572; Index, pp. 573-605.

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8vo, pp. xii, 602.

Transmitted by the secretary of the Association to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, and submitted to Congress in accordance with the act of incorporation of the Association. Printed as House Miscellaneous Document No. 91, Fifty-third Congress (third session).

Contents: Report of Proceedings of Tenth Annual Meeting, in Washington, D. C., December 26-28, 1894, by Herbert B. Adams, secretary, pp. 1-16; The Tendency of History, by Henry Adams, President of the Association, pp. 17-24; Rise of Imperial Federalism (abstract), by Prof. George B. Adams, pp. 25-28; The Historical Work of Prof. Herbert Tuttle, by Prof. Herbert B. Adams, pp. 29-38; Turning Points in the Civil War, by Dr. Rossiter Johnson, pp. 39-54; Tributes to Hamilton Fish, Hon. John Jay, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, and others, by Gen. James Grant Wilson, pp. 55-62; The Tejas: their Habits, Government, and Superstitions, by Mrs. Lee C. Harby, pp. 63-82; Why Coronado went to New Mexico in 1540, by George Parker Winship, pp. 83-92; The Casa de Contratacion of Seville, by Prof. Bernard Moses, pp. 93-124; Some European Modifications of the Jury System, by Dr. Walter B. Scaife, pp. 125-140; The Regulators of North Carolina (1765-1771), by Prof. John S. Bassett, pp. 141-212; A Chapter in the Life of

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Charles Robinson, the First Governor of Kansas, by Prof. Frank W. Blackmar, pp. 213–226; The Continental Congress: A neglected Portion of American Revolutionary History, by Dr. Herbert Friedenwald, pp. 227–236; The Labor Movement in English Politics, by Edward Porritt, pp. 237–246; The Organization of the First Committee of Public Safety, by Prof. Henry E. Bourne, pp. 247–272; The Quebec Act and the American Revolution, by Victor Coffin, pp. 273–280; The Historical Archives of the State Department, by Andrew Hussey Allen, pp. 281–298; Appeals from Colonial Courts to the King in Council, with special reference to Rhode Island, by Harold D. Hazeltine, pp. 299–350; Rhode Island and the Impost of 1781, by Frank Greene Bates, pp. 351–360; The Constitutional Controversy in Rhode Island in 1841, by Arthur May Mowry, pp. 361–370; Party Struggles over the Pennsylvania Constitution, by Samuel B. Harding, pp. 371–402; Evolution of Township Government in Ohio, by James Alva Wilgus, pp. 403–412; The Western Posts and the British Debts, by Prof. A. C. McLaughlin, pp. 413–444; Existing Autographs of Christopher Columbus, by William Eleroy Curtis, pp. 445–518; Mountains and History, by Prof. Edmund K. Alden, pp. 519–530; Causes and Consequences of the Party Revolution of 1800, by Prof. Anson D. Morse, pp. 531–540; The Tennis Court Oath, by Prof. James H. Robinson, pp. 541–548; What the United States Government has done for History, by A. Howard Clark, pp. 549–562; Bibliography of the Colonial History of South Carolina, by Edson L. Whitney, pp. 563–586; Index, pp. 587–602.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. New Views of Early Virginia History, 1606–1619. By Alexander Brown. Liberty, Va., 1886.

12mo, pp. (2), 18.

Written by request, to be read before the Association in 1886. Copious extracts were read by Charles Deane in the absence of the author.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. The Constitutional Relations of the American Colonies to the English Government at the Commencement of the American Revolution. A Paper read before the Association in Boston, May 23, 1887, by Mellen Chamberlain. [Boston, 1887.]

8vo, pp. 24.

Reprinted from *Papers of the American Historical Association*, Vol. III, 1888, pp. 52–74.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. The Manuscript Sources of American History. An Address before the Association, May 21, 1887, by the president, Justin Winsor, with the action of the Association thereon. New York, 1887.

Sm. 4to, pp. 20–34.

Reprinted (50 copies) from the *Magazine of American History*, July, 1887, pp. 21–34.

Printed also in *Papers of the American Historical Association*, Vol. III, pp. 9–27.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. Territorial Growth of the United States. Our Title to Oregon. By W. A. Mowry. Boston, 1887.

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Read before the Association in 1886.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. The Peace Negotiations of 1782–83, as illustrated by the Secret Correspondence of France and England. A Paper read before the Association, May, 1887, by John Jay. New York, 1888.

8vo, pp. 22.

Reprinted from *Papers of the American Historical Association*, Vol. III, pp. 79–100.

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AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. The Early Northwest. An address before the American Historical Association at the fifth annual meeting, Washington, December 26, 1888, by the President, William Frederick Poole, LL. D. New York, 1889.

8vo, pp. 20.

Reprinted from *Papers of the American Historical Association*, Vol. III, pp. 275–300.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. Museum-History and Museums of History. A paper read before the Association, December 26–28, 1888, by G. Brown Goode. New York, 1889.

8vo, pp. 12.

Reprinted from *Papers of the American Historical Association*, Vol. III.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. The Origin of the National Scientific and Educational Institutions of the United States. By G. Brown Goode. New York, 1890.

8vo, pp. 112.

Reprinted from *Papers of the American Historical Association*, Vol. IV.

Printed also, with some additions, in Annual Report of the Association for 1889.

2. *AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Flourished 1835 to 1840.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Transactions of the American Historical Society, instituted at the city of Washington, October 12, 1835. Vol. I. Washington, 1839.

8vo.

[This volume is made up of documents relating to the society, discourses pronounced by the president, and thirteen tracts collected by Peter Force, a member of the society, who presented them to the society. These tracts commonly form the first volume of Force's Tracts, published in four volumes, but are here issued as part of Vol. I of the Transactions of the Society.]

Contents: Preface; Circular; Constitution; By-laws; Officers; Members, Catalogue of books, medals, and prints belonging to the society, pp. 22. A discourse before the society, January 30, 1836, by Lewis Cass, president, Washington, 1836–37, pp. 53. A discourse before the society at their second annual meeting, January 20, 1837, by Levi Woodbury, Washington, 1837, pp. 63. Tracts and other papers relating principally to the origin, settlement, and progress of the colonies in North America, from the discovery of the country to the year 1776, collected by Peter Force, Vol. I, Washington, 1836, containing: (1) A discourse concerning the design'd establishment of a new colony to the south of Carolina, by Sir Robert Mountgomry, London, 1717, pp. 24, folded plan; (2) A brief account of the establishment of the colony of Georgia, under James Oglethorpe, February 1, 1733, Washington, 1835, pp. 15; (3) A State of the Province of Georgia, November 10, 1740, London, 1742, pp. 20; (4) A true and historical narrative of the Colony of Georgia, by Patrick Tailfer, Hugh Anderson, Da. Douglass, and others, Charleston, S. C., 1741, pp. xiii, 80; (5) An account shewing the progress of the colony of Georgia from its first establishment, London, 1741, pp. v, 56; (6) Nova Britannia, offering most excellent fruites by planting in Virginia, London, 1609, pp. 28; (7) The new life of Virginia, published by authoritie of His Majestie's counsell of Virginea, London, 1612, pp. 24; (8) The beginning, progress, and conclusion of Bacon's rebellion in 1675 and 1676, Washington, 1835, pp. 26; (9) An account of our late troubles in Virginia, written in 1676, by Mrs. An. Colton, Washington, 1835, pp. 11; (10) A list of those that have been executed for the late rebellion in Virginia by Sir William Berkeley, governor of the colony, Washington, 1835, pp. 4; (11) A narrative of the Indian and civil wars in Virginia in 1675 and 1676, Boston, 1814, pp. 47; (12) New England Plantation, written by a reuerend diuine now there resident, London, 1630, pp. 14; (13) A petition of W. C., exhibited to the high court of Parliament, now assembled, for the propagating of the Gospel in America, printed 1641, pp. 11.

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AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY. A Discourse at the Capitol of the United States, in the Hall of Representatives, before the American Historical Society, January 30, 1836, by Lewis Cass, to which are prefixed its constitution and the names of its members. Washington, 1836.

8vo, pp. 58.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY. A Discourse at the Capitol of the United States, in the Hall of Representatives, before the American Historical Society, at their second annual meeting, January 20, 1837, by Levi Woodbury. Washington, 1837.

8vo, pp. 67.

3. *AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.*

Worcester, Mass.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. An account of the American Antiquarian Society, prepared by Isaiah Thomas. Boston, 1813.

8vo, pp. 32.

With the act of incorporation, by-laws, and list of officers.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. An address to the members of the Society, pronounced in King's Chapel, Boston, on their first anniversary, October 23, 1813. By William Jenks. Boston, 1813.

8vo, pp. 28.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. An address delivered before the Society, in King's Chapel, Boston, on their second anniversary, October 24, 1813. By Abiel Holmes. Boston, 1814.

8vo, pp. 29 (1).

Also contains list of officers elected October 24, 1814. Some copies have also a list of officers and other members, October 24, 1814, and a list of donations. 21 pp.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. An address to the members of the Society, pronounced in King's Chapel, Boston, on their third anniversary, October 23, 1815. By William Paine. Worcester, 1815.

8vo, pp. 27.

With list of officers elected October 23, 1815.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. By-laws. Resolutions of Congress and of the General Court of Massachusetts. [Worcester], 1815.

8vo, pp. 8.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Communication from the president of the Society [Isaiah Thomas] to the members, October 24, 1814, together with the laws of the Society, as revised. Worcester, [1815].

8vo, pp. 27, (8).

Pages 13–27 contain list of officers and other members, October 24, 1814, articles presented to the Society, etc.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Address to the members of the Society, together with the laws and regulations of the institution, and a list of donations to the Society since the last publication. Worcester, 1819.

8vo, pp. 38.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. An address at Worcester, August 24, 1820, before the Society, at the opening of Antiquarian Hall, that day received as a donation from the president of the Society. By Isaac Goodwin. Worcester, 1820.

8vo, pp. 17, (1). Plate.

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AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Archæologia Americana. Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society, Vol. I. Worcester, 1820.

8vo, pp. 436. Folded map. Plates.

Contents: Preface; List of Officers elected October, 1819; Origin of the Society; Account of the Discovery of the River Mississippi, by Lewis Hennepin; Account of La Salle's Undertaking to discover the River Mississippi, by Lewis Hennepin; Description of the Antiquities Discovered in Ohio and other Western States, by Caleb Atwater; Conjectures Respecting the ancient Inhabitants of North America, by Moses Fiske; Antiquities and Curiosities of Western Pennsylvania, by Timothy Alden; Communications from Samuel Mitchell; Remarkable Cave in Kentucky, described by J. H. Farnham; An Account of an exsiccated Body or Mummy, found in said Cave, by Charles Wilkins; Account of the Caraibs, who inhabited the Antilles, by William Sheldon; Account of a great and extraordinary Cave in Indiana, by Benjamin Adams. Worcester, 1790. 436 pp. Folded map. Plates.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Archæologia Americana. Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society, Vol. II. Cambridge, 1836.

8vo, pp. xxx (1) (573) (1). Folded map.

Contents: Preface; Officers of the Society for 1835-36; A memoir of Isaiah Thomas, by Samuel M. Burnside; A synopsis of the Indian tribes of North America, by Albert Gallatin; An historical account of the doings and sufferings of the Christian Indians of New England, by Daniel Gookin; A description of a leaden plate or medal found near the mouth of the Muskingum River, in Ohio, by De Witt Clinton; A description of the ruins of Copan in Central America, by Juan Galindo; A letter from Adam Clarke to Peter S. Duponceau; Obituary notice of Christopher C. Baldwin, by John Davis; Catalogue of the members of the Society.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Archæologia Americana. Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society, Vol. III. 1857.

8vo, pp. cxxxviii, 378.

Contents: Advertisement; Records of the company of the Massachusetts Bay, to the embarkation of Winthrop and his associates for New England; The diaries of John Hull, mint-master and treasurer of the colony of Massachusetts Bay; Memoir of Thomas Lindall Winthrop, by George Folsom; Memoir of John Davis, by Thomas Kinnicutt; Officers and Members of the Society, 1856; Index.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Archæologia Americana. Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society, Vol. IV. Worcester, 1860.

8vo, pp. viii, 355. Illustrations. Folded map.

Contents: Advertisement; Officers; Original documents from the state-paper office, London, and the British Museum, illustrating the history of Sir Walter Raleigh's first American colony, and the colony at Jamestown; "A discourse of Virginia," by Edward Maria Wingfield; New England's rarities discovered, by John Josselyn; Narrative of a voyage to Spitzbergen in 1613, at the charge of the Fellowship of English Merchants for the discovery of new trades, commonly called the Muscovy Company; Appendix: Life of Sir Ralph Lane, by E. E. Hale; Notice of Samuel Jennison, by S. Salisbury; Index.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Archæologia Americana. Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society. Vols. V-VI. Albany, 1874.

Two vols., 8vo. Vol. I, pp. lxxxvii, 423, portrait. Vol. II, pp. viii, 666, 47.

Contents: The history of printing in America, with a biography of printers, and an account of newspapers. By Isaiah Thomas. Second edition, with the

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author's corrections and additions, and a catalogue of American publications previous to the Revolution of 1776. Published under the supervision of a special committee of the Society.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Archæologia Americana. Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society. Vol. VII. Cambridge, 1885.

8vo, pp. xxviii, 460.

Contents: Notebook kept by Thomas Lechford, lawyer in Boston, from June 27, 1638, to July 29, 1641.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Report presented at the Annual Meeting, October, 1821. By Rejoice Newton and Samuel Jennison. Worcester, 1821.

8vo, pp. 2. No title-page.

Second edition, Cambridge, 1868. pp. 2 (1).

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. By-laws, October 24, 1831. [Worcester, 1831.]

32mo, pp. 7. No title-page.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. An address delivered before the Society, at their Annual Meeting, October 23, 1855, in relation to the Character and Services of their late Librarian, Christopher C. Baldwin, esq. By William Lincoln. Worcester, 1835.

8vo, pp. 19.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. A catalogue of the books in the library of the Society. Worcester, 1837.

8vo, issued by letters, paged independently as follows: pp. 8, 21, 52, 51, 22, 41, 18, 20, 30, 4, 8, 7, 20, 52, 15, 6, 45, 3, 20, 42, 22, 12, 5, 39, 2, 1, 5.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Circular letter to governors of the States, asking for State documents. Worcester, 1838.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Catalogue of the officers and members, May, 1839. Worcester, 1839.

8vo, pp. 15 (1).

Usually found with the fifty-third semiannual report, in one pamphlet.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Fifty-third semiannual report of the council of the Society, May 29, 1839; with the report of the librarian. Worcester, 1839.

8vo, pp. 16, 15 (1), 3 (1).

Contains also the "Catalogue of the officers and members, May, 1839," with a separate title-page. Following the catalogue is an abstract from annual reports of the council, treasurer, and librarian, October 23, 1839.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings of the Society at their Annual Meeting, May 31, 1843. Worcester, 1843.

8vo, pp. 11.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings of the Society at their Thirty-first Annual Meeting, October 23, 1843. Worcester, 1843.

8vo, pp. 16.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings of the Society at their Meeting, October 23, 1849. Cambridge, 1850.

8vo, pp. 32.

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AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at Meetings of the Society in Boston, May 29, and in Worcester, October 23, 1850. Worcester, [1850].
8vo, pp. 18.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at Meetings of the Society in Boston, April 30, 1851; in Worcester, October 23, 1851, and in Boston, April 28, 1852. Worcester, [1852].
8vo, pp. 44.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at a Meeting of the Society in Worcester, October 23, 1852. Worcester, 1852.
8vo, pp. 33 (1). Three plates.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at Meetings of the Society in Boston, April 27, 1853, and in Worcester, October 24, 1853. Worcester, [1853].
8vo, pp. 35.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at a Meeting of the Society in Boston, April 26, 1854. Boston, 1854.
8vo, pp. 47.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at a Meeting of the Society in Worcester, October 23, 1854. Boston, 1854.
8vo, pp. 29.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Notice of the life and character of Hon. John Davis, read before the Society, on the 26th of April, 1854, by Thomas Kinnicutt. Boston, 1854.
8vo, pp. 26.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Catalogue of the officers and members, October, 1855. Boston, 1855.
8vo, pp. 20.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at a Meeting of the Society in Boston, April 25, 1855. Boston, 1855.
8vo, pp. 36.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at a Meeting of the Society in Worcester, October 22, 1855. [With a list of Officers and Members.] Boston, 1855.
8vo, pp. 54.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at Meetings of the Society in Boston, April 30, 1856, and Worcester, October 21, 1856. Boston, 1856.
8vo, pp. 67.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Memoir of Thomas Lindall Winthrop, second president of the Society. By George Folsom. Boston, 1857.
8vo, pp. 317-343.
Reprinted from the *Transactions*.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the Semi-annual Meeting of the Society held in Boston, April 29, 1857. Boston, 1857.
8vo, pp. 36.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the Annual Meeting of the Society held in Worcester, October 21, 1857. Boston, 1857.
8vo, pp. 51.

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AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the Semiannual Meeting of the Society held in Boston, April 28, 1858. Boston, 1858.
8vo, pp. 32.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the Annual Meeting of the Society held in Worcester, October 21, 1857. Boston, 1858.
8vo, pp. 38.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings of the Semiannual Meeting of the Society in Boston, April 27, 1859. Boston, 1859.
8vo, pp. 32.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the Annual Meeting of the Society held in Worcester, October 21, 1859. Boston, 1859.
8vo, pp. 35.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings of the Society at a special meeting held in Worcester, February 10, 1859. Boston, 1859.
8vo, pp. 30.
On the occasion of the death of W. H. Prescott.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the Semi-annual Meeting of the Society held in Boston, April 25, 1860. Boston, 1860.
8vo, pp. 47.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the Annual Meeting of the Society held in Worcester, October 22, 1860. Boston, 1860.
8vo, pp. 50.
Contains a report upon the American coins and tokens in the cabinet of the Society, prepared by Nathaniel Paine.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the Meeting of the Society in Boston, April 24, 1861. Boston, 1861.
8vo, pp. 42.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the Annual Meeting of the Society held in Worcester, October 21, 1861. Boston, 1861.
8vo, pp. 62.
Pages 43-62 contain "An essay on the time of making the statues of [Michael Angelo's] Christ and Moses." Read before the Council of the Society September 30, 1861, and before the Society October 21, 1861, by Stephen Salisbury.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the Meeting of the Society in Boston, April 30, 1862. Boston, 1862.
8vo, pp. 53.
Pages 45-53 contain a paper entitled "The name of California," by E. E. Hale.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the Meeting of the Society in Worcester, October 21, 1862. Boston, 1862.
8vo, pp. 40.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the Semiannual Meeting of the Society in Boston, April 29, 1863. Boston, 1863.
8vo, pp. 63.
Pages 40-63 contain "Indications of ancient customs, suggested by certain cranial forms," by Daniel Wilson.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the Annual Meeting of the Society held in Worcester, October 21, 1863. Boston, 1863.
8vo, pp. 72.
Pages 33-72 contain the address of Dr. William Jenks in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Society.

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AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the Semi-annual Meeting of the Society held in Boston, April 7, 1864. Boston, 1864.

8vo, pp. 66. Woodcuts.

Pages 59–66 contain "Remarks on a Latin inscription lately found at Castine, in the State of Maine," by Charles Folsom.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the Annual Meeting of the Society held in Worcester, October 21, 1864. Boston, 1864.

8vo, pp. 80.

Pages 52–58 contain "Some notes on Roanoke Island and James River," by Edward E. Hale, followed by remarks by Charles Deane, pp. 59–80.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the Semiannual Meeting of the Society held in Boston, April 26, 1865. Boston, 1865.

8vo, pp. 67.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the Annual Meeting of the Society held in Worcester, October 21, 1865. Cambridge, 1866.

8vo, pp. 71.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at a Special Meeting of the Society, March 16, 1866, and at the Semi-annual Meeting in Boston, April 25, 1866. Cambridge, 1866.

8vo, pp. 117. Plate. Diagram.

The report of the council by Nathaniel Paine is largely taken up with a historical sketch of currency.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings of the Society at a Special Meeting, March 16, 1866. Cambridge, 1866.

8vo, pp. 18.

On the death of Jared Sparks.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings of the Society at a Special Meeting, January 17, 1865, in reference to the death of their former president, Edward Everett. Boston, 1865.

8vo, pp. 29.

Reprinted in "A memorial of Edward Everett, from the city of Boston," pp. 239–267. Boston, 1865.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the Annual Meeting of the Society held in Worcester, October 20, 1866, and at the special meeting held in Worcester, November 15, 1866. Cambridge, 1866.

8vo, pp. 48.

Pages 41–48 contain "Tribute to the Rev. William Jenks, D. D."

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the Semiannual Meeting of the Society held in Boston, April 24, 1867. Cambridge, 1867.

8vo, pp. 131.

Pages 38–50 contain "Remarks of Edward E. Hale on Mr. Bergenroth's letter." Pages 51–131, "Records of the council for New England," edited by Charles Deane.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the Annual Meeting of the Society held in Worcester, October 21, 1867. Worcester, 1867.

8vo, pp. 91.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at a Special Meeting of the Society held in Worcester June 2, 1868, to take notice of the death of their senior vice-president, Hon. Levi Lincoln. Worcester, 1868.

8vo, pp. 29.

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AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the Semiannual Meeting of the Society in Boston, April 29, 1868. Worcester, 1868.

8vo, pp. 82.

Pages 45–50 contain Catalogue of "Indian Relics;" pp. 51–79, Report of John R. Bartlett, as a Delegate to the International Archæological Congress at Antwerp; pp. 80–82 contain "The author of the relation of 'Captain Newport's discoveries in Virginia.'"

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the Annual Meeting of the Society held in Worcester, October 21, 1868. Worcester, 1869.

8vo, pp. 62.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the Semi-annual Meeting of the Society held in Boston, April 28, 1869. Worcester, 1869.

8vo, pp. 79. Two folded plates.

Pages 53–79 contain "Ancient tumuli in Georgia," by Charles C. Jones, jr.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the Annual Meeting of the Society held in Worcester, October 21, 1869. Worcester, 1869.

8vo, pp. 53.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the Semiannual Meeting of the Society held in Boston, April 27, 1870. Worcester, 1870.

8vo, pp. 52.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the Annual Meeting of the Society held in Worcester, October 21, 1870. Worcester, 1870.

8vo, pp. 68.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the Semiannual Meeting of the Society held at Boston, April 26, 1871. Worcester, 1871.

8vo, pp. 55.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the Annual Meeting of the Society held in Worcester, October 21, 1871. Worcester, 1872.

8vo, pp. 66. Map.

The report of the Council, by E. E. Hale, treats of the history of discovery in the Pacific.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the Semiannual Meeting of the Society held in Boston, April 23, 1872. Worcester, 1872.

8vo, pp. 85. Map.

Pages 65–82 contain a paper "On the likelihood of an admixture of Japanese blood on our northwest coast," by Horace Davis; pp. 83–85, "The cosmogony of Dante and Columbus," by Edward E. Hale.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the Annual Meeting of the Society held in Worcester, October 21, 1872. Worcester, 1873.

8vo, pp. 53.

Pages 43–53 contain "The Star-Spangled Banner and national songs," by Stephen Salisbury.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the Semiannual Meeting of the Society held in Boston, April 30, 1873. Worcester, 1873.

8vo, pp. 92. Plate.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the Annual Meeting of the Society held at Worcester, October 21, 1873. Worcester, 1874.

8vo, pp. 154. Map.

The Report of the Council, by J. Hammond Trumbull, is mainly devoted to an account of the origin and early progress of Indian missions in New England. Pp. 45–62 contain "Books and tracts in the Indian language, or designed for the use of the Indians, printed at Cambridge and Boston, 1653–1721," by J. Hammond

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Trumbull; pp. 83–92, "Early maps in Munich," by Edward E. Hale; pp. 93–96, "Note on Robert Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, and his Arcano del Mare;" pp. 97–99, "Remarks of Prof. Smyth on some of the connections, by marriage, of Columbus;" pp. 101–112, "Memorandum as to the discovery of the Bay of San Francisco," by John T. Doyle, with introductory remarks, by John D. Washburn; pp. 113–154. "Memorial of Governor Endecott," by Stephen Salisbury.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the Semiannual Meeting of the Society held in Boston, April 29, 1874. Worcester, 1874.

8vo, pp. 67.

Pages 59–67 contain "The great awakening," by Isaac Smucker.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the Annual Meeting of the Society held in Worcester, October 21, 1874. Worcester, 1875.

8vo, pp. 50.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the Semiannual Meeting of the Society held in Boston, April 28, 1875. Worcester, 1875.

8vo, pp. 89.

The Report of the Council, by Stephen Salisbury (pp. 21–67), discusses Schliemann's discoveries.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the Annual Meeting held at Worcester, October 21, 1875. Worcester, 1876.

8vo, pp. 78. Folded map.

Pages 49–63 contain "Records of the Council for New England," by Charles Deane; pp. 65–78, "The criminal laws of Massachusetts," substance of the remarks of Judge Aldrich.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the Semiannual Meeting of the Society held in Boston, April 26, 1876. Worcester, 1876.

8vo, pp. 104.

The Report of the Council, by Stephen Salisbury, jr. (pp. 19–61), concerns the Maya antiquities of Yucatan; pp. 89–104 contain "Historical and bibliographical notes on the laws of New Hampshire," by Albert H. Hoyt.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the Annual Meeting of the Society held in Worcester, October 21, 1876. Worcester, 1876.

8vo, pp. 75.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at a Special Meeting of the Society held in Worcester, March 20, 1877, to take notice of the death of their associate, Hon. Emory Washburn, LL. D. Worcester, 1877.

8vo, pp. 18.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the Semiannual Meeting of the Society held in Boston, April 25, 1877. Worcester, 1877.

8vo, pp. 119. Photographs. Heliotypes.

Pages 57–63 contain The Copper Age in Wisconsin, by James Davie Butler; pp. 64–69, The Davenport Tablets, by R. J. Farquharson; pp. 70–119, Dr. Le Plongeon in Yucatan, the discovery of a statue called Chac Mool, and the communications of Dr. Augustus Le Plongeon concerning explorations in the Yucatan Peninsula, by Stephen Salisbury, jr.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the Annual Meeting of the Society held in Worcester, October 22, 1877. Worcester, 1878.

8vo, pp. 112 (1).

The Report of the Council, by Charles Deane (pp. 12–77) treats of the "Convention of Saratoga."

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the Semiannual Meeting of the Society held in Boston, April 24, 1878. Worcester, 1878.

8vo, pp. 110. Two plans.

Pages 38–42 contain Remarks on the Death of Rev. Dr. Sweetser, by Rev. Dr.

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Robbins; pp. 43–64, Massachusetts and Maine, their Union and Separation, by P. Emory Aldrich; pp. 65–69, On the Decrease of the Relative Number of College-Educated Men in Massachusetts during the Present Century, by Edward Hitchcock; pp. 71–89, Terra-Cotta Figure from Isla Mujeres, Northeast Coast of Yucatan, by Stephen Salisbury, jr.; pp. 91–110, The Mexican Calendar Stone, by Philipp J. J. Valentini, translated by Stephen Salisbury, jr.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the Annual Meeting of the Society held in Worcester, October 21, 1878. Worcester, 1879.

8vo, pp. 131. Illustrated. Heliotypes. Portrait.

Pages 65–75 contain Archæological Communication on Yucatan, by Augustus Le Plongeon; pp. 77–106, Notes on Yucatan, by Alice D. Le Plongeon; pp. 116–126, Reinterment of Isaiah Thomas, LL. D., Founder of the Society; pp. 126–131, Reception of Governor John Winthrop at Salem, June 12, 1630, a Sequel to the Memorial of Governor John Endicott, in Proceedings of Society, October 21, 1873, by Stephen Salisbury.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the Semiannual Meeting of the Society held in Boston, April 30, 1879. Worcester, 1879.

8vo, pp. 120. Illustrated. Portrait.

Pages 63–69 contain Proceedings at the Presentation of a Portrait of Samuel F. Haven, LL. D., librarian of the Society since April, 1838; pp. 71–79, A Day at Mount Vernon in 1797, by Hamilton B. Staples; pp. 81–112, Mexican Copper Tools, by Philipp J. J. Valentini, from the German, by Stephen Salisbury, jr.; pp. 113–117, Letter from Dr. Augustus Le Plongeon [on the Maya language, etc.].

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the Annual Meeting of the Society held in Worcester, October 21, 1879. Worcester, 1879.

8vo, pp. 117. Illustrated.

Pages 71–117 contain the Katunes of Maya history, by Philipp J. J. Valentini, translated from the German by Stephen Salisbury, jr.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the Semiannual Meetings of the Society held in Boston, April 28, 1880. Worcester, 1880.

8vo, pp. 91, 2. Illustrated.

Pages 53–58 contain Remarks of Dr. Deane on the Late Vice-President Lenox; pp. 59–91, The Landa Alphabet, a Spanish Fabrication, by Philipp J. J. Valentini. The two pages at the end are inserted, having been omitted unintentionally when the number was printed.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society. New series, Vol. I, 1880–81. Worcester, 1882.

8vo, pp. xiii, 485. Illustrated. Portrait.

Contents: Prefatory note; Officers from 1812 to 1881, and members, January 1, 1881; Officers elected October, 1880; Annual meeting, October 21, 1880; Proceedings at the meeting; Report of the Council, by Stephen Salisbury; Report of the librarian; Donors and donations; Report of the treasurer; Personal recollections of Baron Visconti, by R. C. Winthrop; Mexican paper, by Ph. J. J. Valentini; Notes on the bibliography of Yucatan and Central America, by Ad. F. Bandelier. Semiannual meeting, April 27, 1881: Proceedings at the meeting; Report of the Council, by Nathaniel Paine; List of orderly books and kindred records in the library of the Society; Report on the library; Donors and donations; Report of the Treasurer: The centennial of the Massachusetts constitution, by Alexander H. Bullock; Coronado's discovery of the seven cities, by Edward E. Hale; Mayapan and Maya inscriptions, by Augustus Le Plongeon; Two Mexican Chalchihuites, the Humboldt celt and the Leyden plate, by Philipp J. J. Valentini. Annual meeting October 21, 1881: Proceedings; Report of the Council, by E. E. Hale; Report on the library; Donors and donations; Report of the treasurer; Action of the Council on the death of Samuel F. Haven; Origin of the names of the States of the Union, by Hamilton B. Staples; Humerus found at Concord, Mass., letter from Edward S. Hoar; President Garfield's New England ancestry, by George F. Hoar; Tithingmen, by Herbert B. Adams; What is the true site of

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"The seven cities of Cibola," visited by Coronado in 1540, by Henry W. Haynes; The testimony of Fabyan's Chronicle to Hakluyt's account of the Cabots, by George Dexter; English officers in America, by E. E. Hale; Report on by-laws; By-laws adopted, October 21, 1881; Rules and regulations for the government of the library; Errata; Index.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society. New series, Vol II, 1882–83. Worcester, 1883.

8vo, pp. viii, 383. Illustrated. Folded map.

Contents: Part 1. Prefatory note; Semiannual meeting, April 26, 1882; Proceedings; Report of the Council, by Egbert C. Smyth; Appendix to Report of the Council [on the catacombs of Rome]; Report on the library; Donors and donations; Report of the treasurer; Robert Boyle, by Charles O. Thompson; Note upon the perforated Indian humerus found at Concord, Mass., by Henry W. Haynes; Note by committee of publication; Notes on Mitla, by Louis H. Aymé. Part 2. Annual meeting, October 21, 1882; Report of the Council, by George F. Hoar; Report on the library; Donors and donations; A visit to Palos and Rabida, by Edward E. Hale; Notes on the history of witchcraft in Massachusetts, by George H. Moore; The Olmecas and the Tultecas, by Philipp J. J. Valentini; An ancient document of the house of Washington, by Edward G. Porter; Notes on copper implements from Mexico, by Frederick W. Putnam. Part 3. Semiannual meeting, April 25, 1883; Proceedings; Report of the Council, by John D. Washburn; Report on the library; Donors and donations; Report of the treasurer; Action of the Council on the death of Isaac Davis; Gleanings from the sources of the history of the second parish, Worcester, Mass., by Samuel S. Green; The journey of Moncacht Apé, by Andrew McFarland Davis; Iron from the Ohio mounds; a review of the statements and misconceptions of two writers of over sixty years ago, by Frederick W. Putnam; Notes upon ancient soapstone quarries, worked for the manufacture of cooking utensils, by Henry W. Haynes; Index to Vol. II.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society. New series, Vol. III, October, 1883–April, 1885. Worcester, 1885.

8vo, pp. viii, 532. Illustrated. Plate. Portrait.

Contents: Note; Annual meeting, October 21, 1883; Proceedings; Report of the Council, by George Bancroft, Stephen Salisbury; Report of the librarian; Donors and donations; Report of the treasurer; Semiannual meeting, April 30, 1884; Proceedings; Report of the Council, by P. Emory Aldrich; Report of the librarian; Donors and donations; Report of the treasurer; The province laws, by Hamilton B. Staples; The stone implements of Asia, by Heinrich Fischer; Memoir of C. H. Berendt, by D. G. Brinton; Action of the Council, April 30, 1884, on the death of President Salisbury; Annual meeting, October 21, 1884; Proceedings: Notices of the death of President Salisbury; Memorial, by Andrew P. Peabody; Letter from George Bancroft; Action of Massachusetts Historical Society; Action of New England Historical and Genealogical Society; Report of the Council, by J. Hammond Trumbull, Samuel S. Green; Report of the treasurer; Report of the librarian; Donors and donations; Notes on copper implements of America, by Henry W. Haynes; Semiannual meeting, April 29, 1885; Report of the Council, by George F. Hoar; Report of the treasurer; Report of the librarian; Donors and donations; Authorship of the Federalist, by Henry Cabot Lodge; The history of Connecticut as illustrated by the names of her towns, by Franklin B. Dexter; Semilunar and crescent-shaped tools, by Ph. J. J. Valentini; French fabrications, or blunders in American linguistics, by Henry W. Haynes; Notices of deceased members: Ellis Ames, by Thomas L. Nelson; Edward Jarvis, by Samuel S. Green; William Barry, by William F Poole; Porter C. Bliss, by J. Evarts Greene; Samuel C. Damon, by Ebenezer Cutler; George H. Preble, by Nathaniel Paine; Charles O. Thompson, by P Emory Aldrich; Officers elected, October, 1884; List of members, May 1, 1885; Index to Vol. III.

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AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society. New series, Vol. IV, October, 1885–April, 1887. Worcester, 1888.

8vo, pp. viii, 396.

Contents: Proceedings, October 21, 1885: Lechford notebook; Ohio mounds; Report of the Council; The fallacies of history, by A. P. Peabody; Report of the treasurer; Report of the librarian; Donors and donations. Proceedings, April 28, 1886: Central American jades; Report of the Council; Voluntary system in the maintenance of ministers in the colonies of Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth, by Samuel S. Green; Report of the treasurer; Report of the librarian; Donors and donations; English sources of American dialect, by Thomas Wentworth Higginson. Proceedings, October 21, 1886: The slave trade; Orderly books; The Franklin papers; Report of the Council; The connection of Massachusetts with slavery and the slave trade, by Charles Deane; Report of the treasurer; Report of the librarian; Donors and donations; Archæological research in Yucatan, by Edward H. Thompson. Proceedings, April 27, 1887; Cypres; Earl Perry letters; Sketch of Hon. John Davis; Colony of Nox; Report of the Council; The great charitable trusts of England, by C. S. Chase; Pliny Earle Chase, by Samuel S. Green; Report of the treasurer; Report of the librarian; Donors and donations; The Roxbury Latin School, by J. Evarts Greene; Selections from letters received by David Daggett, 1786-1802, by Franklin J. Dexter; Explorations in Yucatan, by Edward H. Thompson; Index.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society. New series, Vol. V, October, 1887–October, 1888. Worcester, 1889.

8vo, pp. viii (2), 508.

Contents: The Roxbury Latin School; Ruined building at Labna, Yucatan; Report of the Council [with obituary notices of Ben: Perley Poore, Elias Nason, Charles Rau, and Spencer Fullerton Baird]; Estimates of population in the American colonies, by Franklin B. Dexter; Report of the treasurer; Report of the librarian; Donors and donations; King Philip's war, with special reference to the attack on Brookfield in August, 1675, by Grindall Reynolds; Wheeler's defeat, 1675—where? by Lucius R. Paige; The early African slave trade in New England, by William B. Weeden; The first scholarship at Harvard College, by Andrew McFarland Davis; Roger Williams, freeman of Massachusetts, by Reuben A. Guild; The Roxbury Latin School, by J. Evarts Greene. Proceedings, April 25, 1888: Remarks of Hamilton B. Staples; Ruins at Kich-Moo and Chun-Kat-Tin; Report of the Council; Early books and libraries, by Stephen Salisbury; Report of the treasurer; Report of the librarian; Donors and donations; Notes on the bibliography of witchcraft in Massachusetts, by George H. Moore; Photography as an aid to local history, by George E. Francis; Monetary unification, by Robert Noxon Toppan; The Cambridge Press, by Andrew McF. Davis; The legislative history of the ordinance of 1787, by John M. Merriam. Proceedings, October, 1888: Action of the Council; Death of Joseph Sargent, M. D.; Report of the Council; Naval history of the Revolution, by Edward E. Hale; Report of the treasurer; Report of the librarian; Donors and donations; The case of Bathsheba Spooner, by Samuel Swett Green; Hopkinsianism, by Andrew P. Peabody; La Salle's monument at Rouen, by Hamilton B. Staples; The site of the first college building at Cambridge, by Andrew McFarland Davis; The Alabama stone, by Henry W. Haynes; Index.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings. New series, Vol. VI, April, 1889–April, 1890. Worcester, 1890.

8vo, pp. viii, 375, ix. Plates.

Contents: Report of the Council, by P. Emory Aldrich; Christian religion and the common law, by P. Emory Aldrich; Illustrated Americana, by James F. Hunnewell; The bay of San Francisco, by J. T. Doyle; Nephrite and jadeite, by L. P. Kinnicutt; Report of the Council; The Farmer's Weekly Museum, by A. P. Peabody; The navigation laws, by Edward Channing; The Peabody Museum

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in Cambridge, by F. W. Putnam; Cotton Mather and his slaves, by Henry W. Haynes; Robert College, Constantinople, by Cyrus Hamlin; Death of Charles Deane; List of members; Foundation of the Swiss Republic, by J. D. Washburn; The Aborigines of Australia, by E. G. Porter; The early college buildings at Cambridge, by A. McFarland Davis; Cranium from Progreso, Yucatan, by Franz Boas; Copies of Maya pottery and implements, by Stephen Salisbury; Index.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings. New series, Vol. VII, October, 1890–October, 1891. Worcester, 1892.

8vo, pp. xv, 454.

Contents: The northern boundary of Massachusetts in its relations to New Hampshire, by Samuel A. Green; Reminiscences of Dr. John Park, by Edward H. Hall; A forgotten patriot [John Whitcomb], by Henry S. Nourse; Boy Life in a Massachusetts country town thirty years ago, by G. Stanley Hall; Financial embarrassments of the New England ministers in the last century [on Jeremy Belknap], by C. C. Smith; A singular ancient work [at Foster's, Warren County, Ohio], by F. W. Putnam; Action of the Council: Death of George Bancroft; Government in Canada and the United States compared, by George F. Hoar; George Bancroft, by Samuel Swett Green; Dr. Schliemann and the archæological value of his discoveries, by Thomas Chase; The Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, by Herbert B. Adams; Paper on ecstasy and trance, by G. Stanley Hall; The French Canadians in New England, by Egbert C. Smyth; Illustrated Americana of the Revolution, by James F. Hunnewell; Historic burial places of Boston and vicinity, by John M. Merriam; The Galapagos Islands, by George Baur; William Lincoln, by Charles A. Chase.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings. New series, Vol. VIII, April, 1892–April, 1893. Worcester, 1893.

8vo, pp. xxi, 481.

Contents: Letter of John Davenport to the First Church, Roxbury, 1664; The history of the earth in libraries and museums, by G. E. Ellis; Some Rhode Island contributions to the intellectual life of the last century, by W. E. Foster; Thomas Coram in Boston and Taunton, by Hamilton Andrews Hill; Swiss pact of 1291, by J. D. Washburn; The landfall of Columbus at San Salvador, by Philipp J. J. Valentini; The results of Columbus's discovery, by E. E. Hale; The world of commerce in 1492, by William B. Weeden; The ancient structures of Yucatan not communal dwellings, by Edward H. Thompson; Yucatan at the time of its discovery, by Edward H. Thompson; The Lady Mowlson scholarship at Cambridge, by Andrew McF. Davis; Rutherford Birchard Hayes, by George F. Hoar; The Santa Fé trade, its route and character, by J. Evarts Greene; The British public record office and the materials in it for early American history, by W. Noel Sainsbury; Memoir of Major-General Thomas Harrison, by Charles H. Firth; Index.

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8vo, pp. (3), 495. Folded map.

Contents: Wheeler's defeat, 1675—where? by S. A. Green; Remarks concerning John Davis, by George F. Hoar; Necrology—George Chandler; Charles Colcock Jones, jr., John James Bell; Eligio Ancona, by F. B. Dexter; On some social distinctions at Harvard and Yale before the Revolution, by F. B. Dexter; Edmund Burke, his services as agent of the Province of New York, by C. Stebbins; The archives of Harvard College, by Justin Winsor; Necrology—Francis Parkman, Charles H. Bell, George W. Childs, Isaac Smucker, William F. Poole, Andres Aznar Perez; On the history of American college text-books and teaching of logic, ethics, psychology, and allied subjects, by G. Stanley Hall; On the past and present in Asia, by John Bellows; The new found journal of Charles Floyd, a sergeant under Captains Lewis and Clark, by James Davie Butler; Concord [Mass.], by J. McK. Merriam; Aborigines of the West Indies, by F. A. Ober; Eliot's Bible and the Ojibway language, by J. A. Gilfillan; Address of the citizens of Westmoreland, Va., to President Adams, July 11, 1798, with his reply; Quality the prevailing element in representation [in New England], by W. B.

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Weeden. Obituaries: William Dwight Whitney, by S. E. Baldwin; Lindall Reynolds, by G. F. Hoar. The rival claimants for North America, 1497–1755, by Justin Winsor; Analysis of the pictorial text inscribed on two Palenque tablets, by P. J. J. Valentini; The political duel between Nicholas, the Czar of Russia, and Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the great English ambassador, by Cyrus Hamlin; Memorial of George E. Ellis; of Peleg E. Aldrich; Index.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. A discourse of Virginia. By Edward Maria Wingfield, first president of the Colony. Now first printed from the original manuscript in the Lambeth Library. Edited, with notes and an introduction, by Charles Deane. Boston, 1860.

8vo, pp. 45. Large paper. One hundred copies.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Narrative of a voyage to Spitzbergen in the year 1613, etc. With an introduction and notes, by Samuel F. Haven. Boston, 1860.

8vo, pp. 74. Map. Fifty copies.
Reprinted from *Archæologia*, Vol. IV.

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The remarks were by George Livermore.
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8vo, pp. 32.
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8vo, pp. 3.

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8vo, pp. 83.
The Massachusetts Historical Society's copy has four pages inserted, the first three being numbered 48^2, 48^3, 48^4, the last containing errata. They contain portions of the record only discovered in 1875, and which are necessarily omitted in the original issue. There were also copies issued consisting of the pages 53–105, taken from the *Proceedings*, with a leaf having a half title.

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8vo, pp. 10 (16), 11–83. No title-page.

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Reprinted from the *Proceedings*.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Indian relics. [Report of Committee upon the Collection of Indian Relics.] [Worcester, 1868.]
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The Boston Public Library has large paper copy in which the alternate pages are blank for additions.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Report of the Council, made April 23, 1869. Worcester, 1869.
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8vo, Vol. I, pp. lxxvi, 423; Vol. II, pp. viii, 666, 47. Portrait. Folded plate.

Also form Vols. V and VI of the *Archæologia Americana*. The catalogue of pre-Revolutionary publications was compiled by S. F. Haven.

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Pages 26–30 contain list of officers elected October, 1875; members, January, 1876. Some copies have only 26 pp., omitting the lists.

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On Humboldt as the chief of American antiquaries.
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Pages 55–57 contain addenda giving list of some of the more important works purchased at the sale of the second part of the Brinley library.

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Vol. II. Hale's Indians of Northwest America, and vocabularies of North America, with an introduction, by Albert Gallatin; Observations on the aboriginal monuments of the Mississippi Valley, by E. G. Squier; View of the ancient geography of the Arctic regions of America, from accounts contained in old northern MSS., by C. C. Rafn; Account of a craniological collection, by S. G. Morton; Sketch of the Polynesian language, by Theodore Dwight; Grammatical sketch of the language spoken by the Indians of the Mosquito Shore, by A. I. Cotheal; Present position of the Chinese Empire, by S. Wells Williams; Sketch of the Mpongwes and their language, by Theodore Dwight; Progress of ethnology, by John R. Bartlett. New York, 1848. pp. clxxxviii, 298, 151.

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Reprinted from the *Bulletin* of the Society.

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8vo, pp. 5. No title-page.
From the *Proceedings*.

AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY. On an ancient human footprint from Nicaragua. By Daniel G. Brinton, M. D. Read before the Society, November 18, 1887. [Philadelphia, 1887.]

8vo, pp. 437–444. Plate.
From the *Proceedings*. Title on cover.

AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY. On the so-called Alagüilac language of Guatemala. By Daniel G. Brinton, M. D. Read before the Society, November 4, 1887. [Philadelphia, 1887.]

8vo, pp. (1), 366–477.
From the *Proceedings*.

AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY. Were the Toltecs an historic nationality? By Daniel G. Brinton. Philadelphia, 1887.

8vo, pp. 15.

AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY. First contribution to the study of folklore of Philadelphia and its vicinity. By Henry Phillips, jr. Read before the Society, March 16, 1888. Philadelphia, 1888.

8vo, pp. 159–170.

AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY. The language of palæolithic man. By Daniel G. Brinton. Read before the Society, October 5, 1888. Philadelphia, 1888.

8vo, pp. 16.

AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY. An account of the Congo Independent State. By H. Phillips, jr. Read before the Society, November 2, 1888, and February 1, 1889. [Philadelphia, 1889.]

8vo, pp. (18). Maps and woodcuts.

AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY. The literary labors of Benjamin Franklin. An address delivered before the Society at the commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the decease of the illustrious founder and first president, April 17, 1890. By G. Brown Goode. Philadelphia, 1890.

8vo, pp. 21.

AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY. Memoir of Daniel Ragnes Goodwin, D. D. By J. V. Merrick. Read before the Society, November 7, 1890. [Philadelphia, 1890.]

8vo, pp. 15.
Reprinted from the *Proceedings*.

AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY. The career of Benjamin Franklin. A paper read before the Society, Philadelphia, May 25, 1893, at the celebration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of its formation in that city. By Samuel Abbott Green, M. D., Boston. Philadelphia, 1893.

8vo, pp. 14.

AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY. A vocabulary of the Nanticoke dialect. Read before the American Philosophical Society, November 3, 1893. By D. G. Brinton. [Philadelphia, 1893.]

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AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY. Tertiary tipulidæ, with special reference to those of Florissant, Colorado. A paper presented to the American Philosophical Society, on the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of its foundation, May 22–26, 1893. By Samuel H. Scudder. [Philadelphia], 1894.

8vo, pp. 83. 9 plates.

Reprinted from *Proceedings*, Vol. XXXII.

10. *AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY.*

New York City.

AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY. Papers of the American Society of Church History. Vol. I. Report and papers of the first annual meeting, held in the city of Washington, December 28, 1888. Edited by Rev. Samuel Macauley Jackson, M. A., secretary. New York, 1889.

8vo, pp. xxx (2), 271.

Contents: Organization of the Society; Constitution; First annual meeting; Letters from the honorary members; The progress of religious freedom, as shown in the history of toleration acts, by Philip Schaff; Indulgences in Spain, by Henry Charles Lea; A crisis in the Middle Ages, by James Clement Moffat; Melancthon's "Synergism," by Frank Hugh Foster; Some notes on syncretism in the Christian theology of the second and third centuries, by Hugh McDonald Scott; The influence of the golden legend on pre-Reformation culture history, by Ernest Cushing Richardson; Notes on the New Testament canon of Eusebius, by Arthur Cushman McGiffert; A note on the need of a complete missionary history in English, by Samuel Macauley Jackson; List of members; Index.

AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY. Papers of the American Society of Church History. Vol. II. New York, 1890.

8vo, pp. xx (2), 104.

Contents: Constitution; Second annual meeting; Some remarks on the Alogi, by G. P. Fisher; The Camisard uprising of the French Protestants, by H. M. Baird; Parochial libraries of the colonial period, by J. F. Hurst; Dante's theology, by Philip Schaff; The corruption of Christianity through paganism during the first two centuries, by Abraham H. Lewis; Some relics of early Presbyterianism in Maryland, by J. W. McIlvain; List of members.

AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY. Papers. Vol. III. Report and papers of third annual meeting, December 30, 31, 1890. Edited by Samuel Macauley Jackson. New York, 1891.

8vo, pp. xiii, 251.

Contents: The Renaissance, the revival of learning and art in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, by Philip Schaff; The historical geography of the Christian church, by Henry W. Hulbert; The Anabaptists of the sixteenth century, by H. S. Burrage; The vicissitudes of the doctrine of the Lord's supper in the English church, by J. W. Richard; Villegaignon, founder and destroyer of the first Huguenot settlement in the New World, by T. E. V. Smith; Report on a proposed series of denomonational histories, to be published under the auspices of the American Society of Church History, by Albert Henry Newman; The place of church history in the college course of study, by Henry M. MacCracken; List of members of the Society.

AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY. Papers. Vol. IV. Report and papers of the fourth annual meeting, December 29 and 30, 1891. Edited by Samuel Macauley Jackson. New York, 1892.

8vo, pp. lviii, 235.

Contents: Works of interest to the student of church history which appeared in 1891; The religious motives of Christopher Columbus, by William Kendall Gillett; The "heads of agreement" and the union of Congregationalists and Pres-

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byterians based on them in London, 1691, by Williston Walker; Christian unity, or the Kingdom of Heaven, by Thomas Davidson; The bulls distributing America, by John Jordan; The confessional history of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States, by John Nicum; Christian thought in architecture, by Barr Ferree; The friendship of Calvin and Melanchthon, by Philip Schaff; Recent researches concerning mediæval sects, by Albert Henry Newman; List of members of the Society.

AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY. Papers. Vol. VI. Reports and papers of the sixth annual meeting, December 27 and 28, 1893. Edited by Rev. Samuel Macauley Jackson, M. A. New York, 1894.

8vo, pp. xxx, 224.

Contents: The Schaff memorial meeting, December 27, 1893; Dr. Schaff as a Bible student and a reviser, by T. W. Chambers; Dr. Schaff as uniting Teutonic and Anglo-Saxon scholarship, by J. F. Hurst; Dr. Schaff and the Lutheran Church, by H. E. Jacobs; Dr. Schaff and the Episcopal Church, by C. C. Tiffany; Dr. Schaff and the Roman Catholic Church, by T. J. Shahan; Dr. Schaff as a literary worker, by E. C. Richardson; Tribute from Joseph Henry Allen; Life and work of Bishop Francis Asbury, by Asbury Lowry; Benjamin Schmolck, by J. E. Rankin; Life and work of S. Thomas Aquinas, by Thomas O'Gorman; The Gospel of Peter, by A. C. McGiffert; Faust and the Clementine recognitions, by E. C. Richardson; the contest for religious liberty in Massachusetts, by H. S. Burrage, D. D.; The doctrine of apostolic succession in the Church of England, by H. C. Vedder; Prayers for the dead, by G. F. Williams; List of members; Index.

AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY. Papers. Vol. VII. Reports and papers of the seventh annual meeting, held in the city of Washington, D. C., December 27 and 28, 1894. Edited by Rev. Samuel Macaulay Jackson, M. A., secretary. New York, 1895.

8vo, pp. ccxlviii, 65.

Contents: Works of interest to the student of church history published in 1893, a bibliography compiled by the secretary; Dr. Schaff as an historian, by G. P. Fisher; Some elements in the making of the United States, by C. H. Small; Judge Samuel Sewall (1652–1730), a typical Massachusetts Puritan, by J. L. Ewell; List of members.

AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY. Indulgences in Spain. By Henry Charles Lea. New York, 1889.

8vo, pp. 42.

Reprinted from *Papers of the American Society of Church History*, Vol. I, pp. 129–171.

AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY. Secretary's report of the organization of the Society. New York, March 23, 1888.

8vo, pp. 11.

Contains constitution and list of members.

AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY. The "Heads of agreement," and the union of Congregationalists and Presbyterians based on them in London. By Williston Walker. A paper read before the Society, December 29 and 30, 1891. [New York, 1891.]

8vo, pp. (2), 29–52.

Reprinted from the *Papers of the Society*.

AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY. The place of church history in the college course of study. A paper read before the American Society of Church History in Washington, D. C., December 31, 1890. By Henry Mitchell MacCracken. New York, 1891.

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AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY. The American Church History Series. Vol. I. The religious forces of the United States. By H. K. Carroll, LL. D. New York, 1893.
8vo.

AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY. The American Church History Series. Vol. II. A history of the Baptist churches in the United States. By A. H. Newman, D. D., LL. D. New York, 1894.
8vo, pp. xv, 513.

AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY. The American Church History Series. Vol. III. A history of the Congregational churches in the United States. By Williston Walker. New York, 1894.
8vo, pp. xiii, 451.

AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY. The American Church History Series. Vol. IV. A history of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States. By Henry Eyster Jacobs. New York, 1893.
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AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY. The American Church History Series. Vol. VI. History of the Presbyterian churches in the United States. By Robert E. Thompson. New York, 1895.
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AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY. The American Church History Series. Vol. VII. History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. By Charles C. Tiffany. New York, 1895.
8vo.

AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY. The American Church History Series. Vol. VIII. A history of the Reformed Church, Dutch; the Reformed Church, German, and the Moravian Church in the United States. By E. T. Corwin, D. D., Prof. J. H. Dobbs, D. D., and Prof. J. T. Hamilton. New York, 1895.
8vo, pp. xvi, 525.

AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY. The American Church History Series. Vol. X. A history of the Unitarians and the Universalists in the United States. By Joseph Henry Allen, D.D., and Richard Eddy, D. D. New York, 1894.
8vo, pp. ix, (3), 516.

AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY. The American Church History Series. Vol. XII. A history of the Methodist Church South, the United Presbyterian Church, the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, and the Presbyterian Church South, in the United States. By Prof. Gross Alexander, D. D.; James B. Scouller, D. D.; Prof. R. V. Foster, D. D., and Prof. T. C. Johnson, D. D. New York, 1894.
8vo, pp. xii, 487.

AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY. The American Church History Series. Vol. XII. A history of the Disciples of Christ, the Society of Friends, the United Brethren in Christ, and the Evangelical Association. By B. B. Tyler, D. D.; Prof. A. C. Thomas, M. A.; R. H. Thomas, M. D.; D. Berger, D. D., and Rev. S. P. Spring, and Bibliography of American church history, by Samuel Macauley Jackson, D. D., LL. D. New York, 1894.
8vo, pp. x, 519.

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11. *AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION.*

Boston, Mass.

AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION. Constitution and by-laws. With a list of officers, fellows, and members, and an address. Boston, 1840.

8vo, pp. 24.

AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION. Constitution and by-laws. With a list of officers, fellows, and members, and an address. Boston, 1844.

8vo, pp. 24.

AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION. Collections of the American Statistical Association. Vol. I. Boston, 1847.

8vo, pp. x, 596.

Statistics of towns in Massachusetts; Heights, latitudes, and longitudes of eminences; Statistics of population; Statistics of taxation in Massachusetts. By J. B. Felt. Issued in three parts; published in 1843, 1845, and 1847, respectively.

Part 1 of Vol. II of the Collections, comprising Memoir of the life and character of George Cheyne Shattuck, by Edward Jarvis, pp. 1-7; Statistics of comb making in Leominster, 1852, by C. C. Field, M. D., pp. 8-16; Memoir of American discoveries, colonization, commerce, and fishery, from Newfoundland to Florida, both inclusive, down to 1630, by Joseph B. Felt, LL. D., pp. 17-134; The financial revulsion of 1857, by Samuel H. Walley, pp. 135-160; Letters on the money crisis of 1857, by Nathan Appleton, pp. 161-175; The connection of occupation with longevity, by Edward Jarvis, p. 176; The increase of human life, by Edward Jarvis, pp. 177-231, was printed in sheets, but never printed as a volume, as the sheets were burned in 1872 at the printing office where they were stored. The following were printed separately from the same forms as the above, but independently paged: Dr. Jarvis's "Memoir of Dr. Shattuck" and Walley's "Financial revulsion." Dr. Jarvis's "Increase of human life" was issued with a paper cover in pamphlet form with the paging of the Collections, and 1,000 copies were printed by the New England Mutual Life Insurance Company with independent paging and and a title-page. The Massachusetts Historical Society possesses a copy of the sheets of pp. 1-136, the Boston Athenæum of pp. 1-176, and the Boston Public Library of pp. 1-16, 176-231, of this unpublished volume. These probably constitute all that was saved of the same.

AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION. The financial revulsion of 1857. An address delivered before the Association, February 10, 1858. By Samuel Hurd Walley. Boston, 1858.

8vo, pp. 28.

Reprinted from Vol. II of *Collections*.

AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION. The increase of human life. Read before the Association. By Edward Jarvis, M. D., president of the Association.

Reprinted from the *Atlantic Monthly* for the New England Mutual Life Insurance Company. Boston, 1872. 8vo, pp. (2), 55. Also printed as pp. 177-231 of the second volume of the Collections of the Association.

AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION. The history of paper money in the province of Massachusetts before the Revolution, with an account of the land bank and the silver bank. Read before the Association, May, 1874. By E. H. Derby. Boston, 1874.

8vo, pp. 16.

AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION. Constitution and by-laws, with a list of officers, fellows, and members, January, 1881. Boston, 1881.

8vo, pp. 13.

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AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION. Boston's trade and commerce for forty years, 1844–1884. By Hamilton Andrews Hill, A. M. Boston, 1884.

8vo, pp. 20.

AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION. American Statistical Association. Memorial of Edward Jarvis, M. D. By Robert W. Wood. Boston, 1885.

8vo, pp. 24. Portrait.

AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION. Publications of the American Statistical Association. New series, Vol. I. Nos. 1–8. Boston, 1888–1890.

One vol., 8vo, pp. 492. Illustrated.

Contents: (1) Statistics of water power employed in manufacturing in the United States, by George F. Swain, 44 pp.; (2, 3) Park areas and open spaces in American and European cities, by E. R. L. Gould; Key to the publications of the U. S. Census, 1790–1887, with occasional reference to other statistical works, by Edward Clark Lunt, 45–125 pp.; (4) Life insurance in the United States, by Walter C. Wright; Review of Reports of bureaus of labor statistics for 1887, by Richmond Mayo Smith; Index to Reports of bureaus of labor statistics for 1887; Sanitary reports of Dr. Lucy M. Hall and Dwight Porter; Pidgin's practical statistics; The census act for 1890; Census of deaf mutes; Abstract of report of A. Graham Bell; Extension of the metric system, VI, 127–181 pp.; (5) Notes on the statistical determination of the causes of poverty, by Amos G. Warner; Statistics of divorce in the United States and Europe, by Samuel W. Dike; Fox's regimental losses in the American civil war, by Francis A. Walker; Smith's statistics and economics, by Henry C. Adams; Gilman's profit sharing, by Davis R. Dewey; State handbook, Dakota, Alabama, Texas; Anthropological records; Swank's iron and steel report for 1888; Uniform railway statistics, by Henry C. Adams; Statistics of the American Navy, 1889, VI, 183–240; (6) American railroad statistics, by Arthur T. Hadley; Statistics of municipal finance, by Henry B. Gardner; Newsholme's vital statistics, by John S. Billings; Manual of American waterworks, by George F. Swain; Chronicle fire tables [etc.], (6), 241–298 pp.; (7) Prison statistics for the United States for 1888, by Roland P. Falkner; An account of the collections of the American Statistical Association, by Samuel A. Green; Galton's statistical methods, by John Dewey; Insurance records [etc.], (4), 299–348 pp. 8; (8) Finance statistics of the American commonwealths, by Edwin R. A. Seligman; Divorce in France, by Benjamin F. Keller; Relief of the poor in Germany, by A. G. Warner; Prison statistics [etc.], IV, 349–492 pp.

AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION. Publications. Vol. II. Nos. 9–16. 1890–91. Boston, 1891.

8vo, pp. v, (6), 470.

Contents: No. 9.—Mortgage statistics, by George K. Holmes. Reviews and notices: An annual census of manufactures, by S. N. D. North. * * * Miscellany: Statistics of Christian names in early times; Census of the electrical industry; Mortgages in foreign countries. No. 10.—The study of statistics in Italian universities, by C. D. Wright; Statistics of private corporations, by R. P. Falkner. Reviews and notices: English labor statistics, by D. R. Dewey; Memoranda on the fall in rates of interest, by W. C. Wright; Election statistics of Massachusetts, by W. S. Allen. Miscellany: Study of statistics in colleges, by F. A. Walker; The fire losses in the United States during 1889. Nos. 11, 12.—Statistics of the colored race in the United States, by F. A. Walker; How to make statistics popular, by C. F. Pidgin; The study of retail prices in Boston and vicinity, by W. F. Cook. Reviews and notices: Labor statistics, by F. S. Hathaway; The United States census bulletins. * * * No. 13.—The growth of cities in Massachusetts, by H. G. Wadlin; Rate of natural increase of population in the United States, by H. Hollerith; The first census of Massachusetts, by S. A. Green; The commercial death rate, by A. C. Stevens; Parliamentary elections in Japan, by T. MacNair. Reviews and notices: Reports of bureaus of labor statistics, by

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AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION. Publications. Vol. III, Nos. 17–24, 1892–93. Boston, 1893.

8vo, pp. vi (4), 614.

Contents: No. 17.—Statistics of crime in Massachusetts, by F. G. Pettigrove; Development of statistics of religions, by M. Fournier de Flaix, translated by Alice R. Jackson; Net profits of manufacturing industries in Massachusetts, by F. B. Hawley; Classification of trade statistics, by F. C. Hicks; Proposed statistical legislation, by R. P. Falkner. Reviews and notices: Studies in Jewish statistics, by C. A. Currier; The wool book; Divorce statistics in the United States; Causes of poverty, by G. N. Calkins; Statistical articles in German periodicals and journals, by V. Rosewater, C. F. A. Currier. Nos. 18, 19.—A statistical inquiry concerning domestic service, by Lucy M. Salmon; The theory and practice of price statistics, by R. P. Falkner; Statistics of suicides in New England, by D. R. Dewey; Semiannual census of paupers in Minnesota, by H. H. Hart; Reviews and notices: a statistical study of illegitimacy, by C. F. A. Currier; Mortgage indebtedness in Europe, by G. K. Holmes; Statistics of divorce in France, by G. N. Calkins; Anthropometry; A university course in statistics; Statistics of prisoners, 1890; Convention of commissioners of bureaus of labor statistics; Net profit of manufacturing industries in Massachusetts, by W. F. Draper; International statistical comparisons. No. 20.—The establishment of an imperial commission for labor statistics in Germany, by C. C. Plehn; French statistical publications, by C. D. Hazen; Sketch of life of Robert W. Wood, M. D., by J. W. Dean. Reviews and notices; Earnings of women in Michigan, by L. M. Salmon; Effect of occupation on health, by S. W. Abbott; Influence of occupations upon mortality, by W. Z. Ripley; Fertility of marriages in Prussia according to the religious creeds of the contracting parties, by G. N. Calkins; The French population, by W. Z. Ripley; The geographical distribution of sexes, by G. N. Calkins; Effect of parents' age on vitality of children, by G. N. Calkins; The fall of the rate of interest and its influence on provident institutions, by F. Walker; Limitations of statistics, by S. F. Weston; Suicides in the Austrian army in the years 1873–1890; Ten years' growth of the city of London, by C. F. A. Currier; Work of the Statistical Seminary at the University of Vienna, by V. Rosewater; Local public records of Massachusetts, by G. N. Calkins; The criminal statistics of Buenos Ayres, by L. P. Lane; The average length of life in France, by G. N. Calkins; Note from Francis Galton on the subject of distribution; Registration report of Massachusetts; Necessity of revision of the classification and nomenclature employed in the vital statistics of Massachusetts, by S. W. Abbott. Nos. 21, 22.—Observations on the measure of change, by C. H. Cooley; Cost statistics of public electric lighting, by V. Rose-

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AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION. Publications. Vol. IV. Boston, 1895. vi, 387 pp.

Contents: Nos. 25, 26.—The marriage rate in Michigan, 1870–1890, by W. F. Willer; The classification of occupations for census purposes, by H. Gannett; Nativity and occupation of members of the Massachusetts legislature, by F. H. Newland; The sex relation in suicide, by F. L. Hoffman; The growth of St. Louis children, by W. T. Porter; The population of Paris; Female mortuary experience of the New England Mutual Life Insurance Company, by M. M. Dawson. * * * No. 27.—The causes of poverty further considered, by A. G. Warner; Congress of hygiene and demography, by R. P. Falkner. Nos. 28, 29.—Computation of the value of the wealth in existence, by G. K. Holmes; Effects of free surrender and loan privileges in life insurance, by M. M. Dawson; Was the count of population in 1890 reasonably correct? by H. Gannett; Some recent contributions to the literature of vital statistics, by G. N. Calkins; The distribution of our urban population, by M. B. Hammond; Foreign parentage and foreign born, by L. W. Hatch; A proposed summary of the vital statistics of New England; Statistics of infectious diseases, by S. W. Abbott; Mortality in Australia, by M. M. Dawson. No. 30.—Receipts and expenditures of certain wage earners in the garment trades, by M. I. Eaton; The negro in the West Indies, by F. L. Hoffman; Hull House, maps and papers, by E. G. Balch; Labor statistics, etc. No. 31.—Almshouse women, by M. R. Smith; Ohio building and loan associations, by S. H. Wilder; Labor statistics; Foreign statistical annuals, by D. R. Dewey; Vital statistics, by S. W. Abbott. No. 32.—Accidents in factories and elsewhere, by K. P. Woods; The marriage rate in Massachusetts, by F. S. Grum; The international statistical institute, by R. P. Falkner; Reviews and notices.

NOTE.—The publications are issued in numbers under the title "Quarterly Publications." The volume when made up has a title-page with the title "Publications."

AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION. Statistics of comb making in Leominster, 1852. By Caleb C. Field, M. D., with an introduction by Samuel A. Green, M. D. Worcester, 1893.

8vo, pp. 141. Forty copies.

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AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION. An account of the collections of the Association. By the Hon. Samuel A. Green, M. D. [Boston, 1889.]
8vo, pp. 4.
Reprinted from the *Collections*.

AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION. History of the progress and population of the United States, from 1790 to 1870. By Edward Jarvis, M. D. Boston, 1877.
8vo, pp. 16.

AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION. Financial connection of the use of spirits and wine with the people of Concord, Mass. By Edward Jarvis, M. D. Boston, 1883.
8vo.

AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION. Statistics of water power employed in manufacturing in the United States. By George F. Swain. Boston, 1888.
8vo, pp. 44. Map. Plan.
Reprinted from *Publications of the American Statistical Association*, new series, No. 1.

12. *ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA.*

ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA. First annual report of the Executive Committee, with accompanying papers, 1879–80. Presented at the annual meeting, May 15, 1880. Cambridge, 1880.
8vo, pp. 163. Illustrated. Plates.
Contents: Study of the houses of the American aborigines, with a scheme of exploration of the ruins in New Mexico and elsewhere, by Lewis H. Morgan; Ancient walls on Monte Leone, in the province of Grosseto, Italy, by W. J. Stillman; Archæological notes on Greek shores, part 1, by J. T. Clarke.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA. Second annual report, 1880–81. Presented May 21, 1881. Cambridge, 1881.
8vo, pp. 49. Plates.

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8vo, pp. (2), 24.

SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS. Oration delivered before the Society at their celebration of the Eighth Anniversary of the Admission of California into the Union. By Fred. P. Tracy. Poem by Edward Pollock. September 9, 1858. San Francisco, 1859.
8vo, pp. 15.

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SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS. Oration delivered before the Society at their celebration of the Ninth Anniversary of the Admission of California into the Union. By Willard B. Farwell. Poem by John R. Ridge. September 9, 1859. San Francisco, 1859.
8vo, pp. 20.

SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS. Address on the History of California, from the discovery of the country to the year 1849, delivered before the Society at their celebration of the Tenth Anniversary of the Admission of California into the Union. By Edmund Randolph. San Francisco, 1860.
8vo, pp. 72. Two maps.

SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS. Constitution and By-Laws of the Society, as revised and adopted June, 1858 [with list of members]. San Francisco, 1861.
8vo, pp. 35.

SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS. Ceremonies at the laying of the corner stone of the new Pioneer Hall, July 7, 1862. Oration by Willard B. Farwell. Poem by Miss Eliza A. Pittsinger. [Address delivered before the Society at their celebration of the Twelfth Anniversary of the Admission of California into the Union, September 9, 1862, by E. H. Washburn, with the Sutter resolutions.] San Francisco, 1862.
8vo, pp. 26, (1).
The bracketed portion is comprised in pages 17–26.

SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS. Inaugural Ceremonies at the Opening of the new Pioneer Hall, January 8, 1863. Inaugural address by O. P. Sutton; oration by E. Liés. San Francisco, 1863.
8vo, pp. 27.

SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS. Transactions of the Society of California Pioneers, January 1 to May 7, 1863. Part I, Vol. II. San Francisco, 1863.
8vo, pp. 101.
Contents: Officers; Constitution; By-Laws; Members; Inauguration of the new Hall, January 8, 1863. Inauguration address by O. P. Sutton. Oration by Eugene Liés. Transactions.

SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS. Fourteenth Anniversary of the Society. Oration by Rev. Henry W. Bellows. Poem by Frank Bret Harte. San Francisco, 1864.
8vo, pp. 31.

SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS. Fifteenth Anniversary of the Society. Oration by Horatio Stebbins. Poem by James F. Bowman. San Francisco, 1865.
8vo, pp. 16.

SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS. Annual Report of President P. B. Cornwall, for 1865–66. San Francisco, 1866.
8vo, pp. 4.

SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS. Constitution and By-Laws, as revised and adopted October, 1866, with list of members. San Francisco, 1866.
8vo, pp. 77.

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SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS. Sixteenth Anniversary of the Admission of California into the Union. Oration by J. W. Dwinelle. San Francisco, 1866.
8vo, pp. 34.

SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS. Seventeenth Anniversary of the Corporate Society of California Pioneers. Oration by William H. Clark. Poem by Charles Warren Stoddard. San Francisco, 1867.
8vo, pp. 23.

SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS. Eighteenth Anniversary of the Corporate Society. Oration by E. D. Wheeler. Poem by Ira D. Colbrith. San Francisco, 1868.
8vo, pp. 20.

SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS. Constitution and By-Laws, as revised and adopted April, 1869. With list of members. San Francisco, 1869.
12mo, pp. 79.

SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS. Nineteenth Anniversary of the Corporate Society. Oration by John S. Hittell. San Francisco, 1869.
8vo, pp. 21.

SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS. Report of the Committee of the Board of Directors on the state of the Society, January 1, 1861. San Francisco, 1869.
8vo, pp. 15.

SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS. Twentieth Anniversary of the Corporate Society. Oration by Lansing B. Mizner. Poem by Thomas G. Spear. San Francisco, 1870.
8vo, pp. 25.

SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS. Twenty-first Anniversary of the Corporate Society. Oration by E. W. McKinstry. Poem by William H. Rhodes. San Francisco, 1871.
8vo, pp. 27.

SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS. Twenty-second Anniversary of the Corporate Society. Oration by John Quincy Adams. Poem by Charles H. Chamberlain. San Francisco, 1872.
8vo, pp. 31.

SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS. Twenty-third Anniversary of the Corporate Society. Oration by Joseph W. Winans. Poem by J. C. Severance. San Francisco, 1873.
8vo, pp. 31.

SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS. Constitution, By-Laws, and List of Members since its organization, as revised August, 1874. San Francisco, 1874.
12mo, pp. 115.

SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS. Twenty-fourth Anniversary of the Corporate Society. Oration by J. D. B. Stillman. Poem by Mrs. James Neall. San Francisco, 1874.
8vo, pp. 47. Pages 35–44 contain "List of passenger arrivals at the port of San Francisco for 1849."

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SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS. Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Corporate Society. Oration by Oliver M. Wozencraft. Poem by Edwin Ruthven Campbell. San Francisco, 1875.
8vo, pp. 20.

SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS. Twenty-sixth Anniversary of the Corporate Society. Oration by William J. Shaw. Poem by Frank Soulé. Address by George T. Bromley. San Francisco, 1876.
8vo, pp. 34.

SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS. Celebration of the Twenty-seventh Anniversary of the Admission of California into the Union by the Society at San Jose, September 8, 1877. San Francisco, 1877.
8vo, pp. 23.
Oration by Lawrence Archer. Poem by Anne Fitzgerald.

SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS. Report of the Committee of the Board of Directors on the financial condition of the Society, March 1, 1878. San Francisco, 1878.
8vo, pp. 32.

SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS. Twenty-eighth Anniversary of the Corporate Society. Oration by Charles E. Travers. Poem by Daniel O'Connell. San Francisco, 1878.
8vo, pp. 22.

SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS. Constitution, By-Laws, and List of Members since its organization, as revised May, 1881. Organized August, 1850. San Francisco, 1881.
12mo, pp. 91.

SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS. Oration at the Thirty-first Anniversary of the Society, by Augustus C. Taylor. San Francisco, 1881.
12mo, pp. 13.

SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS. Thirty-second Anniversary of the Society. Oration by Alfred Wheeler. Poem by Miss Grace A. Welsh. Pastoral by Dr. Washington Ayer. San Francisco, 1882.
8vo, pp. 34.

SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS. Celebration of the Thirty-third Anniversary of the Society. [September 10, 1883.] Prayer by Rev. J. A. Benton. Letter of General Sherman. Oration by S. W. Holladay. Poem by Washington Ayer, M. D. Officers of the Society. Names of Members of the Constitutional Convention of 1849. San Francisco, 1883.
8vo, pp. 25.

SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS. Poem by Washington Ayer, M. D., delivered at the Thirty-third Anniversary of the Society, celebrated at Monterey, September 10, 1883. [San Francisco, 1883.]
8vo, pp. 19. Illustrated.

SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS. Report of the Special Committee on proposed improvements of the Society's lot on Fourth street. Presented January 7, 1884. San Francisco, 1884.
8vo, pp. 14.

SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS. Thirty-fourth Anniversary of the Society. Procession and commemorative ceremonies upon the occasion of laying the corner stone of the new Pioneer Hall, September 9, 1884. San Francisco, 1884.
8vo, pp. 58.

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SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS. Celebration of the Thirty-fifth Anniversary of the Corporate Society, September 9, 1885. Prayer by Rev. Albert Williams. Introductory by John Nightingale, president. Address by John S. Hittell. Poem by H. B. Livingston. San Francisco, 1885.

8vo, pp. 42.

SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS. Constitution and By-Laws. Organized August, 1850. Incorporated January 21, 1863. Reincorporated February 19, 1884. San Francisco, 1885.

32mo, pp. 34 (1).

SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS. Thirty-sixth and Thirty-seventh Anniversaries of the Admission of California into the Union, by the Corporate Society of California Pioneers, September 9, 1886, and September 9, 1887. Order of exercises, September 9, 1887: Prayer by Rev. Joseph A. Benton; poem by Col. G. Douglas Brewerton; oration by Hon. Thomas H. Laine. Published by order of the Society. [San Francisco], 1887.

8vo, pp. 49.

Title on cover: Celebrations of the Thirty-sixth and Thirty-seventh Anniversaries of the Admission of California into the Union, by the Society of California Pioneers, held at Saucelito, Marin County, September 9, 1886, and at Camp Taylor, Marin County, September 9, 1887.

SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS. Celebration of the Thirty-eighth Anniversary of the Admission of California into the Union, September 9, 1850, by the Corporate Society of California Pioneers, September 10, 1888. Order of exercises: Opening address by A. M. Ebbets, president; oration by Robert H. Taylor; poem by Rev. Joseph A. Benton. [San Francisco], 1888.

8vo, pp. 30.

SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS. Constitution, By-Laws, and List of Members of the Society since its organization, as revised June, 1888. Organized August, 1850. San Francisco, 1888.

12mo, pp. 158. Frontispiece.

SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS. Celebration of the Thirty-ninth Anniversary of the Admission of California into the Union, September 9, 1850, by the Corporate Society of California Pioneers, Monday, September 9, 1889. Order of exercises: Oration by Maj. E. A. Sherman; poem by Rev. C. L. Miel. [San Francisco], 1889.

8vo, pp. 28.

24. *SOCIETY OF FIRST STEAMSHIP PIONEERS.*

San Francisco, Cal.

SOCIETY OF FIRST STEAMSHIP PIONEERS. Festival in celebration of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Arrival of the Steamer *California* at San Francisco, February 28, 1849, given by the Society, February 28, 1874. San Francisco, 1874.

8vo.

SOCIETY OF FIRST STEAMSHIP PIONEERS. First Steamship Pioneers. Edited by a committee of the Association. San Francisco, 1874.

4to, pp. viii. 393.

Biographical sketches, with photographs.

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CONNECTICUT.

25. *CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Hartford, Conn.

CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Act of Incorporation and the Constitution of the Society, with an address to the public. Hartford, 1825.
8vo, pp. 14 (1).

CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The Charter of Incorporation and By-Laws, together with a list of officers, and an address to the public. Hartford, 1839.
8vo, p. (1).

CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Celebration of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Adoption of the First Constitution of Connecticut, April 21, 1840, under the direction of a committee of the Society.
"Thomas, E. S., Reminiscences," Vol. II, pp. 263-294. Hartford, 1840.

CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY. An account of the Society. By Henry Barnard.
American Quarterly Register, Vol. XIII, pp. 284-292. Boston, 1841.

CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Historical Notices of Connecticut; published under the auspices of the Connecticut Historical Society. Nos. 1, 2. Hartford, 1842.
Two pamphlets, 12mo.
No. 1. Hartford in 1640, by William S. Porter. pp. 12.
No. 2. Hartford and West Hartford, by William S. Porter. pp. 13-48.

CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Discourse on the early Constitutional History of Connecticut, before the Society, May 17, 1843. By Leonard Bacon. Hartford, 1843.
8vo, pp. 24.

CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Historical Discourse before the Society and the Citizens of Hartford, on the 20th of December, 1843. By Thomas Day. Hartford, 1841.
8vo, pp. 36.

CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The Correspondence and Miscellanies of the Hon. John Cotton Smith, LL. D., formerly Governor of Connecticut. With an eulogy pronounced before the Connecticut Historical Society, at New Haven, May 27, 1846. By William W. Andrews. New York, 1847.
12mo, pp. 328.
The eulogy occupies pp. 14-54. The work is dedicated to the Society.

CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY. History of the Indians of Connecticut from the earliest known period to 1850. By John W. De Forest. Published with the sanction of the Society. Hartford, 1851.
8vo, pp. xxvi, 509. Folded map.
Reprinted in 1852 and 1853.
Same. Albany, 1871, pp. xxvi, 509. Folded map.

CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY. A letter from the Rev. Thomas Hooker, of Hartford, in answer to the complaints of Gov. Winthrop, of Massachusetts, against Connecticut. From the first volume of the Collections. Hartford, 1859.
8vo, pp. 18.

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CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society. Vols. I, II. Hartford, 1860, 1870.

8vo, pp. (Vol. I) xii (4), 332; (Vol. II) (4), 380.

CONTENTS.

Vol. I.—Charters; By-laws; List of officers, 1859–60; Rev. Thomas Hooker's letter to Governor Winthrop, 1638; Abstracts of two sermons, by T. Hooker, 1638–39; Trial of Ezekiel Cheever before New Haven Church, 1649; Letter from Governor Winthrop respecting the charter of Connecticut, 1662; The people's right to election, by G. Bulkeley, 1689; Their Majesties' Colony of Connecticut vindicated, 1694; Roger Wolcott's journal at the siege of Louisbourg, 1745; Connecticut officers at Louisbourg; Papers relating to the Ticonderoga expedition, 1775; Major French's journal, 1776; Col. D. Putnam's letter relative to the battle of Bunker Hill, 1825; The public seal of Connecticut, by C. J. Hoadly; Correspondence with the British Government, 1755–1758.

Vol. II.—Officers; On the composition of Algonkin geographical names, by J. Hammond Trumbull; Papers relating to the controversy in the church in Hartford, 1656–1659; Correspondence of Silas Deane, Delegate to the Congress of Philadelphia, 1774–1776.

CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Vol. III. Hartford: Published for the Society, 1895.

8vo, pp. (8), 340.

Contents: Officers, 1874; Preface; Some helps for the Indians; A catechism, by the Rev. Abraham Pierson, reprinted from the original edition, Cambridge, 1658, with an introduction, by J. Hammond Trumbull; Will and Doom, or the miseries of Connecticut by and under an usurped and arbitrary power, written by Gershom Bulkeley, 1692, with an introduction and notes, by Charles J. Hoadly; Extracts of letters to Rev. Thomas Prince, containing historical notices of sundry towns [in Connecticut]; A memoir for the history of Connecticut, by Roger Wolcott, 1759; Index.

The third volume of the collections was prepared for publication in 1875, but a fire at the printer's, in April, 1875, destroyed the entire edition, with the exception of one hundred copies of Pierson's Helps, which had been separately printed and delivered, and one set of the sheets of Bulkeley's Will and Doom, which was in the editor's hands. The present issue is made up of the same material that the first was to have contained, with the addition of Wolcott's Memoir. The notes to Bulkeley's Will and Doom have undergone some changes in this edition.

CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Vol. IV. Hartford, 1892.

8vo, pp. (4), xxxi, 9–417.

Contents: The Talcott papers; correspondence and documents (chiefly official) during Joseph Talcott's governorship of the colony of Connecticut, 1724–1741. Edited by Mary Kingsbury Talcott. Vol. I, 1724–1736: Sketch of Governor Talcott.

CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Report of a committee of the Society on a plan for enlarging the Society's building and establishing its connection with the Watkinson library of reference. Presented April 15, 1862, and printed by order of the Society. Hartford, 1862.

8vo, pp. 12.

CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The Origin of the Expedition against Ticonderoga in 1775. A paper read before the Society, January 5, 1869, by J. H. Trumbull. Hartford, 1869.

8vo, pp. 15. Fifty copies. Reprinted from the *Hartford Daily Courant*, January 9, 1869.

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CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The Composition of Indian Geographical Names, illustrated from the Algonkin languages. By J. Hammond Trumbull. From the Society's Collections, Vol. II. Hartford, 1870.

8vo, pp. 51 (3).

CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Some help for the Indians: a catechism in the language of the Quiripi Indians of New Haven Colony, by the Rev. Abraham Pierson. Reprinted from the original edition, Cambridge, 1658, with an introduction by J. Hammond Trumbull. Hartford, 1873.

8vo, pp. 11 (1), 67.

From the *Collections*, Vol. III.

CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Indian names of places, etc., in and on the borders of Connecticut: with interpretations of some of them. By J. Hammond Trumbull. Hartford, 1881.

8vo, pp. 11 (1), 93.

An article in the *Collections* on The Composition of Indian Geographical Names formed the basis of this publication.

CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Diary of Thomas Robbins, D. D., 1796–1854. Printed for his nephew. Owned by the Connecticut Historical Society. In two volumes. Edited and annotated by Increase N. Tarbox. Boston, 1886–87.

8vo. Vol. I, VII, (1), 1052 pp.; I, (2), 1131 pp. Portraits.

CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Birthday of the State of Connecticut. Celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the adoption of the first constitution of the State of Connecticut, by the Connecticut Historical Society and the towns of Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield, Thursday, January 24, A. D. 1889. Hartford, Conn.: Published by the Society. 1889.

8vo, pp. 98.

Pages 26–53 contain the historical address by Rev. Joseph H. Twitchell.

CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The British flag, its origin and history; incidents in its use in America. A paper read before the Connecticut Historical Society, June 7, 1881, by Jonathan F. Morris. Reprinted from the *Hartford Daily Courant*, June 8, 1881. Hartford, 1889.

8vo, pp. 24.

CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Historical documents and notes. Genesis and development of the Society, and associated institutions in the Wadsworth Athenæum. Published by the Society. Hartford, 1889.

8vo, pp. 114, (1).

Contents: Notice; The Hartford Library Company; The Hartford Young Men's Institute; The Connecticut Historical Society; The Wadsworth Athenæum; The Watkinson Library; The Connecticut Society of Natural History; The Art Society of Hartford; Report of the Joint Committees of Wadsworth Athenæum, the Connecticut Historical Society, the Hartford Library Association, and the trustees of the Watkinson Library. Addenda: the Hartford Library Company; the Hartford Library Association; Bibliography of the Society, by Frank B. Gay; Officers and members of the Society, 1825–1889.

CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY. "Up Neck" in 1825. By Gordon W. Russell, M. D. Hartford, 1890.

8vo, pp. 145. Illustrated. Folded plans.

Read in part before the Society.

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CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Papers and reports presented to the Society at the annual meeting, May 23, 1893, with a list of officers and members; also, a list of donations for the year. Hartford, 1893.

8vo, pp. 49.

CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Annual report of the Society. Reports and papers presented at the annual meeting, May 22, 1894; also a list of officers and members, and donations for the year. Hartford, 1894.

8vo, pp. 62.

CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Annual report of the Society. Reports and papers presented at the annual meeting, May 21, 1895; also a list of officers and members, and of donations for the year. Hartford, 1895.

8vo, pp. 55.

Pages 23–38 contain a list of "Connecticut local histories in the Connecticut Historical Society and Watkinson Library."

CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY. 1737–1847. Diary of Rev. Daniel Wadsworth, seventh pastor of the First Church of Christ in Hartford. With notes by its fourteenth pastor [George Leon Walker]. Hartford, 1894.

8vo, pp. 149.

From MS. belonging to the Connecticut Historical Society.

26. *FAIRFIELD COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Bridgeport, Conn.

FAIRFIELD COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Articles of Association, By-Laws, List of Members, and First Anniversary Meeting, April 14, 1882. Bridgeport, 1882.

8vo, pp. 38.

FAIRFIELD COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. A Biographical Sketch of Roger Minott Sherman, the eminent Connecticut Jurist, 1773–1845. By William A. Beers. Delivered before the Society, November 28, 1882. Bridgeport, 1882.

8vo, pp. 48.

FAIRFIELD COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Sketch from the Life of Rev. James Beebee, soldier and preacher, who, from May 8, 1747, to September 8, 1785, was pastor of the Church of Christ at North Stratford (now Trumbull, Connecticut), written by R. C. Ambler. Added, Mr. Beebee's address to the people in 1758, when they departed with him to Fort George to fight the Indians and the French. Read before the Society, September 8, 1882. Boston, 1884.

8vo, pp. 32.

FAIRFIELD COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. A brief History of the Bridgeport Bank, with personal sketches of the first president and some of the early directors. It being a paper read before the Society, November 14, 1884, by the president, R. B. Lancey. [Bridgeport], 1884.

8vo, pp. 15.

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FAIRFIELD COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Act of Incorporation, By-Laws, List of Members, and Fourth Anniversary Meeting, April 10, 1885. [With Appendix.]

8vo, pp. 27, 7.

The Appendix consists of "History of the Porter property." Paper read by R. B. Lancey, June 12, 1885.

FAIRFIELD COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. A history of the old town of Stratford and the city of Bridgeport, Connecticut. By Samuel Orcutt. Parts 1, 2. Published under the auspices of the Fairfield County Historical Society. 1886.

8vo, pp. viii (2), 1,393. Plates, portraits.

FAIRFIELD COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Annual report, 1891-92. [Bridgeport.] 1892.

8vo. Plate. Table.

FAIRFIELD COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Sketch of Rev. Blackleach Barrett and related Stratford families. By M. D. Raymond. Published by the Society. [1893.]

12mo, pp. 44, 8.

27. *LITCHFIELD COUNTY HISTORICAL AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.*

LITCHFIELD COUNTY HISTORICAL AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Introductory address, April 9, 1856, before the Society, on the occasion of completing its organization. By G. H. Hollister. Hartford, 1856.

8vo, pp. 24.

28. *MATTATUCK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Waterbury, Conn.

MATTATUCK HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Footprints of the Red Man in the Naugatuck Valley. A lecture, January 27, 1879, under the auspices of the Society, by Joseph Anderson.

First published in *Waterbury American*, February 7, 1879, and republished with additions by Rev. Samuel Orcutt in his "History of the old town of Derby, Conn."

29. *NEW HAVEN COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

New Haven, Conn.

NEW HAVEN COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society. Vol. I. New Haven. Printed for the Society. 1865.

8vo, pp. 170, iv, 192.

Contents: Organization of the Society; Officers; Members; The New Haven Colony, by H. White; Civil Government in New Haven Colony, by L. Bacon; History of the Cutler Lot, by H. White; History of Trinity Church, New Haven, by F. Croswell; History of Long Wharf in New Haven, by T. R. Trowbridge; The Parsonage of "The Blue Meeting House," by E. E. Beardsley; The Governor Gilbert Lot, by E. L. Cleaveland; Notice of the Early Pomologists in New Haven, by N. A. Bacon; Correspondence between President Jefferson and Abraham Bishop, Collector of New Haven; Bishop Berkeley's Gifts to Yale College, by D. C. Gilman; Historical Account of Connecticut Currency, etc., by H. Bronson.

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NEW HAVEN COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society. Vol. II. New Haven, 1877.

8vo, pp. xxiv, 388.

Contents: Officers; Members; Constitution; Address of the president, [E. E.] Beardsley; Early History of Southold, Long Island, by E. Whitaker; Invasion of New Haven by the British Troops, July 5, 1779, by C. Goodrich; The Poetry and Poets of Connecticut, by R. W. Wright; Memoranda respecting Whalley and Goffe, by F. B. Dexter; Remarks on Mr. Dexter's paper respecting Whalley and Goffe, by T. R. Trowbridge; Historical Sketch of Stephen Goodyear, Deputy Governor of the New Haven Colony, 1643-1658, as derived from "The Old Colony Records;" Ancient Houses of New Haven, by T. R. Trowbridge, jr.; Sketch of the Life and Writings of John Davenport, by F. B. Dexter; Medical History and Biography, by H. Bronson.

NEW HAVEN COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society. Vol. III. New Haven, 1882.

8vo, pp. vii, 620.

Contents: Officers; Members; The founding of Yale College, by F. B. Dexter; The New Haven convention of 1778, by S. E. Baldwin; Old Connecticut by F. J. Kingsbury; History of the ancient maritime interests of New Haven, by T. R. Trowbridge, jr.; The Mohegan land controversy, by E. E. Beardsley; Governor Elihu Yale, by F. B. Dexter; Branford annals, by E. C. Baldwin; The boundary line between Connecticut and New York, by S. E. Baldwin; Chapters on the early government of Connecticut, by H. Bronson; The ecclesiastical constitution of Yale College, by S. E. Baldwin; The early relations between New Netherland and New England, by F. B. Dexter; Inscriptions on tombstones in New Haven, prior to 1800, edited by F. B. Dexter. Index to Vols. I-III.

NEW HAVEN COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society. Vol. IV. New Haven, 1888.

8vo, pp. viii, 456.

Contents: Prefatory note; Officers, 1887-88; Members; The diary of Ebenezer Townsend, jr., the supercargo of the sealing ship *Neptune* on her voyage to the South Pacific and Canton, with a preface by Thomas R. Trowbridge, jr.; New Haven in 1784, by Franklin Bowditch Dexter; Connecticut boroughs, by Calvin H. Carter; The family of Nathaniel Eaton, of Cambridge, Mass., by Daniel C. Eaton; A young man's journal of a hundred years ago [at Yale College]; New Haven's adventure on the Delaware Bay, by Rev. Epher Whitaker, D. D.; Personal reminiscences of the Revolutionary war, by the late Thomas Painter, of West Haven; Yale graduates in western Massachusetts, by Rev. Alpheus C. Hodges; Branford annals 1700-1800, by Rev. Elijah C. Baldwin; The captives of the Amistad, by Simeon E. Baldwin; The trading house on the Paugasset, by Rev. William G. Andrews; The past and future of this Society, being the annual address of the president for 1886, by Simeon E. Baldwin; Inscriptions on tombstones in Guilford, erected prior to 1800; Index.

NEW HAVEN COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Papers. Vol. V. New Haven, 1894.

8vo, xci., (1), 309. Plates. Portraits.

Contents: Proceedings at the public opening, September 28, 1893, of the Society building erected by Henry F. English: Address, by the president; Commemorative address, by Horace Day; Historical sketch, by T. R. Trowbridge; List of officers [and] members, 1893; Inscriptions on Milford tombstones; Sketch of Philip Marett, by S. E. Baldwin; Recollections of New Haven between 1825 and 1837, by Gardner Morse; Sketch of Eli Whitney, by W. P. Blake; Mrs. Eaton's trial (1644), from the records of the First Church, by Newman Smyth; Extracts from the journal of Joel Root, supercargo of the ship *Huron*, from New Haven around the world, September, 1802, to October, 1806; New Haven bells, by J. S. Hotchkiss; The three constitutions of Connecticut, by S. E. Baldwin; President Clap and his writings, by F. B. Dexter; Early history of Long Island Sound and its approaches, by Charles Hervey Townshend; Index.

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Forms part of Vol. I of the *Papers*, but paged independently.

NEW HAVEN COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. A continuation of the Maritime History of Connecticut, by Capt. James W. Goodrich, delivered before the Society, December 31, 1866. [New Haven, 1866.]

8vo, pp. 40. No title-page; title on cover.

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Historical Magazine, 3d series, Vol. III, January, 1874, pp. 12–18; February, 1874, pp. 81–85; March, 1874, pp. 148–153.

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NEW HAVEN COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Mr. William Diodate (of New Haven, from 1717 to 1751), and his Italian Ancestry. Read before the Society, June 28, 1875, by Edward E. Salisbury. Taken from the Society's archives, by permission, for private circulation, and printed, after revision, in April, 1876. [New Haven], 1876.

8vo, large paper, pp. 39. Folded sheet. Plate.

Some copies have inserted "Supplement to the Diodate genealogy," reprinted from the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*," 2 pp.

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NEW HAVEN COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The Ecclesiastical Constitution of Yale College. By Simeon E. Baldwin. Read April 25, 1881. New Haven, 1882.

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NEW HAVEN COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Governor Elihu Yale. By Franklin B. Dexter. New Haven, 1882.

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NEW HAVEN COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Old Connecticut. By Frederick J. Kingsbury. New Haven, 1882.

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NEW HAVEN COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. New Haven in 1784. A paper read before the Society January 21, 1884, by Franklin Bowditch Dexter.

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8vo, pp. 68, (1).
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4to, pp. 19. Portrait.

NEW HAVEN COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The Peace Conference of 1861 at Washington, D. C., by William Warner Hopkins, jr. Read before the Rhode Island Historical Society and the New Haven Colonial Historical Society, 1889–90. Providence, 1891.
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30. *NEW LONDON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

New London, Conn.

NEW LONDON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Act of Incorporation, By-Laws, and Officers, November, 1871. New London, 1871.
12mo, pp. 7.
Same [New London], 1874. 12mo, pp. 7.

NEW LONDON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Annual Meeting, with Secretary's Report, November 29, 1880. New London, 1880.
16mo, pp. 12.
Same, November 28, 1881. New London, 1881. 16mo, pp. 12.
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NEW LONDON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. A Memorial of Rev. Thomas Leffingwell Shipman. Read before the Society, by Rev. W. B. Clarke, December 11, 1888. Published by the Society. New London, 1889.
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NEW LONDON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Records and Papers of the Society. Part 1, Vol. I. New London, 1890.
8vo, pp. 128.
Contents: Preface; Officers; Annual meeting, September 6, 1889; List of members; An act incorporating the Society; By-Laws; Historical Sketch of the Society; Officers, 1871–1890; Members, 1871–1890; Memoir of Hon. La Fayette S. Foster; Frances Mainwaring Caulkins; A Partial Bibliography of the Writings of Frances M. Caulkins; Poems of Local Scenes and Incidents, by same;

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Memoir and Bibliography of Ashbel Woodward, M. D.; Memoir of the Rev. Thomas Leffingwell Shipman; Memoir of the Hon. William H. Starr; Memoir of Hon. William H. Potter; Description of the Public Library at New London; New London and the War of 1812; Address by Rev. Edward W. Bacon; Memoir of Capt. Richard Law.

NEW LONDON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Records and Papers. Part 2, Vol. I. New London, 1890.

pp. (4) 58. Portrait.

Contents: List of officers, 1891; Annual meeting, September 6, 1890; Address of Hon. La Fayette S. Foster, in Old Fort Griswold, Groton Heights, September 6, 1880; in pace: in memoriam of the men who fell in the massacre in Fort Griswold, September 6, 1781; Evidences of glacial action in southeastern Connecticut, by David A. Wells; The Hon. Henry P. Haven, a brief biography; Revolutionary naval officers from Connecticut; List of members of the Society, September 6, 1891.

NEW LONDON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Records and Papers. Part 3, Vol. I. New Haven, 1891.

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Contents: Officers, 1892; Annual meeting, September, 1891; The first organized church in New London County, by Richard A. Wheeler; The tradition of Micah Rood, by P. H. Woodward; Early printing in New England, by T. S. Collier; A copy of a curious old affirmation, Boston, 1716.

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8vo, pp. (4) 109. Woodcuts.

Contents: The Revolutionary privateers of Connecticut, with an account of the State cruisers, and a short history of the Continental naval cruisers, built in the State, with lists of officers and crews, by Thomas S. Collier; An account of the old houses of New London, by James Lawrence Chew; Report of annual meeting September 6, 1892, with a list of officers and members.

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Contents: Gardon Saltonstall, scholar, preacher, statesman, by S. L. Blake; Orders drawn by the selectmen of New London, January 18, 1764–August 3, 1766; Memoirs of George Washington, from the *Universal Magazine*, 1781; Anecdotes of General Putnam, from the *Universal Magazine*, 1781; Report of annual meeting, 1893; Officers; Members.

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Contents: Early Whaling Industry of New London, by C. A. Williams; Reminiscences of the monthly meetings of the Congregational ministers of New London County and vicinity, by John Avery; Famous old taverns of New London, by James Lawrence Chew; Fact and reminiscence, by James Lawrence Chew; Report of the annual meeting of the Society, September 6, 1894, with list of officers and members.

NEW LONDON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Records and Papers. Part 2, Vol. II. New London, 1896.

8vo, pp. (6), 115–182. Portraits. Plates.

Contents: Historical sketch of the schools of New London, by Benjamin Stark; New London Society for Trade and Commerce, by N. S. Perkins; The Preston Separate Church, by A. A. Browning.

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31. *TOLLAND COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

TOLLAND COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The Early History of Tolland. An address delivered before the Society, at Tolland, Conn., on the 22d of August and 27th of September, 1861. By Loren P. Waldo. Hartford, 1861.

8vo, pp. 148.

DELAWARE.

32. *HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF DELAWARE.*

Wilmington, Del.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF DELAWARE. Proceedings of the Inaugural Meeting of the Society, 31st May, 1864, with the constitution and by-laws. Wilmington, 1864.

8vo, pp. 16.

Contains address by J. Ross Snowden on the Early History of the Settlements on the Delaware.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF DELAWARE. First Annual Discourse delivered before the Society. By J. M. Read, jr. Wilmington, 1864.

8vo.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF DELAWARE. An historical inquiry concerning Henry Hudson, his friends, relatives, and early life, his connection with the Muscovy Company and discovery of Delaware Bay. By John Meredith Read, jr. Albany, 1866.

8vo, pp. vi, 209. Plate.

Consists of an amplification of "A discourse delivered at Wilmington, before the Historical Society of Delaware on its first anniversary," with preliminary matter, notes, etc. Also reprinted in an abridged form by the Clarendon Historical Society, London, 1883.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF DELAWARE. The Revolutionary soldiers, of Delaware. Paper read by Willis G. Whiteley before the Delaware legislature. Wilmington, 1875.

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HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF DELAWARE. "Inter folia fructus." A historical inquiry concerning Henry Hudson, his friends, relatives, and early life, his connection with the Muscovy Company and discovery of Delaware Bay. Abridged from the work of John Meredith Read, jr., and edited by Edmund Goldsmid. [London], Clarendon Historical Society, 1883.

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HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF DELAWARE. Some leaves from the early history of Delaware and Maryland. Read before the Society, September 24, 1868, by W. J. Read. Wilmington, 1868.

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HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF DELAWARE. The life and military services of the late Brig. Gen. Thomas A. Smyth. By W. D. Maull. Wilmington, 1870.

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Read at a meeting of the Society convened for that purpose.

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8vo, pp. 23. Portrait.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF DELAWARE. A sketch of the life of Oliver Evans, a remarkable mechanic, and inventor, by Rev. George A. Latimer, rector of Calvary P. E. Church, Wilmington, Del. Wilmington, [1872?].

8vo, pp. 16.

Prepared in compliance with a resolution of the Historical Society of Delaware, and was read at its annual meeting on the 10th of October, 1872.

Reprinted from *Harkness's Magazine*.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF DELAWARE. A history of New Sweden; or, the Settlements on the River Delaware. By Israel Acrelius. Translated from the Swedish, with an introduction and notes, by William M. Reynolds. Published under the joint auspices of the Historical Societies of Pennsylvania and Delaware. Philadelphia, 1874.

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Forms Vol. XI of *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*.

Pages 459-468 are taken up with a list of subscribers to the publication fund of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF DELAWARE. Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware. No. 1. Memorial address on the life and character of Willard Hall. By Daniel M. Bates. Wilmington, 1879.

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HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF DELAWARE. Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware. No. 2. Address on the history of the boundaries of the State of Delaware. By John W. Houston. Wilmington, 1879.

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8vo, pp. 307. Portrait.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF DELAWARE. Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware. No. 5. History of the First Regiment, Delaware Volunteers. By William P. Seville. Wilmington, 1884.

8vo, pp. 163.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF DELAWARE. Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware. No. 6. Minutes of the Council of the Delaware State from 1776 to 1792. Wilmington, 1888.

8vo, pp. (1) xi (1), 9-27.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF DELAWARE. Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware. No. 7. Ancient families of Bohemia Manor; their homes and their graves. By Rev. Charles Payson Mallery. Wilmington, 1888.

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Chapters on Augustine Herman, his sons, and descendants. The Sluyter and Bouchelle families; the Bayard family; James Bayard's descendants; Dr. J. A. Bayard's children.

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HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF DELAWARE. Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware. No. 8. Diary of Capt. Thomas Rodney, 1776–77, with an introduction. By Cæsar A. Rodney. Wilmington, 1888.
8vo, pp, 53.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF DELAWARE. Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware, No. 13. A History of the Delaware State Society of the Cincinnati, from its organization to the present time. To which is appended a brief account of the Delaware regiments in the war of the Revolution. Also, personal memoirs of the Delaware regiments in the war of the Revolution. Also, personal memoirs of officers, rolls of same, oration before the Delaware Cincinnati on the death of Washington, etc. By Henry Hobart Bellas, LL. B. Wilmington, 1895.
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DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

[For American Historical Association, American Historical Society, and National Geographic Society, see National Associations.]

33. *COLUMBIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Washington, D. C.

COLUMBIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Constitution and By-Laws, etc. August, 1833. Washington, 1833.
8vo. Same. Washington, 1838.

34. *SOCIETY OF THE OLDEST INHABITANTS OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.*

OLDEST INHABITANTS' ASSOCIATION. An address on the life and character of John Carroll Brent, delivered by John B. Blake before the Society, April 5, 1876. Washington, 1876.
8vo, pp. 12.

OLDEST INHABITANTS' ASSOCIATION. Washington sixty years ago. Paper by Lambert Tree, read before the Association, 7th April, 1880. [Philadelphia, 1880.]
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FLORIDA.

35. *HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF FLORIDA.*

St. Augustine, Fla.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF FLORIDA. Historical Society of Florida. Organized in 1856. [Officers; Constitution; By-Laws. Honorary Members elected July, 1856; Members elected July, 1856.] St. Augustine, 1856.
32mo, pp. 9, (2).

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF FLORIDA. The Early History of Florida. An introductory lecture, delivered by George R. Fairbanks, before the Florida Historical Society, April 15, 1857. With an appendix containing the constitution, organization, and list of members of the Society. St. Augustine, 1857.

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GEORGIA.

36. *GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Savannah, Ga.

GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections of the Georgia Historical Society. Vol. I. Savannah, 1840.

8vo, pp. xii, 307, (1).

Contents: Introduction. Oration before the Society at the celebration of their first anniversary, February 12, 1840, by W. Law; New and accurate account of the provinces of South Carolina and Georgia [by J. Oglethorpe], London, 1733; A voyage to Georgia, 1735, by F. Moore, London, 1744; An impartial inquiry into the state and utility of the province of Georgia [by B. Martyn], London, 1741; Reasons for establishing the colony of Georgia, with regard to the trade of Great Britain [etc.], with some account of the country, and the design of the trustees [by B. Martyn], London, 1733; Sketch of the life of Gen. James Oglethorpe, by T. Spalding.

GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections of the Georgia Historical Society. Vol. II. Savannah, 1842.

8vo, pp. (6) 336.

Contents: Introduction. Discourse before the Society at their second anniversary, February 12, 1841, by W. B. Stevens; A new voyage to Georgia, by a young gentleman, 2d ed., London, 1737; A state of the province of Georgia, attested upon oath in the court of Savannah, November 10, 1740 [by W. Stephens], London, 1740; A brief account of the causes that have retarded the progress of the colony of Georgia [by T. Stephens], London, 1743; A true and historical narrative of the colony of Georgia, by P. Tailfer, H. Anderson, D. Douglas, Charleston, 1741; Account showing progress of the colony of Georgia from its establishment [by B. Martyn], London, 1741. Appendix: Account of the Society; Constitution; By-Laws; Act of incorporation; Officers. Members. 1842.

GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections of the Georgia Historical Society. Vol. III, part 1. Savannah, 1848.

8vo, pp. 88.

Contents: Introduction; [Biographical sketch of Benjamin Hawkins]; The Creek confederacy [by W. B. Hodgson]; A sketch of the Creek country, in 1798 and 1799 [by B. Hawkins]. Appendix: Indian treaties, 1773–1796.

No other part of this volume was issued, The Society published no more collections until 1873, when the publication was resumed with the designation of Vol. III, disregarding this first part.

GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections of the Georgia Historical Society. Vol. III. Savannah, 1873.

8vo, pp. vi, 428.

Contents: Preface; Letters from General Oglethorpe to the trustees of the colony, October, 1735, to August, 1744; Report of Governor Sir James Wright to Lord Dartmouth on the condition of the colony, September 20, 1773; Letters from Governor Sir James Wright to the Earl of Dartmouth and Lord George Germain, secretaries of state for America, August 24, 1774, to February 16, 1782. Appendix: Casimir Pulaski, address before the Society by C. C. Jones, jr., upon the celebration of its thirty-second anniversary, February 13, 1871; address before the Society by R. D. Arnold, July 24, 1871.

GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections of the Georgia Historical Society. Vol. IV. Savannah, 1878.

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Contents: The dead towns of Georgia, by C. C. Jones, jr. Illustrated. Itinerant observations in America. Reprinted from the *London Magazine*, 1745–46.

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GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. A discourse delivered before the Society. February 12, 1840. By William Law. Savannah, 1840.

8vo, pp. 43.

On the early settlements and history of Georgia.

GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Biographical memorials of James Oglethorpe, founder of the colony of Georgia. By Thaddeus Mason Harris. Boston, 1841.

8vo, pp. xxii, 424. Portrait. Folded map.

Dedicated to the Society.

GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Historical lecture on Sergeant Jasper, before the Society, 1841. By Robert M. Charlton.

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On the events of the Revolution in Georgia.

GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. A discourse on the qualifications and duties of an historian, delivered before the Society on its fourth anniversary, February 13, 1843. By Mitchell King. Savannah: Published by a resolution of the Society, 1843.

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GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. A lecture delivered before the Society, March 7, 1843. By John Elliott Ward. Savannah, 1843.

8vo, pp. 22.

GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. A lecture delivered before the Society at the Unitarian Church, Tuesday evening, March 14, 1843. By William A. Carruthers, M. D. Savannah, 1843.

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GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. A high civilization, the moral duty of Georgians. A discourse before the Society, February 12, 1844. By Stephen Elliott, jr. Savannah, 1844.

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GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Lecture before the Society, February 29 and March 4, 1844, on the subject of education. By Samuel K. Talmage. Savannah, 1844.

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GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. A discourse delivered before the Society on the occasion of its sixth anniversary, February 12, 1845. Ay Alonzo Church. Savannah, 1845.

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GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The romance of life. A historical lecture before the Society on the 14th of January, 1845. By Robert M. Charlton. Savannah, 1845.

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GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. A history of Georgia, from its first discovery by Europeans to the adoption of the present constitution in 1798. By William Bacon Stevens. 2 vols. New York, 1847, 1859.

Two vols., 8vo. Plates. Plan. Map.

Prepared at the request of the Society and published under its auspices. Pecuniary aid was rendered by the Society for the publication of the second volume.

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GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Proceedings of meeting, January 7, 1855.
Broadside.

GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Address delivered before the Society on its nineteenth anniversary, February 12, 1858. By John E. Ward. Savannah, 1858.
8vo, pp. 24.

GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Indian remains in southern Georgia. Address before the Society on its twentieth anniversary, February 12, 1859. By Charles C. Jones, jr. Savannah, 1859.
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GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Constitution, by-laws, and list of members. Savannah, 1859.
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GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Wilde's Summer Rose; or, the Lament of the Captive. An authentic account of the origin, mystery, and explanation of R. H. Wilde's alleged plagiarism. By Anthony Barclay, and with his permission published by the Society. Savannah, 1871.
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GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Casimir Pulaski. An address delivered before the Society by Charles C. Jones, jr., upon the occasion of the celebration of its thirty-second anniversary, February 13, 1871. Savannah, 1873.
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GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Proceedings, resolutions, and communications, commemorative of Edward J. Hardin, attorney for the city of Savannah and president of the Society, who died April 19, 1873. [Savannah], 1873.
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GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Gettysburg. By Lafayette McLaws. [Read before the Society.]

Southern Historical Society Papers, Vol. VII, pp. 64-90. Richmond, 1879.

GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Reminiscences of service with the first volunteer regiment of Georgia, Charleston Harbor, in 1863. An address before the Society, March 3, 1879. By Charles H. Olmstead. Savannah, 1879.

8vo, pp. 15.

GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Reminiscences of service in Charleston Harbor in 1863. By Charles H. Olmstead. Read before the Society, March 3, 1879.

Southern Historical Society Papers, Vol. II, pp. 118-125, 158-171. Richmond, [1883].

GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Hernando De Soto. The adventures encountered and the route pursued by the Adelantado during his march through the territory embraced within the present limits of Georgia. By Charles C. Jones, jr. Read before the Society. Savannah, 1880.

8vo, pp. 42 (1). Portrait.

GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Anniversary address before the Society on the 14th of February, 1881. By Charles C. Jones, jr. [Savannah], 1881.

8vo, pp. 40.

Title on cover reads: "The Georgia Historical Society; its founders, patrons, and friends."

GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Constitution, by-laws, and list of members. Savannah, 1883.

8vo, pp. 31 (1).

GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. A suggestion as to the origin of the plan of Savannah. Remarks by William Harden before the Society, September 7, 1885. [Savannah, 1885.]

8vo, pp. 4. No title-page.

GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The life and services of the Hon. Maj. Gen. Samuel Elbert, of Georgia. By Charles C. Jones, jr. An address before the Society, at Savannah, on the 6th of December, 1886. Printed for the Society. Cambridge, 1887.

8vo, pp. 48.

GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. A brief sketch of the life and writings of Sidney Lanier. By Charles N. West. An address delivered before the Society on the 5th of December, 1887. Printed for the Society. Savannah, 1888.

8vo, pp. 25.

GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The life and times of William Harris Crawford, of Georgia. An address delivered by Charles N. West, A. M., before the Society, May 2, 1892. [Savannah], 1892.

8vo, pp. 45.

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ILLINOIS.

37. *ANTIQUARIAN AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF ILLINOIS.*

ANTIQUARIAN AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF ILLINOIS. Proceedings at the first session of the Antiquarian and Historical Society of Illinois in December, 1827, with an address. Edwardsville, 1828.
12mo, pp. 22.

ANTIQUARIAN AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF ILLINOIS. Address before the Society at its annual meeting, December, 1828, by James Hall. Vandalia, 1829.
12mo, pp. 20.
Proceedings on pp. 18–20.

38. *CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The Chicago Historical Society; its origin, present condition, plans, and necessities. [Chicago], n. d.
4to sheet, pp. 2. No title-page.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Constitution and by-laws of the Historical Society of Chicago. Chicago, 1856.
12mo, pp. 14 (1),

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Memoir of Hon. Daniel P. Cook. Read before the Society, June 9, 1857, by William H. Brown. Chicago, 1857.
8vo, pp. 30.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Charter, constitution, and by-laws, with a list of officers, etc. Chicago, 1858.
8vo, pp. 31.
Some copies have 23, (3) pp.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Catalogue of the first exhibition of statuary, paintings, etc., opened May 9, in Barch's Building, corner Wabash avenue and Lake street, 1859. Chicago, 1859.
8vo.
Mrs. D. Hager writes: "I have heard, but not seen it in the records, that this exhibition of fine arts was got up by members of the Historical Society for its benefit."

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Biennial report to the Governor of Illinois. Springfield (Ill.), 1863.
8vo, pp. 13, (1).

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. An historical sketch of the early movement in Illinois for the legalization of slavery. Read at the annual meeting of the Society, December 5, 1864, by William H. Brown. Chicago, 1865.
8vo, pp. 44.
Reprinted in 1876.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Annual meeting, November 19th, 1868. Addresses by J. Young Scammon, president, and Isaac N. Arnold. Chicago, 1868.
8vo, pp. 32.
I. N. Arnold spoke on the early history of Chicago.

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CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. History of Illinois from 1778 to 1833; and Life and times of Ninian Edwards. By Ninian W. Edwards. Springfield, 1870.

8vo, pp. 549, ill.
Written at request of the Society.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The last of the Illinois, and a sketch of the Pottawatomies. Read before the Society, December 13, 1870, by John Dean Caton. Chicago, 1870.

8vo, pp. 36.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The last of the Illinois, and a sketch of the Pottawatomies. Read before the Society, December 13, 1870, by John D. Caton. Chicago, 1870.

12mo, pp. 30.
Fergus Historical Series, No. 3, pp. 1–30.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Charter, Constitution, and By-Laws, with a list of officers and members. Chicago, 1871.

8vo, pp. 23.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. An historical Sketch of the early Movement in Illinois for the legalization of Slavery. Read at the annual meeting of the Society, December 5, 1864, by William H. Brown. Chicago, 1876.

12mo, pp. 30 (1).
Fergus Historical Series, No. 4.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Addresses delivered at the annual meeting of the Society, November 19, 1868, by J. Young Scammon and Isaac N. Arnold: Incidents in the lives of President Lincoln and Major Anderson in the Black Hawk war, Luther Haven, George Manierre, and other early settlers in Chicago. With a sketch of Col. John H. Kinzie, by Juliette A. Kinzie, read before the Society July 17, 1877. Sketches of Billy Caldwell and Shabonee, by William Hickling and G. S. Hubbard, and the "Winnebago Scare," by H. W. Beckwith. Chicago, 1877.

12mo, pp. 52.
Fergus Historical Series, No. 10.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Chicago Historical Society, November 19, 1868. Introductory address, by J. Young Scammon. Address by Isaac N. Arnold, giving a history of the Society and its acquisitions up to that time, with incidents in the lives of Abraham Lincoln and Major Anderson; also of Luther Haven, George Manierre, and other early settlers of Chicago. Chicago, 1877.

8vo, pp. 31.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Circular about objects of the Society. January, 1878.

Sheet.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Biographical Sketch of the late Gen. B. J. Sweet. History of Camp Douglas. A paper read before the Society June 18, 1878, by William Bross. Chicago, 1878.

8vo, pp. 28. Plan.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Biographical Memoir of the Hon. George Manierre, delivered before the Society April 16, 1878, by Thomas Hoyne. [Chicago, 1878.]

8vo, pp. 48. Portrait.

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CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Father Marquette at Mackinaw and Chicago. A paper read before the Society, October 15, 1868, by Henry H. Hurlbut. Chicago, 1878.

8vo, pp. 16.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Reynolds' History of Illinois. My Own Times: Embracing also the History of my Life. By John Reynolds, late governor of Illinois. Chicago, 1879.

8vo, pp. xx, 395. Portrait.

The author was governor of Illinois from 1830 to 1834, and published this work in 1850. The original edition having become scarce, it was reprinted as above by the Historical Society.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The Imprisonment in Libby and Escape by Tunnel. By Charles Warrington Earle. Waukegan, Ill., 1879.

8vo, pp. 21.

Read before the Chicago Historical Society, May 23, 1879.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Kaskaskia, Ill., Parish Records, 1696–1834. By E. G. Mason. Chicago, 1879.

8vo, pp. 22.

From the *Chicago Times*.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Chicago and the sources of her past and future growth. A paper read before the Society, January 20, 1880, by William Bross. Chicago, 1880.

8vo, pp. 18.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Recollections of Early Illinois and Her Noted Men. Read before the Society, March 16, 1880, by Joseph Gillespie. Chicago, 1880.

12mo, pp. 50 (1).

Fergus Historical Series, No. 18.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Early Society in Southern Illinois. A lecture read before the Society, October 19, 1880, by Robert W. Patterson. Chicago, 1881.

8vo, pp. 34.

Same, in *Fergus Historical Series*, No. 14, pp. 103–131.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. A brief History of the Society, together with constitution and by-laws, and list of officers and members. Chicago, 1881.

8vo, pp. 31.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The Earliest religious history of Chicago. By Jeremiah Porter, its first resident pastor. An address read before the Society in 1859. [Chicago, 1881.]

12mo. *Fergus Historical Series*, No. 14, pp. 1–80.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Early Chicago. Fort Dearborn. An address delivered at the unveiling of the memorial tablet to mark the site of the Blockhouse, May 21, 1881, under the auspices of the Society, to which have been added notes and an appendix. By John Wentworth. Chicago, 1881.

12mo, pp. 104 (20).

Fergus Historical Series, No. 16.

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CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Illinois in the Eighteenth Century. [Three papers read before the Society.] Kaskaskia and its parish records; Old Fort Chartres; and Col. John Todd's record book. By Edward G. Mason. Chicago, 1881.

12mo, pp. (2) 68.

Fergus Historical Series, No. 12.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Recollections of Public Men. A paper read before the Society, November 15, 1881, by William F. De Wolf. Chicago, 1881.

8vo, pp. 16.

Second edition, 1882.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. William B. Ogden, and early days in Chicago. A paper read before the Society, December 20, 1881 (on the presentation by Mrs. Ogden of a portrait of her late husband, painted by George P. A. Healy), by Isaac N. Arnold. Chicago, 1881.

8vo, pp. (2), 40.

Printed also, in 1882, in *Fergus Historical Series*.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. "Historical Chicago—past, present, and future." Address of Emery A. Storrs, for the benefit of the Society. Delivered at Central Music Hall, December 15, 1882, Hon. Isaac N. Arnold, presiding. Chicago, 1882.

Large 8vo, pp. 26.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. William B. Ogden and early days in Chicago. A paper read before the Society, December 20, 1881, by Isaac N. Arnold. Chicago, 1882.

12mo, pp. 40.

Fergus Historical Series, No. 17, pp. 1–40.

Published also independently of the series.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Chicago Historical Society Collections. Vol. I. Chicago, 1882.

8vo, pp. (2), 402.

Contents: History of the English settlement in Edwards County, Ill., founded in 1817 and 1818, by Morris Birkbeck and George Flower. With preface and foot-notes, by E. B. Washburne.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Chicago Historical Society Collections. Vol. II. Chicago, 1884.

8vo, pp. 134. Portrait.

Contents: Biographical sketch of Enoch Long, an Illinois pioneer. By Harvey Reid.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Chicago Historical Society Collections. Vol. III. Chicago, 1884.

8vo, pp. 8, xxviii, 17–633. Portraits. Facsimiles.

Contents: The Edwards papers; being a portion of the collection of the letters, papers, and manuscripts of Ninian Edwards. Edited by E. B. Washburne.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Chicago Historical Society Collections. Vol. IV. Chicago, 1890.

8vo, pp. xxv, 521. Portraits.

Contents: Early Chicago and Illinois, edited and annotated by Edward G. Mason; Inscription; Papers; Officers, 1889; Members; Early Chicago and Illinois; Gurdon S. Hubbard, a settler of Chicago in 1818, by Grant Goodrich; Isaac N. Arnold, a settler of Chicago in 1836, by E. B. Washburne; Mark Skinner, by

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E. W. Blatchford; Elihu B. Washburne, by George W. Smith; Tribute of William H. Bradley; Philo Carpenter, a settler of Chicago in 1832, by Henry L. Hammond; Samuel Stone, by Mrs. William Barry; Sketch of Pierre Menard, by E. G. Mason; The first lieutenant-governor of Illinois, by Henry S. Baker; Pierre Menard papers; Noel Le Vasseur, by Stephen R. Moore; Lists of early Illinois citizens, introduction by E. G. Mason; Heads of families in Kaskaskia in or before 1783; Inhabitants of Prairie du Rocher and St. Philips in 1783; Heads of families in Cahokia and its environs in 1783; Heads of families at Cahokia, Prairie Du Rocher, etc., 1783; Liste des habitans résident aux Kaskaskias en 1790; Captain Piggot's company, April 26, 1790; Roll of Captain Saucier's company August 1, 1790; Captain Dubuque's company, August 1, 1790; Roll of militia of Kaskaskia, August 1, 1790; Roll of militia of Prairie du Rocher, August 1, 1790; General returns of St. Clair County militia, August 1, 1790; John Rice Jones, a brief sketch of the life and public career of the first practicing lawyer in Illinois, by W. A. Burt Jones; Rice Jones, by W. A. Burt Jones; John Todd's Record book; John Todd Papers; British Illinois; Philippe de Rocheblave, sketch by E. G. Mason; Rocheblave papers; Court of inquiry at Fort Chartres, by John Moses; Index.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Congressional Reminiscences: Adams, Benton, Calhoun, Clay, and Webster. An address, March 16, 1882, before the Society, with notes and an appendix, by Chicago's first Congressman, John Wentworth. Chicago, 1882.

12mo, pp. 101.

Fergus Historical Series, No. 24.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Sketch of Edward Coles, second governor of Illinois, and of the slavery struggle of 1823–1834. Prepared for the Society by E. B. Washburne. Chicago, 1882.

8vo, pp. 253. Portrait. Facsimiles.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Constitution and By-Laws, together with list of officers and members. Chicago, 1883.

8vo, pp. 27.

Same, corrected edition, pp. 28.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Early Illinois Railroads. A paper read before the Society, February 20, 1883, by Wm. K. Ackerman. Notes by John Wentworth. Also, an appendix, with the Breese-Douglas correspondence on the inception and origin of the Illinois Central Railroad, and the origin of names of stations on the Illinois Central Railroad. Chicago, 1884.

8vo, pp. 174.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY Chicago Historical Society's Proceedings. December 18, 1883. Chicago, 1884.

8vo, pp. (4) 56. Two portraits.

Contents: The Dearborns: A discourse commemorative of the eightieth anniversary of the occupation of Fort Dearborn, and the first settlement at Chicago. Read, December 18, 1883, by Daniel Goodwin, jr. With remarks of John Wentworth, J. Young Scammon, E. B. Washburne, and I. N. Arnold.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The Dearborns: A discourse commemorative of the eightieth anniversary of the occupation of Fort Dearborn, and the first settlement at Chicago. Read before the Society, December 18, 1883, by Daniel Goodwin, jr. With remarks of John Wentworth, J. Young Scammon, E. B. Washburne, and I. N. Arnold. Chicago, 1884.

8vo, pp. (4), 56. Two portraits.

Title on cover reads: "The Dearborns. By Daniel Goodwin, jr. Chicago Historical Society's Proceedings."

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CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Illinois and the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. A paper read before the Society, January 15, 1884, by William Bross. Chicago, 1884.

8vo, pp. 8.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. In Memoriam. Memorial addresses commemorative of the lives and characters of Hon. Isaac N. Arnold, late president, and Hon. Thomas Hoyne, late vice-president, of the Society. Delivered before the Society, October 21, 1884, by E. B. Washburne, Thomas Drummond, and Van H. Higgins, in respect of Mr. Arnold; John Wentworth, in respect of Mr. Hoyne. Chicago, 1884.

8vo, pp. 43.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The Theater; its early days in Chicago. A paper read before the Society, February 19, 1884, by J. H. McVicker. Chicago, 1884.

8vo, pp. 88.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Charles Hammond and his relations to Henry Clay and John Quincy Adams; or constitutional limitations and the contest for freedom of speech and the press. An address before the Society, May 20, 1884, by William Henry Smith. Chicago, 1885.

8vo, pp. 72.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. In Memoriam: Isaac Newton Arnold, November 30, 1813, to April 24, 1884; Arthur Mason Arnold, May 13, 1858, to April 26, 1873. Chicago, 1885.

8vo, pp. 115. Portrait. pp. 36–72 contain the proceedings of the Society.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. In Memoriam: John S. Wright. An address delivered before the Society, July 21, 1885, by Augustine W. Wright. Chicago, 1885.

8vo, pp. 40.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Samuel de Champlain: a brief sketch of the eminent navigator and discoverer. Read before the Society, October 20, 1885, by Henry H. Hurlbut. A portrait of the great explorer, painted by Miss Harriet P. Hurlbut, was on this occasion presented in her name to the Society. Chicago, 1885.

8vo, pp. 19.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Constitution and By-Laws of the Society, together with list of officers and members, 1885–86. Chicago, 1886.

8vo, pp. 27 (1).

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Reports of quarterly meetings, January, 1888–January, 1889. Chicago, 1889–1894.

8vo, pp. 20.
Issued in leaflets paged continuously to form a volume.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. In memory of Robert C. Winthrop. By Daniel Goodwin. Delivered before the Chicago Literary Club, November 20, 1888, and the Chicago Historical Society, November 20, 1894. Chicago, 1894.

8vo, pp. 64. Folded plan.

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39. *FRANKLIN SOCIETY.*

Chicago, Ill.

FRANKLIN SOCIETY. Publications of the Franklin Society. Vols. I and II. Chicago, 1869–70.

4to.

Contents: No. 1. The Printer, by J. W. Sheahan, 20 pp. No. 2. Early Newspapers in Illinois, by H. R. Boss, 48 pp.

40. *HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF JOLIET.*

Joliet, Ill.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF JOLIET. Forty years ago: A contribution to the early history of Joliet and Will County. Two lectures before the Society, by George H. Woodruff, December 7, 1873, and March 24, 1874. Joliet, 1874.

8vo, pp. (2) 108.

41. *PIONEER ASSOCIATION OF WILL COUNTY, ILLINOIS.*

PIONEER ASSOCIATION OF WILL COUNTY, ILLINOIS. Oration of G. D. A. Parks, to the Pioneer Association of Will County, August 2, 1882, being the anniversary of the battle of Bad Axe, with the introductory remarks of G. H. Woodruff, president of the Association. Joliet. 1882.

8vo, pp. 14.

PIONEER ASSOCIATION OF WILL COUNTY, ILLINOIS. Sixth annual reunion of the Will County Pioneer Association, September 1, 1886, being the semicentennial of the organization of Will County, 1836–1886. Joliet, 1886.

8vo, pp. 12.

Contents: Addresses of George H. Woodruff and Judge G. D. A. Parks, with poem by Egbert Phelps and A. F. Kercheval.

42. *TRI-STATE OLD SETTLERS' ASSOCIATION OF ILLINOIS, MISSOURI, AND IOWA.*

TRI-STATE OLD SETTLERS' ASSOCIATION OF ILLINOIS, MISSOURI, AND IOWA. Report of the organization and first reunion of the Tri-State Old Settlers' Association of Illinois, Missouri, and Iowa, held October 2, 1884, at Keokuk, Iowa. Keokuk, 1884.

8vo, pp. (2) 68.

TRI-STATE OLD SETTLERS' ASSOCIATION OF ILLINOIS, MISSOURI, AND IOWA. Report of the second reunion, held September 30, 1885, in Keokuk, Iowa. Keokuk, [1884].

8vo, pp. 112.

TRI-STATE OLD SETTLERS' ASSOCIATION OF ILLINOIS, MISSOURI, AND IOWA. Report of the third reunion, held October 13, 1886, in Keokuk, Iowa. Keokuk, 1887.

8vo, pp. 89.

TRI-STATE OLD SETTLERS' ASSOCIATION OF ILLINOIS, MISSOURI, AND IOWA. Report of the fourth reunion, held August 30, 1887, in Keokuk, Iowa. Keokuk, 1887.

8vo, pp. 84.

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INDIANA.

43. *HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF THE COUNTY OF VIGO, INDIANA.*

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF THE COUNTY OF VIGO, INDIANA. The anniversary lecture, pronounced before the Historical Society of the County of Vigo, Ind., on the 14th of March, 1844, by Robert B. Croes. Cincinnati, 1845.

8vo, pp. 23.

44. *INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Indianapolis, Ind.

INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Facsimile of Secret Instructions of Patrick Henry to "Lieut. Col. George Rogers Clark." Dated Williamsburgh, January 2, 1778.

2 pp. MS. No title-page.

INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. A discourse delivered before the Indiana Historical Society, in the hall of the house of representatives, at its annual meeting, on Saturday, 11th Dec., by Andrew Wylie, D. D., president of Indiana College. Published by request of the Society. Indianapolis: A. F. Morrison, printer, 1831.

8vo, pp. 26.

The above is a rather rambling address on the uses of history—nothing local, or even in reference to America.

INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. [Abstract from the Constitution and Proceedings of a Meeting, December 11, 1830, including the act of incorporation, and a circular from the corresponding secretary, January, 1831.] Indianapolis, 1831.

8vo, pp. 2. No title-page.

INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Lecture before the Society on The Early History of Indianapolis, etc. By Nathaniel Bolton. Indianapolis, 1853.

8vo.

INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Indiana Historical Society Pamphlets. No. 1. Indianapolis, 1886.

8vo, pp. 25.

Contents: The Laws and Courts of Northwest and Indiana Territories. Daniel Waite Howe.

INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Indiana Historical Society Pamphlets. No. 2. Indianapolis, 1886.

8vo, pp. 20.

Contents: Life and Services of John B. Dillon. By Gen. John Coburn. With a sketch by Judge Horace P. Biddle.

INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Indiana Historical Society Pamphlets. No. 3. Indianapolis, 1887.

8vo, pp. 25.

Contents: The Acquisition of Louisiana. By Judge Thomas M. Cooley. 1887.

INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Indiana Historical Society Pamphlets. No. 4. Indianapolis, 1888.

8vo, pp. 32.

Contents: Loughery's Defeat and Pigeon Roost Massacre, with introductory sketch. By Charles Martindale.

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INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Indiana Historical Society Pamphlets. No. 5. Indianapolis, 1890.

8vo, pp. 91.

Contents: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Official Publications of the Territory and State of Indiana from 1800 to 1890. Including references to the laws establishing the various State offices and institutions, and an index to official reports. By Daniel Waite Howe.

INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Publications, Nos. 6–12. Indianapolis, 1892–1894.

CONTENTS.

No. 6.—The rank of Charles Osborn as an anti-slavery pioneer. By George W. Julian. Indianapolis, 1892.

8vo, pp. 37.

No. 7.—The man in history: An oration for the Columbian year, delivered under the auspices of the Society, October 2, 1892. By J. Clark Ridpath. Indianapolis, 1893.

8vo, pp. 48.

No. 8.—Ouiatonon: A study in Indiana history. By Oscar J. Craig. Indianapolis, 1893.

8vo, pp. 32.

No. 9.—Reminiscences of a journey to Indianapolis in the year 1836. By C. P. Foote. Life of Ziba Foote, by S. Morrison. Indianapolis, 1893.

8vo, pp. 25.

No. 10.—Old settlers. By Robert B. Duncan. Indianapolis, 1894.

8vo, pp. 28.

No. 11.—Documents relating to the French settlements on the Wabash. By J. P. Dunn. Indianapolis, 1894.

8vo, pp. 40.

No. 12.—Slavery petitions and papers. By J. P. Dunn. Indianapolis, 1894.

8vo, pp. 87.

INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Publications. Vol. II, Nos. 1 to 12. Indianapolis, 1895.

8vo, pp. iii, (11), 559.

CONTENTS:

No. 1.—The law and courts of Northwest and Indiana Territories, by Daniel Waite Howe. pp. 1–35.

No. 2.—Life and services of John B. Dillon, by John Coburn. pp. 37–62.

No. 3.—The acquisition of Louisiana, by Thomas M. Cooley. pp. 63–93.

No. 4.—Loughery's defeat and Pigeon Roost massacre, with introductory sketch, by Charles Martindale. pp. 95–134.

No. 5.—A descriptive catalogue of the official publications of the Territory and State of Indiana, from 1800 to 1890, by Daniel Waite Howe. pp. 135–230.

No. 6.—The rank of Charles Osborn as an anti-slavery pioneer, by George W. Julian. pp. 231–267.

No. 7.—The man in history, an oration for the Columbian year, by J. C. Ridpath. pp. 269–316.

No. 8.—Ouiatanon, a study in Indiana history, by Oscar J. Craig. pp. 317–348.

No. 9.—Reminiscences of a journey to Indianapolis in the year 1836, by Judge C. P. Ferguson. Life of Ziba Foote, by Samuel Morrison. pp. 349–373.

No. 10.—"Old settlers," by Robert B. Duncan. pp. 375–402.

No. 11.—Documents relating to the French settlements on the Wabash, by Jacob Piatt Dunn. pp. 403–442.

No. 12.—Slavery petitions and papers, by Jacob Piatt Dunn. pp. 443–524.

Index. pp. 531–559.

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45. *OLD SETTLERS' ASSOCIATION OF LAKE COUNTY, IND.*

OLD SETTLERS' ASSOCIATION OF LAKE COUNTY, IND. **Lake County, Indiana, 1884: an account of the semi-centennial celebration of Lake County, September 3 and 4, with historical papers and other interesting records prepared for this volume. T. H. Ball, editor and publisher for the Old Settlers' Association of Lake County. Crown Point, Ind., 1884.**

12mo, pp. 487. Illustrated.

46. *VINCENNES HISTORICAL AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.*

VINCENNES HISTORICAL AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. **Address delivered before the Society, February 22, 1839, by Judge Law. Louisville, Kentucky, 1839.**

8vo, pp. 48. Folded map.

On the Colonial History of Vincennes. Reprinted with notes and illustrations in 1858, as below.

VINCENNES HISTORICAL AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. **The Colonial History of Vincennes, under the French, British, and American Governments, from its first settlement to the Territorial administration of William Henry Harrison, being an address by Judge Law, before the Vincennes Historical and Antiquarian Society, February 22, 1839, with additional notes and illustrations. Vincennes, 1858.**

8vo, pp. viii, 156, (1).

IOWA.

47. *HAWK EYE PIONEER ASSOCIATION OF DES MOINES COUNTY.*

HAWK EYE PIONEER ASSOCIATION OF DES MOINES COUNTY. **Constitution; with a full report of the proceedings of its first annual festival, June 2, 1858. Burlington, 1858.**

8vo, pp. 54.

HAWK EYE PIONEER ASSOCIATION OF DES MOINES COUNTY. **Constitution; appended a list of members, giving the date of the first settlement of each in Iowa. Compiled by E. C. Blackmar. Burlington, 1882.**

8vo, pp. 15.

48. *LOUISA COUNTY, IOWA, PIONEER SETTLERS' ASSOCIATION.*

LOUISA COUNTY, IOWA, PIONEER SETTLERS' ASSOCIATION. **Constitution and By-Laws. Iowa City, 1860.**

8vo.

LOUISA COUNTY, IOWA, PIONEER SETTLERS' ASSOCIATION. **Proceedings at Third Annual Festival. Iowa City, 1861.**

8vo.

49. *OLD SETTLERS' SOCIETY OF MUSCATINE COUNTY, IOWA.*

OLD SETTLERS' SOCIETY OF MUSCATINE COUNTY, IOWA. **Old Settlers' anniversary, September 8, 1886; Picnic and excursion to the mouth of Pine Creek; List of the excursionists; Speeches, etc. Muscatine, 1886.**

8vo, pp. 7. No title-page.

Contains address by the president, Rev. Joseph P. Walton.

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OLD SETTLERS' SOCIETY OF MUSCATINE COUNTY, IOWA. Old Settlers' reunion. The pioneers' picnic at Cherry Bluff, August 31, 1887. [Muscatine, Iowa], 1887.

8vo, pp. 6. No title-page.

Contains the address of the president, Rev. Joseph P. Walton, and the other proceedings.

OLD SETTLERS' SOCIETY OF MUSCATINE COUNTY, IOWA. Old Settlers' celebration of Iowa's semi-centennial, held July 4, 1888, in Muscatine. Muscatine, Iowa, 1888.

8vo, pp. 6.

50. *STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA.*

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA. First Annual Report for 1857. Des Moines, Iowa, 1857.

8vo.

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA. Second Biennial Report. Des Moines, Iowa, 1860.

8vo.

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA. Third Biennial Report. Des Moines, Iowa, 1862.

8vo.

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA. Annals of Iowa, published quarterly by the State Historical Society of Iowa. Vols. I–XII. 1863–1874. Iowa City [etc.], 1863–1874.

Twelve vols., 8vo. Portraits.

In 1882 the publication of the Annals of Iowa was resumed by S. S. Howe, independently of the Society. The Iowa Historical Record, begun January, 1885, is published by the Society, and is practically a continuation of the Annals.

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA. Fourth Biennial Report. Des Moines, Iowa, 1864.

8vo.

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA. Fifth Biennial Report. Des Moines, Iowa, 1866.

8vo, pp. 15.

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA. Sixth Biennial Report. Des Moines, Iowa, 1868.

8vo, pp. 30.

Pages 19–24 contain index to the Annals from its commencement, January, 1863.

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA. Seventh Biennial Report, for period ending December 1, 1869. Des Moines, Iowa, 1871.

8vo, pp. 14.

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA. Eighth Biennial Report, for period ending December 1, 1871. Des Moines, Iowa, 1872.

8vo, pp. 24.

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA. Ninth Biennial Report, for period ending November 2, 1873. Des Moines, Iowa, 1873.

8vo, pp. 19.

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA. Tenth Biennial Report, November 15, 1875. Des Moines, Iowa, 1875.

8vo, pp. 50.

Pages 33–50 contain "The Philosophy of the History of the Louisiana Purchase," an address before the Society, June 29, 1874, by Hon. Henry Clay Dean.

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STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA. Eleventh Biennial Report, 1877. Des Moines, Iowa, 1877.
8vo, pp. 9.

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA. Twelfth Biennial Report, 1879. Des Moines, Iowa, 1880.
8vo, pp. 13.

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA. Thirteenth Biennial Report, 1881. Des Moines, Iowa, 1882.
8vo, pp. 51.
Includes reprints of first annual report and second, third, and fourth biennial reports.

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA. Fourteenth Biennial Report, 1883. Des Moines, Iowa, 1883.
8vo, pp. 52.

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA. Fifteenth Biennial Report, 1885. Des Moines, Iowa, 1885.
8vo, pp. 14.

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA. Sixteenth Biennial Report, 1887. Des Moines, Iowa, 1887.
8vo, pp. 16.

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA. Iowa Historical Record, published quarterly by the State Historical Society of Iowa. Vols. I–XI. Nos. 1–3, January, 1885–October, 1895. Iowa City.
8vo, 11 vols.
Continuation of the Annals of Iowa.

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA. Constitution and records of the Claim Association of Johnson County, Iowa, with introduction and notes, by Benjamin F. Shambaugh, A.M. Published by the State Historical Society of Iowa. Iowa City, 1894.
8vo, pp. xix, 196.

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA. Iowa historical lectures; delivered before the society, 1892. Iowa City, 1893.
8vo, pp. (4), 92. Map.
Contents: Prehistoric Iowa, by Samuel Calvin; Iowa Indians, by J. L. Pickard; "The Louisiana Purchase," by C. M. Hobby; The introduction of the common law into Iowa, by Emlin McClain.

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA. Historical lectures upon early leaders in the professions in the Territory of Iowa. Delivered at Iowa City, 1894. Iowa City: Published by the Society, 1894.
8vo, pp. 135.
Contents: Early medical practitioners, by William Watson; Teachers in Iowa before 1858, by Leonard F. Parke; The early bar of Iowa, by Theodore S. Parvin; The early clergy of Iowa, by J. L. Pickard.

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA. The Amish Mennonites. A sketch of their origin and of their settlement in Iowa, with their creed in an appendix. By Barthinius L. Wick. Iowa City: published by the State Historical Society, 1894.
8vo, pp. 60.

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STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA. Documentary material relating to the history of Iowa. Edited by Benjamin F. Shambaugh, A. M. Nos. 1, 2. Published by the State Historical Society of Iowa. Iowa City, Iowa, 1895.

8vo, pp. iii, 43.

51. *STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA.*

STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA. Publications. Historical monograph, No. 1. History of the Amana Society, or Community of True Inspiration. By William Rufus Perkins and Barthinius L. Wick. Iowa City, 1891.

8vo, pp. vi, (2), 94.

STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA. Publications. Historical monograph, No. 2. History of the Trappist abbey of New Melleray, in Dubuque County, Iowa. By William Rufus Perkins, A. M. Iowa City, 1892.

8vo, pp. iv, (2), 79.

KANSAS.

52. *KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Topeka, Kans.

KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. A list of the collections of the Society. With an account of the organization of the Society, and an explanation of its objects. Topeka, [1877].

8vo, pp. 18.

Title on cover.

KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. First Biennial Report. Submitted January 21, 1879. Topeka, 1879.

8vo, pp. 63.

KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Annual meeting at the Senate chamber. Minutes of the fourth annual meeting, January 20, 1880. [Topeka, 1880.]

8vo, pp. 4.

No title-page.

KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Proposition for a union of the miscellaneous books of the Kansas State Library with those of the Society. 1881.

8vo.

KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Transactions. First and Second Biennial Reports, with a statement of the collections of the Society from its organization, in 1875, to January, 1881. Vols. I and II. Topeka, 1881.

8vo, pp. 328. Illustrated.

Contents: Letter of W. L. Garrison, March 25, 1879; Address of Governor Charles Robinson [on Territorial Governors of Kansas]; Kansas as a factor, by S. S. Prouty; The governors of Kansas, by Governor A. H. Reeder; Portrait of ex-Governor Charles Robinson; In memoriam: Richard Baxter Taylor; Kansas newspaper history; * * * Eli Thayer; New England Emigrant Aid Company; The Hyatt manuscripts [concerning Kansas, 1854–1857]; * * * First settlement of Geneva, by E. Fisk; Wyandotte constitutional convention, by B. F. Simpson; Capture of the Iatan flag, by F. M. Tracy; Indian raid items; Kansas postal history, by E. J. Dallas; Early military posts [etc.], in Kansas; Kansas Indian mission, by W. W. Cone; The Kansas Indians, by S. H. Long.

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KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. **Transactions, embracing the Third and Fourth Biennial Reports, 1883–1885, together with copies from early Kansas Territorial records, and other historical papers. Also the proceedings of the Kansas Quarter-Centennial Celebration, January 29, 1886. Vol. III. Topeka, 1886.**

8vo, pp. 519.

Contents: Address of T. D. Thacher, president of the Leavenworth Constitutional Convention; Third Biennial Report; Address of Hon. F. P. Baker, president: "The Kansas Legislature in 1862;" War and other State bonds of Kansas; Articles of impeachment of State officers, 1862; Compilation of the laws of Kansas, 1862; Fourth Biennial Report; Biography of Governor Andrew H. Reeder; Biography of Governor Wilson Shannon; Address of ex-Governor F. P. Stanton, September 2, 1884; Address by ex-Governor James W. Denver, September 3, 1884; Kansas Quarter-Centennial, 1861-1886.

KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. **Transactions, embracing the Fifth and Sixth Biennial Reports, 1886, 1888, together with copies of official papers during a portion of the administration of Governor Wilson Shannon, 1856, and the executive minutes of Governor John W. Geary during his administration, beginning September 9, 1856, and ending March 10, 1857. Compiled by F. G. Adams, secretary. Vol. IV. Topeka, 1891.**

8vo, pp. 819.

Contents: President Wilder's address, January 17, 1888; Personal reminiscences and Kansas emigration, 1855, by Isaac Gordon; Address of Samuel A. Kingman; Origin of Kansas names, by W. H. Carruth; The pioneer press of Kansas, by Charles F. Scott; Colonization of the Upper Arkansas Valley, in Kansas, by H. N. Lester; The Society, by J. W. Butterfield; Kansas, her history [etc.], by C. Borin; Pioneers of Kansas, by J. F. Legate; Discoverer of Kansas [Lieutenant Dutiane], by J. P. Jones; Southwest Kansas, by J. S. Painter; The Swedes in Kansas, by C. A. Swensson; The country west of Topeka prior to 1865, by J. Humphrey; Survey of Kansas Indian lands, by J. C. McCoy; The rescue of Dr. John W. Doy, by J. B. Abbott; No Man's Land, by H. B. Kelly; Alvar Nuñez de Cabeça de Vaca, by Joel Moody; Kansas History, by W. A. Phillips; Kansas, as seen in the Indian Territory, by Percival G. Lowe; Governor John A. Martin, by Benjamin F. Simpson; Governor Geary's administration.

KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. **Address before the Society at its annual meeting, January 18, 1881. By ex-Governor Robinson.**

Cutting from *The Daily Journal*, Topeka, January 26, 1881.

KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. **Objects of collection desired by the Society.**

Circular.

KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. **Third Biennial Report, presented January 16, 1883. Topeka, 1883.**

8vo, pp. 98.

KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. **List, by counties, of newspapers and periodicals published in Kansas, March 1, 1884. Compiled by F. G. Adams. Topeka, 1884.**

8vo, pp. 23.

KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. **Fourth Biennial Report, presented January 20, 1885. Topeka, 1885.**

8vo, pp. 87.

Contains address by Floyd P. Baker, "The Kansas legislature in 1862."

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KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Fifth Biennial Report of the Board of Directors of the Society, presented at its eleventh annual meeting, January 18, 1887. Topeka, 1887.

8vo, pp. 109.

KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. List, by counties, of the newspapers and periodicals published in Kansas, January 1, 1889. Compiled by F. G. Adams, secretary of the Society. Topeka, 1889.

8vo, pp. 38.

KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Lights and shadows of Kansas history. Annual address by William A. Phillips.

Magazine of Western History, Vol. xii, May, 1890, pp. 6–15. New York, 1890.

KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Sixth Biennial Report for the period January 19, 1887, and ending November 20, 1888. Topeka, 1889.

8vo, pp. 128.

KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Seventh Biennial Report, November 21, 1888–November 18, 1890. Topeka, 1891.

8vo, pp. 124.

KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Eighth Biennial Report, November 18, 1890–November 15, 1892. Topeka, 1892.

8vo, pp. 134 (1).

KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Columbian history of education in Kansas. An account of the public-school system, an explanation of its practical operations, a review of its auxiliary teachers' associations, sketches of the several public educational institutions, local histories of the schools by counties and cities, and a brief outline of the work accomplished in private and denominational schools. With illustrations. Compiled by Kansas educators and published under the auspices of the Kansas State Historical Society, for the Columbian Exposition, 1893. Topeka, 1892.

8vo, pp. vii (1), 231. Portraits.

KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Abstract of the Ninth Biennial Report of the Kansas State Historical Society for the two years ending November 1, 1894. Contains a list of Kansas newspapers. Topeka, 1894.

8vo, pp. 24.

53. *MARSHALL COUNTY (KANSAS) PIONEER ASSOCIATION.*

MARSHALL COUNTY (KANSAS) PIONEER ASSOCIATION. Primitive northern Kansas. Address before the association, September 11, 1880, by F. G. Adams. Atchison, 1880.

8vo.

KENTUCKY.

54. *BOYLE COUNTY (KENTUCKY) HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Danville, Ky.

BOYLE COUNTY (KENTUCKY) HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The Genesis of a pioneer Commonwealth. [By Thomas E. Pickett.] Maysville, Ky., [1885].

8vo, pp. 10. No title-page.

The above account is in the form of a letter addressed to the Secretary of the Boyle County Historical Society, in response to an invitation to attend the Society's celebration of the centennial anniversary of the "first delegate convention" of Kentucky, assembled at Danville in 1785.

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55. *FILSON CLUB.*

Louisville, Ky.

FILSON CLUB. John Filson, the first historian of Kentucky. An account of his life and writings, principally from original sources. Prepared for the Filson Club, and read at its meeting June 26, 1884, by Reuben T. Durrett. Louisville, 1884.

4to, pp. 132. Portraits.

This is the first of a series of publications to be made by the Filson Club, an association organized for the purpose of collecting and preserving historical matter relating to the early history of the central West, and especially to Kentucky.

FILSON CLUB. The Wilderness Road; a description of the routes of travel by which the pioneers and early settlers first came to Kentucky. Prepared for the Filson Club, by Thomas Speed. Louisville, Ky., 1886.

4to, pp. 75.

Title on cover: "Filson Club Publications, number two. The Wilderness Road. By Thomas Speed."

FILSON CLUB. The pioneer Press of Kentucky, from the printing of the first paper west of the Alleghanies, August 11, 1787, to the establishment of the daily press, in 1830. By William Henry Perrin. Written for the Filson Club, and read at its August meeeing, 1887, being the centennial year of Kentucky journalism. [Louisville], 1888.

4to, pp. 93. Portraits; facsimile.

Pages 90–93 contain a memorial paper on Richard Henry Collins, historian, and editor of the Maysville *Eagle*.

FILSON CLUB. Life and Times of Judge Caleb Wallace, some time a justice of the court of appeals of Kentucky. By W. H. Whitsitt. Louisville, 1888.

4to, pp. 6, (1), 151.

Filson Club Publications, No. 4.

FILSON CLUB. An Historical Sketch of St. Paul's Church, Louisville, Ky. Prepared for the semi-centennial celebration, October 6, 1889, by Reuben T. Durrett. Published under the auspices of the Filson Club. Louisville, 1889.

Small 4to, pp. xv, 75. Portraits, woodcuts.

Filson Club Publications, No. 5.

FILSON CLUB. The political Beginnings of Kentucky. By John Mason Brown. Louisville, 1889.

8vo, pp. 263. Portraits.

Filson Club Publications, No. 6.

FILSON CLUB. Two papers, namely, "Money," read before the Filson Club, Louisville, March 4, 1890, and "Washington," from the New York Independent, April 25, 1889. By Cassius M. Clay. [New York, 1890.]

8vo, pp. 16.

FILSON CLUB. Filson Club Publications, No. 7. The centenary of Kentucky. Proceedings at the celebration by the Filson Club, Wednesday, June 1, 1892, of the one hundredth anniversary of the admission of Kentucky as an independent State into the Federal Union. Louisville, 1892.

4to, pp. 200. Portraits.

Contains address by Reuben T. Durrett, "The State of Kentucky: Its discovery, settlement, autonomy, and progress for a hundred years."

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FILSON CLUB. Filson Club Publications, No. 8. The centenary of Louisville. A paper read before the Southern Historical Association, Saturday, May 1st, 1880, in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the beginning of the city of Louisville as an incorporated town, under an act of the legislature of Virginia. By Reuben T. Durrett. Louisville, 1893.

4to, pp. 200. Three portraits.

FILSON CLUB. Filson Club Publications, No. 9. The political club, Danville, Ky., 1786–1790; being an account of an early Kentucky society, from the original papers recently found. By Thomas Speed. Louisville, 1894.

4to, pp. 12, 167.

FILSON CLUB. Filson Club Publications, No. 10. The Life and Writings of Rafinesque. By Richard E. Call. Louisville, Ky., 1895.

4to, pp. 214.

FILSON CLUB. Filson Club Publications, No. 11. Transylvania University: its origin, rise, decline, and fall. Prepared for the Filson Club, by Robert Peter. Louisville, 1896.

4to, pp. 202. Portrait.

56. *KENTUCKY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

KENTUCKY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Act of incorporation, and constitution and by-laws; organized March, 1838, at Louisville. Louisville, 1838.

12mo, pp. 12.

KENTUCKY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Memorial from the Society, in relation to a geological survey of Kentucky. [1847.]

8vo, pp. 13. No title page.

KENTUCKY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Circular containing list of officers and charter members and an appeal to the public, signed by G. W. Ranck, curator. [1873.]

Sheet.

KENTUCKY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Proceedings of the Second Annual Meeting, February 11, 1880. Frankfort, 1880.

8vo

KENTUCKY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Proceedings at the Dedication of the Hall of the Society in the State Capitol, June 7, 1869–1881. Frankfort, 1881.

8vo, pp. 12.

The date 1869 should be 1769, as it is given on the half title on the first page, that date representing the arrival of Findlay's expedition in Kentucky.

KENTUCKY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. An oration, delivered on the occasion of the centennial commemoration of the battle of the Blue Licks, August 19, 1882, by John Mason Brown. Published under the auspices of the Society. Frankfort, 1882.

8vo, pp. 55. Folded map.

KENTUCKY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Some account of the Society. By E. Jarvis.

American Quarterly Register, Vol. XV, pp. 72–77.

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57. *LOUISVILLE SOUTHERN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

SOUTHERN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, LOUISVILLE BRANCH.

Louisville, Ky.

LOUISVILLE SOUTHERN HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Cheatham's story of Spring Hill. Read before the Association, 1881, by B. F. Cheatham.
Southern Bivouac, Vol. III, pp. 337–346.

LOUISVILLE SOUTHERN HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Recollections of Libby Prison. By J. L. Burrows. Read before the Association.
Southern Historical Society Papers, Vol. XI, pp. 83–92. Richmond, [1883].

LOUISVILLE SOUTHERN HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Battle of Johnsonville. By John W. Morton. Read before the Association.
Southern Historical Society Papers, Vol. X, pp. 471–488. Richmond, [1882].

LOUISVILLE SOUTHERN HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The descent of Gen. Robert Edward Lee from King Robert the Bruce of Scotland. By William Winston Fontaine.
Southern Historical Society Papers, Vol. IX, pp. 193–206.
Read before the Louisville Branch March 29, 1881.

LOUISVILLE SOUTHERN HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Kenesaw Mountain. By S. G. French.
Southern Historical Society Papers, Vol. IX, pp. 505–511. Richmond, 1881.
Read before the Society.

LOUISVILLE SOUTHERN HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Some reminiscences of the second of April, 1865. By H. W. Bruce. Read before the Louisville Branch of the Southern Historical Society.
Southern Historical Society Papers, Vol. IX, pp. 206–211. Richmond, 1881.

LOUISVILLE SOUTHERN HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Reminiscences of Hood's Tennessee Campaign. By W. O. Dodd.
Southern Historical Society Papers, Vol. IX, pp. 516–524. Richmond, 1881.

LOUISVILLE SOUTHERN HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The lost opportunity at Spring Hill, Tenn. General [B. F.] Cheatham's reply to General Hood.
Southern Historical Society Papers, Vol. IX, pp. 524–541. Richmond, 1881.
Read before the Society.

LOUISVILLE SOUTHERN HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Defence of Vicksburg in 1862. The battle of Baton Rouge. By John B. Pirtle.
Southern Historical Society Papers, Vol. VIII, pp. 324–332. Richmond, 1880.
Read before the Society.

LOUISIANA.

58. *LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. An Account of the Society; Constitution; List of Members.
French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, part 2, pp. 1–15. Philadelphia, 1850.

LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. By-laws of the Louisiana Historical Society. Incorporated January 10, 1860. Baton Rouge, 1860.
12mo, pp. 12.

LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Circular from George W. Cable, corresponding secretary, September 1, 1877. New Orleans, 1877.
Sheet.

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LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. A discourse delivered before the Historical Society of Louisiana, January 13, 1836. By Henry A. Bullard. New Orleans, 1836.

8vo, pp. 30.

Reprinted in French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, part 1, pp. 1-23. New York, 1846.

LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Historical Collections of Louisiana. Compiled by B. F. French. Parts 2, 3. Philadelphia, New York, 1850–51.

Two vols., 8vo. Map.

These two volumes are dedicated to the Society; the whole series comprises seven volumes, but these are the only ones connected with the Society.

MAINE.

59. *GORGES SOCIETY.*

Portland, Me.

GORGES SOCIETY. George Cleeve, of Casco Bay, 1630–1667, with collateral documents. By James Phinney Baxter. Printed for the Society. Portland, 1885. [Gorges Society Publications. 1.]

Small 4to, pp. 339 (1). Illustrated. Portraits.

GORGES SOCIETY. New England's Vindication. By Henry Gardiner. Edited, with notes, by Charles Edward Banks. London, 1660. Printed for the Society. Portland, 1884. [Gorges Society Publications. 2.]

Small 4to, pp. 83 (1). Facsimile of original title-page.

GORGES SOCIETY. Notice of the Society's first publication, "New England's Vindication," with constitution, rules, and regulations. Portland, 1884.

Small 4to, pp. 7. No title-page.

GORGES SOCIETY. Rosier's relation of Waymouth's voyage to the coast of Maine, 1605, with an introduction and notes. By Henry S. Burrage. Printed for the Gorges Society. Portland, Me., 1887. [Gorges Society Publications. 3.]

Small 4to, pp. xi, 176. Two folded maps. Folded plate. Two portraits.

Pages 39–77 contain a survey of the literature,

The text of the narrative is from a copy of the original publication, in the John Carter Brown library. The editor rejects the theory, advocated by De Costa and others, that Waymouth explored the Kennebec, and argues in favor of the St. Georges River. He takes no account of De Costa's article in the Narrative and Critical History of America, in the discussion of the literature of the question.

GORGES SOCIETY. Publication, No. 4. The Sagadahoc Colony, comprising the relation of a voyage into New England (Lambeth MSS.), with an introduction and notes. By the Rev. Henry O. Thayer, A. M. Printed for the Gorges Society. Portland, Me., 1892.

Small 4to, pp. xi, 278. Plates. Maps. Portrait.

Includes a reproduction of a map of Popham's Fort, dated 1607, which is thought to afford evidence definitely fixing the location of Popham Colony.

GORGES SOCIETY. Publication, No. 5. Christopher Levett, of York, the pioneer colonist in Casco Bay. By James Phinney Baxter. Printed for the Gorges Society. Portland, 1893.

Small 4to, pp. xii, 466. Illustrated. Maps.

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60. *KENNEBEC NATURAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.*

KENNEBEC NATURAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. The site of Fort St. George, erected by Capt. George Popham in 1607. By W. Scott Hill, M. D., president. Read before the Society, July 23, 1891.
8vo, pp. 4.
Reprinted from the *Kennebec Journal.*

61. *LINCOLN COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

LINCOLN COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Rev. Jacob Bailey. His character and works. By Charles E. Allen. Read before the Lincoln County Historical Society, November 13, 1895. Printed by the Society, 1895.
8vo, pp. 16.

62. *MAINE GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.*

Augusta, Me.

MAINE GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY. The Maine Genealogist and Biographer. A quarterly journal. Published under the direction of the Society. Vols. I–III. Augusta, 1875–1878.
Three vols., 8vo.

63. *MAINE GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.*

Portland, Me.

MAINE GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY. City Document. The siege and capture of Fort Loyall; destruction of Falmouth, May 20, 1690 (O. S.). A paper read before the Society, June 2, 1885, by John T. Hull. Printed by order of city council of Portland. Portland, 1885.
8vo, pp. 116. Folded map

MAINE GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY. By-laws of the Maine Genealogical Society, Portland, Me. Adopted April 16, 1889. Portland, 1889.
16mo, pp. 12.

MAINE GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY. The Probate Records of Lincoln County, Me. 1760 to 1800. Compiled and edited for the Maine Genealogical Society, by William D. Patterson, Wiscasset, Me. Portland, Me., 1895.
8vo, pp. 21, (5), 368, 53. Issued in 21 parts, beginning November 15, 1893, and ending November, 1895.

64. *MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Portland, Me.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections of the Maine Historical Society. Vol. I. Portland, 1831.
8vo, pp. viii, 416.
(Reprinted in 1865, with corrections and additions. William Willis, editor. pp. 566.)
Contents: Introductory Remarks; Act of Incorporation; By-laws and Regulations; History of Portland from its first Settlement, with notices of the neighboring towns, and of the changes of government in Maine, by William Willis. Part 1; An Account of Limerick, by Charles Freeman; An Account of Wells, by Jeremiah Hubbard and Jonathan Greenleaf; Extracts from Records in the County of York; Depositions of George Cleeves, George Lewis [etc.], relating to the doings of Capt. Robert Nash on the coast of Maine in 1645; The submission of the

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inhabitants of Black Point, Blue Point, and Falmouth, to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, July, 1658; Petition of Edward Godfrey to the General Court of Massachusetts in 1654; Petition from the inhabitants of Maine to Oliver Cromwell, 1656; Letter from Edward Rishworth to Governor Endicott, 1656; A letter on the affairs of New England, 1663 or 1664; A petition from the inhabitants of Maine to Charles II, about 1690; Governor Lincoln's MSS. papers; Remarks on the Indian languages; Account of the Catholic Missions in Maine; Letters written while on an expedition across the State of Maine to attack Quebec in 1775, by Colonel Arnold, with a journal of a tour from the St. Lawrence to the Kennebec, supposed to have been made by Colonel Montresor, about 1760; A journal of the expedition to Quebec in 1775, compiled by William Allen.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections of the Maine Historical Society. Vol. II. Portland, 1847.

8vo, pp. vi, 303, 1.

Contents: Preface; Discourse before the Society at its annual meeting, September 6, 1846, by George Folsom. A briefe narration of the originall undertakings of the advancement of plantations into the parts of America, especially observing the beginning, progress, and continuance of that of New England, written by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, London, 1658; A voyage into New England, begun in 1623 and ended in 1624, performed by Christopher Levett, London, 1628; Annals of Bakerstown, Poland, and Minot, by William Ladd; The Narragansett Townships, by Charles Coffin; An account of New Gloucester, by J. Parsons; History of North Yarmouth, by C. Russell; History of Bath, by Joseph Sewell; An account of an ancient settlement on Sheepscot River, by Samuel Johnson; Account of Pemaquid, by Judge Gorton; Exertions of the O'Brien family, of Machias, in the American Revolution; Shays's Rebellion; Letter from Rufus Putnam; Notice of the late William Ladd, by William Willis; Deed from Ferdinando Gorges to John Usher, of the Province of Maine; Deed of the same premises from John Usher to Massachusetts Bay, March 15, 1678; Opinion of Richard West, esq., of the King's right to the woods of the Province of Maine, 1718; History of the Kennebec Purchase, by Robert H. Gardiner; By-laws and Regulations of the Society; Members; Officers.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections of the Maine Historical Society. Vol. III. Portland, 1853.

8vo, pp. xvi, 447. Folded map.

Contents: By-laws and Regulations; Members; Officers, 1852; Note to the History of Scarborough, by J. W. Thornton; The History of Scarborough from 1633 to 1783, by William J. Southgate; History of Bunker Hill Monument, by Prof. A. S. Packard, of Bowdoin College; A Contribution to the History of Bath, by the Rev. William S. Bartlett; Extract from "the second book of the first decade of the Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia, entreating of the first discoveries of the country, etc., as also of the northern colonie, seated upon the river Sachadehoc, transported at the charge of Sir John Popham, * * * gathered by William Strachey," with an introduction by William S. Bartlett; Some account of the early settlements at Sagadahoc on the Androscoggin River, with a suggestion that the exploration by Popham's colony was up the Androscoggin River, and not the Kennebec, by John McKeon; Richard Wharton's patent to land [at Pejepscot] on the Androscoggin, 1686 [etc.]; Petition of Richard Fry, of Boston, to Governor Belcher and the general assembly of Massachusetts [in regard to mills at Falmouth]; Letter of B. Franklin, April 13, 1785; Papers relating to Indian troubles in Maine, 1702-1704; A memorial relating to the Kennebec Indians, by Samuel Sewall, 1721; John Gyle's statement of the number of Indians in each tribe in 1726; Indian treaties at Georgetown, 1717, Falmouth, 1726 and 1727.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections of the Maine Historical Society. Vol. IV. Portland, 1855.

8vo, pp. xv, 405, (8).

Contents: By-laws and regulations; Members; Introductory address, February 2, 1855, by William Willis; Sandy River Settlements, by William Allen; Jones's eddy, by Robert H. Gardiner; Letter from General Washington to General Knox,

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with remarks on American manufactures, by Augustus C. Robbins; A discourse delivered before the Society, at Brunswick, August 2, 1854, by George Burgess, D. D.; The language of the Abnaquies, or Eastern Indians, by William Willis; Indian treaties: 1735, at Deerfield, Mass.; 1749, at Falmouth, Me.; 1752, at St. George's Fort, Me.; Appendix to language of the Abnaquies, by C. E. Potter; Memorial of Kittery, 1751; Ancient settlement of Sheepscot, by Rev. David Cushman; Memoir and journals of Paul Coffin: Memoir by Cyrus Woodman; Journal of a tour to Connecticut River, 1760; Tour to Rhode Island, 1761; Ride to Piggwacket, 1768; Tour to Hanover, N. H., 1795; Missionary tour in Maine, my travels and labors for two months, with an account of Sandy River, 1796; Missionary tours in 1797, 1798, 1800; Letter from Bridget Phillips to Edward Rishworth, recorder for the Province of Maine, 1684.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections of the Maine Historical Society. Vol v. Portland, 1857.

8vo, pp. lxviii, vii, 450.

Contents: Members and officers; Inaugural address, by William Willis, containing biographical notices of former presidents: Judge Mellen, Stephen Longfellow, Governor Parris, Rev. William Allen, Rev. Dr. Nichols; Early churches and ministers in Maine and aged ministers; and notice of Robert H. Gardiner. Papers relating to Pemaquid and parts adjacent in Maine, known as Cornwall County when under the colony of New York, compiled from official records in the office of the secretary of state, at Albany, N. Y., by Franklin B. Hough; Ancient Pemaquid, an historical review, by J. Wingate Thornton; Remarks on the voyage of George Waymouth to the coast of Maine, 1605, by John McKeen; A letter from George Popham, president of the Sagadahoc colony, to King James I, December 13, 1607, with introductory remarks by the editor; Journal of the voyage of Governor Thomas Pownall from Boston to Penobscot River, May, 1759, copied from the original manuscript in the office of the secretary of the Commonwealth, Boston, with notes by J. Williamson; Answer of the agents of Massachusetts to the complaints of Sir Edmund Andros, 1688; Some account of the German settlement in Waldoborough, by Rev. Mr. Freeman, and a biographical sketch of Mr. Starman, Nathaniel Gorton; The Lithgow family; English definitions of Indian terms, from Paul Dudley's papers; Mortality in Augusta, Me., 1852-1855; Letter from Jacob Bailey, in 1775, describing the destruction of Falmouth, Me.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections of the Maine Historical Society. Vol. VI. Portland, 1859.

8vo, pp. xxiv, (2), 435.

Contents: By-laws, August, 1859; Officers and members; The Scotch-Irish Immigration to Maine, and Presbyterianism in New England: Address, January 27, 1858, by William Willis; The early lawyers of Lincoln and Kennebec counties, by Frederic Allen; Memoir of Benjamin Vaughan, M. D., LL. D., by Robert Hallowell Gardiner; Albert Gallatin: Autobiography, 1798; Castine, and the old coins found there, by Joseph Williamson; Remarks on coins found at Portland in 1849, and Richmond's Island in 1855, with a general notice of coins and coinage, by William Willis; Memoir of the Rev. John Murray, first minister of the church in Boothbay, by Rev. A. G. Vermilye; The early history of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Maine, by the Rev. Edward Ballard, A. M.; The Abnaki Indians, communicated by Eugene Vetromile, S. J., with a brief memoir of Professor Vetromile, by Rev. Edward Ballard; The Abnaki Indians, their treaties of 1713 and 1717, and a vocabulary, with an historical introduction, by Frederic Kidder; The Indians of Hudson's Bay, and their language, selected from Umfreville's "Present State of Hudson's Bay," by William Willis; Extracts from a memoir of M. de La Mothe Cadillac, 1692, concerning Acadia and New England, from the archives of Paris, translated and communicated by James Roff; Places in Maine; Boston and vicinity; The voyage of Capt. George Waymouth to the coast of Maine in 1605: An attempt to show that the islands on which he landed, and the river which he explored, were the St. George's of the present day, by George Prince; Weymouth's voyage: extracts from a paper read at a meeting of the Society, in June, 1859, by David Cushman; Translation of General Waldo's circular, 1753, relating to Broad Bay [Waldoborough], with an introduction by John L.

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Locke; Governor Pownall's certificate of taking possession of the Penobscot, with an introductory note by Joseph Williamson; French neutrals in Maine, with a preliminary note, by Joseph Williamson; Oyster-shell deposits in Damariscotta, by P. A. Chadbourne; Proceedings of the Society for the year 1859, with obituary notices of deceased members, by William Willis: Joseph Dane, Hon. Nathaniel Gorton, Solomon Thayer, and Dr. Ichabod Nichols; A eulogy on Parker Cleaveland, LL. D., by Lemuel Woods, D. D,

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections of the Maine Historical Society. Vol. VII. Bath, 1876.

8vo, pp. VIII, 495.

Contents: The ancient Penobscot, or Panawanskek, by John E. Godfrey; The Pilgrims at Penobscot, by John E. Godfrey; Jean Vincent, Baron de Saint Castine, by John E. Godfrey; "Castine the younger," by John E. Godfrey; Bashaba and the Tarratines, by John E. Godfrey; Note to "The Ancient Penobscot;" Garrison Houses, York County, by Edward Emerson Bourne; Journal of the Attack of the Rebels on His Majesty's Ships and Troops, commencing 24th July, 1779, at Majebiguiduce, in Penobscot Bay, from the Nova Scotia *Gazette*, September 14, 1779; Pemaquid in its Relations to our Colonial History: an address at Fort Popham, August, 1874, by Franklin B. Hough; Materials for a History of Fort Halifax, being copies and abridgments of documents in the office of the secretary of the Commonwealth, Boston, made by Joseph Williamson; The proposed Province of New Ireland, by Joseph Williamson; Slavery in Maine, by Joseph Williamson; Condition of the Religious Denominations of Maine at the close of the Revolution, copied by Joseph Williamson; Notices of the Powell Family, and extracts from manuscripts of T. D. Powell; Origin of Article VIII, Literature, in the Constitution of Maine, by S. P. Benson; Coasting Voyages in the Gulf of Maine, made in 1604, 1605, and 1606, by Samuel Champlain, a paper read February 18, 1875, by John Marshall Brown; Now and Then, by the late William Allen, of Norridgewock, read January, 1868; Popham's Town of Fort St. George, by Rufus K. Sewall; Memoir of Col. Benjamin Burton, by Joseph Williamson; Acadia and its Aborigines, communicated January 16, 1862, by Eugene Vetromile; Bingham Land, by William Allen; Proceedings of the Society, with biographical sketches of deceased members: Notice of Robert P. Dunlap, by George E. Adams; John W. Ellingwood, D. D., by John O. Fiske, D. D.; John Merrick, by D. R. Goodwin; Robert Hallowell Gardiner, by George Burgess, D. D.; George Burgess, D. D., by F. Gardner, D. D.; George Evans, by R. H. Gardiner; William Willis, by A. S. Packard, D. D.; Cyrus Eaton, by David Q. Cushman; Catalogue of the past and present members, resident and corresponding, of the Society, Brunswick, 1874, 28 pp.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections of the Maine Historical Society. Vol. VIII. Portland, 1881.

8vo, pp. viii, 511. Portrait.

Contents: Preface; The Northeastern Boundary, read May 15, 1879, by Israel Washburn, jr.; Col. Arthur Noble, of Georgetown: his military services at Cape Breton and Nova Scotia, and his death at Minas, by William Goold; Educational institutions in Maine while a district in Massachusetts, by J. T. Champlin, D. D.; The Pemaquid country under the Stuarts, by H. W. Richardson; Fort Halifax: its projectors, builders, and garrison, by William Goold; Col. William Vaughan, of Matinicus and Damariscotta, by William Goold; Norumbega, by John E. Godfrey; Memoirs and biographical sketches: Reuel Williams, by John A. Poor; Edward Emerson Bourne, LL. D., 1797–1873, by Edwin B. Smith; Hon. Ether Shepley, LL. D., by Israel Washburn, jr.; George T. Davis, by George F. Talbot; Hon. Edward Kent, LL. D., by John E. Godfrey; Rev. Leonard Woods, D. D., LL. D.; A discourse by Charles Carroll Everett, D. D.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections of the Maine Historical Society. Vol. IX. Portland, 1887.

8vo, pp. (12), 393. Portrait.

Contents: Sir William Phips, by William Goold; Brig. Gen. Samuel Waldo, 1696–1759, by Joseph Williamson; Claude de La Tour, by John Edwards Godfrey;

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John Peirce, "Clothworker of London," and the Plymouth patent of 1621, by John Johnston; The Sheepscot Farms, by Alexander Johnston; William Hutchings, the last surviving Revolutionary pensioner in New England, by Joseph Williamson; Gen. John Chandler, of Monmouth, Maine, with extracts from his autobiography, by George Foster Talbot; The White Hills of New Hampshire, by Edward Henry Elwell; The territorial history of Bangor and vicinity, by Albert Ware Paine; Memoir of Nathan Clifford, by James Ware Bradbury; Grammatical sketch of the ancient Abnaki, outlined in the dictionary of Fr. Sebastian Râle, S. J., part 1; The Abnaki noun, by Michael Charles O'Brien; Edward Godfrey: his life, letters, and public services, 1584–1664, by Charles Edward Banks; Index of names and places.

[NOTE.—Continued by the Collections and Proceedings as begun in 1890. See title in chronological order in this catalogue. The plan followed in the publication of the different series of this book is well calculated to confuse. After issuing four volumes of the "Documentary History of Maine," which was designated as the "second series of the collections," the society began issuing its publications in quarterly numbers with the title "Collections and Proceedings," 2d series.]

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Vol. X. Portland, 1891.

8vo, pp. 312.

Consists of index to the collections, vol. i–x.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections of the Maine Historical Society. Second series, Vol. I. Documentary history of the State of Maine. Edited by William Willis. Vol. I. Containing a history of the discovery of Maine. By J. G. Kohl. With an appendix on the voyages of the Cabots, by M. D'Avezac. Published by the Society, aided by appropriations from the State. Portland, 1869.

8vo, pp. (2) viii (2), 9–535. Twenty-two maps.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections of the Maine Historical Society. Second series, Vol. II. Documentary history of the State of Maine. Vol. II. Containing a Discourse on Western Planting, written in the year 1584, by Richard Hakluyt, with a preface and an introduction by Leonard Woods, LL. D. Edited, with notes in the appendix, by Charles Deane. Cambridge, 1877.

8vo, pp. lxi, (4), 253. Facsimiles.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections of the Maine Historical Society. Second series, Vol. III. Documentary history of the State of Maine. Vol. III. Containing the Trelawny Papers, edited and illustrated with historical notes and an appendix, by James Phinney Baxter. Published by the Maine Historical Society, aided by appropriations from the State. Portland, 1884.

8vo, pp. xxxi, (1), 520. Illustrated. Folded maps and plans. Facsimiles.

Contents: Memoir of Robert Trelawny; The Trelawny Pedigree; Autographs. The Trelawny Papers: Patent to Robert Trelawny and others, December 1, 1631; Patent to Thomas Cammack, November 1, 1631; Power of Attorney to John Winter and Thomas Pomeroy, January 18, 1631; Correspondence, etc., 1632–1809. Appendix: Will of Robert Trelawny, senior, June 30, 1627; Robert Trelawny's first Will, October 26, 1640; Robert Trelawny's last Will, August 27, 1643; Sir Jonathan Trelawny; The Song of the Western Men; John Winter to Robert Trelawny, April, 1634, May 5, 1634; John Winter's Seal; Charges on Newfoundland Fish; Pedigree of Sir Ferdinando Gorges; The Great Seal of the Council for New England; Accounts of Jordan and Ridgeway; Will of Robert Jordan.

[NOTE.—The territory covered by the Trelawny patent was in the neighborhood of Cape Elizabeth, Casco Neck, and Richmond Island.]

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MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections of the Maine Historical Society. Second series, Vol. IV. Documentary history of the State of Maine, Vol. IV. Containing the Baxter manuscripts. Edited by James Phinney Baxter, A. M. Portland, 1889.

8vo, pp. xvi, 506.

[NOTE.—A new series of the publications of the Society was begun in 1890, under the title "Collections and Proceedings, second series," the title of which is given in chronological order below.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. A discourse before the Society at its annual meeting, September 6, 1846. By George Folsom. Portland, 1847.

8vo, pp. 80.

On the early discovery and settlement of Maine.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. An address delivered before the Society at Bowdoin College, on the annual commencement, September 5, 1849, by Robert C. Winthrop. Boston, 1849.

8vo, pp. 68. Some copies have 63 pages, omitting the appendix.

Reissued as follows: Life and services of James Bowdoin, by Robert C. Winthrop. Second edition, with additions. Boston, 1876. 8vo, pp. (1), 50.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. History of the Bunker Hill Monument. By Prof. [A. S.] Packard. Portland, 1853.

8vo, pp. 33.

Reprinted from *Collections*.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. A discourse delivered before the Society August 2, 1854. By George Burgess. Portland, 1854.

8vo, pp. 25.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Introductory address before the Society, February 2, 1855. By William Willis. Portland, 1856.

8vo, pp. 28.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The memoir and journals of Rev. Paul Coffin, D. D. By Cyrus Woodman. Portland, 1855.

8vo, pp. 181 (1). Portrait.

Published under the auspices of the Society.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Papers relating to Pemaquid and parts adjacent in the present State of Maine, known as Cornwall County, when under the colony of New York. Compiled from official records in the office of the secretary of state, at Albany, N. Y., by Franklin B. Hough. Albany, 1856.

8vo, pp. vii, 136.

Undertaken at the request of the Society.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. An address delivered before the Society, March 5, 1857, containing biographical notices of the former presidents of the Society. By William Willis. Portland, 1857.

8vo, pp. 54.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Ancient Pemaquid: an historical review. Prepared at the request of the Society for its Collections, by J. Wingate Thornton. Portland, 1857.

8vo, pp. (4), 9–178. Seal. Facsimiles.

Twenty-two copies printed.

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MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. A catalogue of original documents in the English archives relating to the early history of the State of Maine. [Collected by H. G. Somerby. Edited by George Folsom.] New York, 1858.

Large 8vo, pp. (4), 137.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Genealogy of the McKinstry family, with a preliminary essay on the Scotch-Irish immigrations to America. By William Willis. Boston, 1858.

8vo, pp. 28.
Same. Second edition; corrected and enlarged. Portland, 1866. 46 pp. 8vo.
Based upon a paper published in the *Collections*.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The Abenaki Indians: their treaties of 1713 and 1717, and a vocabulary; with a historical introduction. By Frederic Kidder. Portland, 1859.

8vo, pp. 25. Facsimiles.
Reprint from the *Collections*.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Castine; and the old coins found there. By Joseph Williamson. Portland, 1859.

8vo, pp. 22.
Reprinted from the *Collections*.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. An address on the Life and Character of Parker Cleaveland. Delivered January 19, 1859, before the Society, by Leonard Woods. Portland, 1859.

8vo, pp. 61.
Same. Second edition. Brunswick, 1860. 80 pp. Portrait. 8vo.
Published by vote of the Trustees of Bowdoin College and of the Society.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. English Colonization in America. A vindication of the claims of Sir Ferdinando Gorges as the father of English colonization in America. By John A. Poor. Delivered before the historical societies of Maine and New York. New York, 1862.

8vo, pp. 144.
Usually bound as part of the "Memorial Volume of the Popham Celebration." The paper as now printed contains several paragraphs omitted for want of time in the address before the New York Historical Society.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Memoir of John Merrick. Prepared for the Society. By D. R. Goodwin. [Portland.] 1862.

8vo, pp. 39, (1).

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Colonial Schemes of Popham and Gorges. Speech of John Wingate Thornton, at the Fort Popham celebration, August 29, 1862, under the auspices of the Society. Boston, 1863.

8vo, pp. 20.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Documentary History of Maine. Proceedings of the legislature of Maine for procuring copies of original papers, in the British state-paper office, not heretofore published, in regard to the early history of Maine. [Augusta, 1863.]

8vo, pp. 4. No title-page.
Contains the memorial of the Society to the legislature.

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MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The First Colonization of New England. An address delivered at the erection of a monumental stone in the walls of Fort Popham, August 29, 1862, commemorative of the planting of the Popham colony on the peninsula of Sabino, August 19 [O. S.], 1607, establishing the title of England to the continent. By John A. Poor. New York, 1863.

8vo, pp. 58.

Usually bound with "Memorial Volume of the Popham Celebration."

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Memoir of Reuel Williams, prepared for the Society, by John A. Poor. Read at a special meeting of the Society, February, 1863. [Portland,] 1864.

8vo, pp. 66. Portrait.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Memorial Volume of the Popham Celebration, August 29, 1862, commemorative of the planting of the Popham colony on the peninsula of Sabino, August 19 [O. S.], 1607, establishing the title of England to the continent. Published under the direction of Edward Ballard, secretary of the executive committee of the celebration. Portland, 1863.

8vo, pp. xiv, (2), 9-368. Two maps. Facsimiles. Woodcuts.

Bound with this is "English Colonization in America. A vindication of the claims of Sir Ferdinando Gorges as the father of English colonization in America. By John A. Poor. (Delivered before the historical societies of Maine and New York.) New York, 1862." 144 pp., 8vo.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. An address on the character of the colony founded by George Popham, at the mouth of the Kennebec River, August 19 [O. S.], 1607. Delivered in Bath, on the two hundred and fifty-seventh anniversary of that event. By Hon. Edward E. Bourne. Delivered and published at the request of the committee on the commemoration. Portland, 1864.

8vo, pp. 60.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Responsibilities of the Founders of Republics. An address on the peninsula of Sabino, on the two hundred and fifty-eighth anniversary of the planting of the Popham colony, August 29, 1865. By Hon. James W. Patterson. Delivered and published at the request of the committee on the commemoration. Boston, 1865.

8vo, pp. 38.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. An address before the Society, January 27, 1858, on the Scotch-Irish immigration to Maine and Presbyterianism in New England; with the McKinstry genealogy. By William Willis. Portland, 1866.

8vo, pp. 46.

Title taken from Willis's Bibliography.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The Maine Historical Society. By William Willis.

Historical Magazine, January, 1868, second ser., Vol. III, pp. 13-17.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. History of the discovery of the east coast of North America, particularly the coast of Maine; from the Northmen in 990, to the charter of Gilbert in 1574. Illustrated by copies of the earliest maps and charts. By J. G. Kohl. Portland, 1869.

8vo, pp. 535.

First issued as Vol. I of the second series of the *Collections*.

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MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Jamestown of Pemaquid; a poem. By Maria W. Hackleton. Read on the site of Fort Frederic, on the reception of the committee of the Society by the citizens of Bristol, August 26, 1869. Published under direction of the Society. New York, 1869.
12mo, pp. 40.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The Northmen in Maine; a critical examination of views expressed in connection with the subject, by Dr. J. G. Kohl, in Volume I of the new series of the Maine Historical Society. To which are added criticisms on other portions of the work, and a chapter on the discovery of Massachusetts Bay. By B. F. De Costa. Albany, 1870.
8vo, pp. (1), 146.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The burning of Falmouth (now Portland), by Captain Mowatt, in 1775. By William Goold. Prepared at the request of the Society, and read before it February 19, 1873. Reprinted from New England Historical and Genealogical Register. Boston, 1873.
8vo, pp. 16.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Catalogue of the past and present Members of the Society. Brunswick, 1874.
8vo, pp. 25.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Coasting Voyages in the Gulf of Maine, made in 1604–5 and 6, by Samuel Champlain. A paper read at the meeting of the Society, February 18, 1875. By John Marshall Brown. Bath, 1875.
8vo, pp. 24.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Early papermills of New England. By William Goold. Read at a meeting of the Society, February 19, 1874. [Boston,] 1875.
8vo, pp. 8. No title-page. Cover title.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. A discourse concerning western planting, written in the year 1584. By Richard Hakluyt, now first printed from a contemporary manuscript. With a preface and introduction by Leonard Woods. Edited, with notes in the appendix, by Charles Deane. Cambridge, 1877.
8vo, pp. lxi, (3), 253. Facsimiles.
A separate issue of second series, Vol. II, of the *Collections*.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The discovery of North America by John Cabot. A first chapter in the history of North America. By Frederic Kidder. Boston, 1878.
8vo, pp. 15. Illustrated.
Read before the Society, February 17, 1874.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Leonard Woods. A discourse, by Charles Carroll Everett, before Bowdoin College and the Society, July 9, 1879. Brunswick, 1879.
8vo, pp. 34.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Circular letter. December, 1881.
Sheet.
Relative to procuring copies of all printed productions of citizens of Maine.

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MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Col. Arthur Noble. Fort Halifax. Col. William Vaughan. Papers read before the Society, by W. Goold. Portland, 1881.

8vo. pp. (1), 107–313. Portrait.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The Northeastern Boundary. By Israel Washburn. Read before the Society, May 15, 1879. Portland, 1881.

8vo, pp. 106, (1).

Reprinted from *Collections*, Vol. VIII.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. Seventy-fifth birthday. Proceedings of the Society, February 27, 1882. Portland [1882].

8vo, pp. 171. Portrait.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Laus Laureati. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. February 27, 1882. Read before the Society at their celebration of the poet's seventy-fifth birthday. By James P. Baxter. Portland, 1882.

8vo, pp. 8.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Longfellow's Birthday. Proceedings of the Maine Historical Society. [From the Portland *Advertiser*, February 28, 1882.]

8vo, pp. 24. Portrait.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Song. Adapted from Auld Lang Syne. Sung at the celebration, by the Society, of the eighty-fourth birthday of Professor Alpheus S. Packard, December 23, 1882.

Small sheet.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. James Shepherd Pike. A biographical sketch. Read before the Society, December 22, 1885, by George Foster Talbot. Portland, 1885.

8vo, pp. 49.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Biographical sketch of John G. Deane, and brief mention of his connection with the northeastern boundary of Maine, copied by permission from the records of the Maine Historical Society; also memoranda about members of the family, old residents of the city of Ellsworth, Me., etc. Prepared by and printed for his son, Llewellyn Deane, June, 1885, for private use. Washington, D. C., 1887.

8vo, pp. 70. Folded map.

Pages 1–25 contain biographical sketch which was read before the Society, January 8, 1885.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Brigadier General Samuel Waldo. By Joseph Williamson. Read before the Society, March 30, 1876. Portland, 1887.

Small 4to, pp. (2), 19. Portrait. Facsimile.

Reprinted from *Collections*, Vol. IX.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Maine Wills. 1640–1760. Compiled and edited with notes, by William M. Sargent. Portland, 1887.

8vo, pp. xii, 953.

Published under the auspices of the Society, with financial support from the State. These wills are copied from the York County records, and comprise all those recorded from the earliest period down to 1760, when York County was divided into separate counties. Until then the county of York had embraced the entire Province of Maine.

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MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The Trelawny papers. Edited and illustrated, with historical notes and an appendix, by James Phinney Baxter. Portland, 1884.

8vo, large paper, pp. xxxi, (1), 520. Plates. Facsimiles.

Edition of 50 copies on large paper, being a reprint of the *Collections*, second series.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Proceedings of the Maine Historical Society, on the occasion of a complimentary dinner to James Ware Bradbury, LL. D., president of the Society, on his eighty-fifth birthday, June 10, 1887. Portland, 1887.

Small 4to, pp. (1), 56.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. William Hutchings, the last pensioner of the Revolution in Maine. By Joseph Williamson. Reprinted from Vol. IX, Collections Maine Historical Society. Portland, 1887.

8vo, pp. (2), 7.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Dedicatory exercises of the Baxter Building, to the use of the Portland Public Library and Maine Historical Society, Thursday, February 21, 1889. Illustrated with photogravures. Auburn, Me.: Lakeside Press, Printers and Binders. 1889.

8vo, pp. 35, (1).

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Sketch of the life and character of Hon. Amos Tuck. Read before the Maine Historical Society, December, 1888. [Portland, Me., 1889.]

8vo, pp. 314. Portraits. Facsimiles.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. York deeds. Books 1–6. [1642–1703.] Portland, 1887–1890.

Three vols., 8vo.

Published under the auspices of the Maine Historical Society, and edited by H. W. Richardson. The copies of the deeds were made by W. M. Sargent. The introduction by the editor consists of an historical sketch of the land titles of Maine.

Contents: Book 1. Preface; Introduction, by H. W. Richardson; Deeds, 1642–1666. 2. Introduction [by W. M. Sargent]; John Mason's royal charter, 1635; Grant from Gorges to Mason, 1635; Deeds, 1666–1676. 3. Preface [by H. W. Richardson]; Deeds, 1676–1684. 4. Preface, by H. W. Richardson; Register's certificate; Errata; York deeds, 1684–1700; Index. 5. Preface; Register's certificate; Errata; York deeds, 1680–1699. 6. Preface; Register's certificate; Errata; York deeds, 1687–1703; Index.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. York deeds. Book 7. Portland, 1892.

pp. 7, (3), fol. 1–267, pp. 198.

Contents: Preface; Errata; Register's certificate; York deeds, May 29, 1704, to July 7, 1713; Index of grantors, grantees, other persons, places.

"Covers a period of the resettlement of Casco Bay and many of the conveyances during that time were of lands in that vicinity."

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. York deeds. Book 8. Portland, 1892.

pp. 6, (4), fol. 1–268, pp. 186.

Contents: Preface; Register's certificate: Errata; York deeds, July 7, 1713, to January 7, 1717; Indexes of grants, grantors, grantees, etc.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. York deeds. Book 9. Portland, 1894.

8vo, pp. 6, (4), fol. 1–275.

Contents: Preface; York deeds, January, 1717–January 6, 1719–20; Indexes of grantors, grantees, etc.

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8vo, pp. 6, (2), fol. 1–275, pp. 1–193.

Contents: Preface; Errata; York deeds, January 19, 1719–20–March 26, 1722; Indexes of grants, grantors, etc.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections and proceedings of the Maine Historical Society. Second series, Vol. I. Quarterly parts. January, April, July, October, 1890. Published for the Society. Portland, 1890.

8vo, pp. iv, (2), 476. Portraits.

Contents: January, 1890.—General Henry Knox, a memoir, by Joseph Williamson; Bibliographical memoranda relating to General Knox, read November 16, 1881, by Joseph Williamson; The French treaty of 1778, recognizing the Independence of the United States—how the good news came to Falmouth, read June 10, 1887, by William Goold; Rev. William Screven, read December 21, 1883, by Rev. Henry S. Burrage, D. D.; The four judges of North Yarmouth, read May 20, 1886, by Rev Amasa Loring; John F. Godfrey, read May 28, 1885, by Albert Waer Paine; The mission of the Assumption on the River Kennebec, 1646–1652, read May 15, 1879, by John Marshall Brown; Proceedings, February, July, 1881; Vote authorizing this publication; Resident members; Historical memoranda.

April, 1890.—Cyrus Woodman, by George F. Emery; William Gorges' administration of 1630 to 1637, by Charles Edwards Banks; a topographical surmise, locating the houses of Gorges and Godfrey at York, Me., by W. M. Sargent; Enoch Lincoln, by Edward H. Elwell; Capital trials in Maine before the Separation, by Joseph Williamson; The *Enterprise* and *Boxer*, by Fritz H. Jordan; John G. Deane, a sketch of his life, with a recapitulation of his services in establishing the northeastern boundary of Maine, by Llewellyn Deane; Proceedings, May 25, 1881–December 23, 1882; Historical memoranda: Machias in the War of 1812; A chapter from the Deane genealogy; Historical notes and queries: The corporate limits of the city of Georgeana and the town of York; Point Ingleby; an alleged deed by President Danforth to trustees of the town of York.

July, 1890.—James Shepherd Pike, by G. F. Talbot; The problem of Hammond's fort, by H. O. Thayer; Robert Hallowell Gardiner, by Asa Dalton; The professional tours of John Adams in Maine, by Joseph Williamson; Rev. Eugene Vetromile, by H. W. Bryant; Early history of Dresden, by C. E. Allen; Historical memoranda; Traces of Talleyrand in Maine; Capt. A. Preble's company, 1703; Book notices.

October, 1890.—James Tift Champlin, by Henry S. Burrage; The campaign against the Pequakets [Lovewell's fight], by James Phinney Baxter; The British occupation of Penobscot during the Revolution, by Joseph Williamson; Madam Wood, the first Maine writer of fiction—her residence in Portland in the early part of the century, by William Goold; Ashur Ware, a biographical sketch, by George F. Talbot; Proceedings of the Society, December 23, 1882, and celebration of eighty-fourth birthday of Alpheus Spring Packard.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections and Proceedings. Second series, Vol. II. Portland, 1891.

8vo, pp. iv, (4), 476. Portraits.

Contents: The capture of the *Margaretta*, the first naval battle of the Revolution, by George F. Talbot; John Johnston Carruthers, D. D., by Ephraim Chamberlin Cummings; The voice of Maine as heard in the genesis of our nationality, by George F. Emery; Proceedings, 1883–1886; Description of the Society's seal; Life and letters of Israel Washburn, jr.; Letters of Joseph Wheaton [on the capture of the *Margaretta*]; Historical review of literature in Maine, by J. Williamson; Brunswick convention of 1816, by W. Allen; Gosnold's voyage; Letter from Peleg Wadsworth [on the Penobscot expedition of 1779]; James Loring Child, by J. W. Bradbury; Longfellow birthday celebration; Longfellow as the author of Evangeline, by J. Williamson; Poets' corner, Westminster Abbey, by J. W. Symonds; American literature in England, by H. L. Chapman; The debt of Portland to the memory of Longfellow, by G. F. Talbot; Persons taxed in north parish of Kittery, 1783, by W. B. Lapham; Resident members of the

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Society, April 1, 1891; Captain Herrick's journal, 1757, scouting party between the Androscoggin and Kennebec rivers; Waymouth's voyage to the coast of Maine in 1605, by H. S. Burrage; Traces of the Northmen, by J. Williamson; The beginnings of Maine, by J. P. Baxter; Memoir of Judge David Sewall, LL. D., by E. P. Burnham; The division of the 12,000 acres among the patentees at Agamenticus, by W. M. Sargent; Proclamation of Andrew Milliken regarding territory between the Penobscot and St. Croix rivers; A Moravian colony in Maine; Biographical data and letters of David Sewall, LL. D.; John Appleton, by G. F. Emery; A lost manuscript [Mowat's Relation], by J. Williamson; William Allen, by C. F. Allen; Bibliographic memorandum of the laws of Maine, by J. H. Drummond; Sir John Moore at Castine during the Revolution, by J. Williamson; Extracts from the letters of the Jesuit missionary in Maine, Father P. Biard; Order given at Fort Charles at Pemaquid, 1618; The Frye family, by W. B. Lapham; Commissioners' proceedings at Mount Desert, 1808; Index.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections and Proceedings. Second series, Vol. III. Portland, 1892.

8vo, pp. iv, (4), 487. Portraits.

Contents: Edward H. Elwell, by Samuel T. Pickard; The Abnakis and their ethnic relations, by James P. Baxter; Sketches of the lives of early Maine ministers, by W. D. Williamson: Richard Gibson, William Thompson, George Burdett, Joseph Hull, Robert Jordan, Thomas Jenner, John Wheelwright; Sketch of the life of General La Fayette and his visit to Maine; Field day, 1891, settlements on the Kennebec, etc; Births from Hallowell records, by W. B. Lapham; Revolution petition, in Massachusetts archives; William M. Sargent, by Charles E. Banks; History of the duel between Jonathan Cilley and William J. Graves, by Horatio King; William Barrows, John Tripp, by Percival Bonney: Military operations at Pemaquid, in the second war with Great Britain, by Henry S. Burrage; Joseph Dane, by Edward P. Burnham; Proceeding, 1887; Dr. Nathaniel T. True, by W. B. Lapham; Ancient Augusta, by Henry W. Wheeler; Reminiscences of a great enterprise [journal of J. A. Poor describing his journey to Montreal, begun February 5, 1845, in connection with the proposed construction of the Atlantic and St. Lawrence Railroad]; Rev. Robert Rutherford, by J. H. Drummond; The manuscripts of William D. Williamson, by Joseph Williamson; Land titles in Monument Square, Portland, by L. B. Chapman; Diary of the Rev. Joseph Moody, of York, 1720-1724; Kittery family records, by W. B. Lapham; Historic hints toward a university for Maine, by E. C. Cummings; Some Huguenot and other early settlers on the Kennebec in the present town of Dresden, by C. E. Allen; The conduct of Paul Revere in the Penobscot expedition, by J. Williamson; The Plymouth trading house of Penobscot: Where was it? by S. A. Drake; Louis Annance, by J. F. Sprague; Notes concerning ancient Augusta at Small Point, by H. O. Thayer; Index.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections and Proceedings. Second series, Vol. IV. Portland, 1893.

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Contents: Columbian quadricentennial; Columbus, by Elizabeth Corazza; Three suggestive maps, by J. P. Baxter; A memorable voyage, by B. L. Whitman; The character of Columbus, by George F. Talbot; Some of the portraits of Columbus, by H. S. Burrage; Where is Columbus buried? by J. Williamson; Joel Barlow and the Columbiad, by H. L. Chapman; Sketches of the lives of early Maine ministers, by W. D. Williamson: John Brock, Shubael Dummer, Seth Fletcher, Benjamin Blackman, Joseph Emerson, Robert Paine, John Buss, George Burroughs, Percival Greene, John Newmarch, Benjamin Woodbridge, John Hancock, Samuel Emery, Samuel Moody, John Wade, Joshua Moody, Jeremiah Wise, Matthew Short, Joseph Baxter, John Eveleth, John Rogers, William Thompson, Samuel Jeffords, Thomas Smith, A. R. Cutter, Samuel Willard, Benjamin Allen, W. McLanathan, N. Loring, J. Hovey. James Stuart Holmes, by J. F. Sprague; Portland banks, by W. E. Gould; Hallowell records—Births; Proceedings, 1888-1891; Fort

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Pentagoët and the French occupation of Castine, by G. A. Wheeler; The beginnings of Waterville College, by H. S. Burrage, The mission of Father Rasles, by E. C. Cummings; Christopher Levett, the first owner of the soil of Portland, by J. P. Baxter; Fordyce Baker, by G. F. Talbot; The transient town of Cork, by H. O. Thayer; Our State christening, its name, by G. F. Emery; Augustus Gardner Lebroka, by J. F. Sprague; The Small family in America, by L. W. Small; Field day, 1893; Kittery Point and Portsmouth; Marriages by Rev. John Tripp, of Hebron, Me., 1791-1847. Index.

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Contents: Samuel Freeman, his life and services, by William Freeman; The military journal of Col. Ichabod Goodwin [at Boston and Winter Hill, April 15, 1778–June 24, 1778]; Governor Christopher Gore and his visit to Maine, by William Goold; Father Biard's Relation of 1616 and St. Sauveur, by E. C. Cummings. Sketches of the lives of early Maine ministers, by W. D. Williamson: Rev. Joseph Moody, John Tasche, Samuel Chandler, Moses Morrill, John Wight, Robert Dunlap, Richard Elvins, Robert Rutherford, Josiah Chase, Alexander Boyd, Daniel Little, Solomon Lombard, Isaac Lyman, Samuel Fayrweather. Births from Hallowell records, communication by W. B. Lapham; Plan for the formation of country societies, by J. P. Baxter; Historic homes of Kittery, by M. A. Safford; Fort Richmond, Me., by H. O. Thayer; Capuchin and Jesuit Fathers at Pentagoët, by E. C. Cummings; Nathaniel Phillips' Relation, 1668, "A true Relation of passages and actions in the Province of Maine, in respect of the Subverting of His Majestie's Established Government by the Generall Court of the Matichusetts in New England;" Proceedings of the Society, February 21, 1891-April 11, 1892; Lot M. Morrill, sketch of his life and public services, by George F. Talbot; Some added facts concerning Rev. William Schreven, by H. S. Burrage; A refuge for Marie Antoinette in Maine, by Rufus K. Sewall; Studies on families surnamed Cowell, Door (Dore or Doer), and Chamberlain, of Lebanon, Me., by George W. Chamberlain; Letters from John Allan to Massachusetts Council [on Indian affairs, 1779]; William Berry Lapham, by C. E. Nash; Mogg-Heigon, his life, his death, and its sequel, by Horatio Hight; The story of the Presumpscot, Charles S. Fobes; Destruction of Falmouth in 1775, and the responsibility therefor, by C. E. Banks; Letter from Peleg Wadsworth to Massachusetts Council, August 19, 1779 [on the evacuation of Magabigwaduce].

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Contents: Gen. David Cobb, of Gouldsborough, by Joseph W. Porter; Some old papers recently found in the stone tower of the First Parish Church of Portland, by John Carroll Perkins; Block and garrison houses of ancient Falmouth, by Leonard B. Chapman (p. 37); First mention of Pemaquid in history, by Henry S. Burrage (p. 53); Beginnings at Pemaquid, by Henry O. Thayer (p. 62); Sketches of the lives of early Maine ministers, by W. D. Williamson; Hallowell records, communicated by W. B. Lapham (p. 94); Book notice: Myrand Sir W. Phips; Proceedings, June 10, 1892, to September 10, 1892; Address on Rasle's settlement at Norridgewock, by Charles F. Allen; The first Maine bishop [Joshua Sole, D. D.], by C. F. Allen; Machias in the Revolution, by Charles H. Pope; John Fairbanks, his journal on the privateer *Wasp*, 1782; The Rasles dictionary, by E. C. Cummings; Cape Porpoise, old and new, by H. F. Knight; Marriages solemnized by Oliver Wood, esquire, of Lincoln County, 1786–1789; Portland privateers in the war of 1812, by D. O. Davis; Sketches of the lives of early Maine ministers, by W.D. Williamson: John Wiswell, Moses Hemmenway, Nathan Ward, John Miller, Peter T. Smith, Thomas Pierce, John Fairfield, Paul Coffin, Edward Brooks, Isaac Hasey, Jonah Winship, Samuel Foxcroft, Samuel Deane, Ezekiel Emerson, John Murray, Matthew Merriam, Ebenezer Williams, Josiah Thatcher, Thomas Brown, Silas Moody; Hallowell records; The St. Croix commission, 1796–1798, by

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H. S. Burrage; White's Bridge [Windham], by S. T. Dole; Mogg Heigon, by H. Hight; Reminiscences of Rev. Dr. Edward Payson, by C. Hamlin; Brigadier-General Wadsworth's deposition, court of inquiry, Penobscot expedition; Letter of Col. Henry Jackson, 1779; Gen. William Whipple, by M. C. Safford; Temperance and the drink question in the old time, by G. F. Talbot; Charter rights of Massachusetts in Maine in the early part of the eighteenth century, by H. S. Burrage; The settlement of Scarborough, by A. F. Moulton.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Bibliographic memorandum of the laws of Maine. By Josiah H. Drummond. Accepted at a meeting of the Society, May 9, 1891. Portland, 1891.

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MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Columbus day. [Columbian quadricentennial, Portland, Me., October 20, 1892. Portland, Me., 1892.]

8vo, pp. 61. Portraits and maps.

Reprinted from *Collections and Proceedings of the Maine Historical Society*, Vol. IV.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. A biographical sketch of Rev. Sylvanus Boardman. By Rev. George Bullen, D. D. Read, * * * with omissions, before the Maine Historical Society, December 7, 1893. Portland, 1894.

8vo, pp. 24.

65. *PEJEPSCOT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Brunswick, Me.

PEJEPSCOT HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections of the Pejepscot Historical Society, Vol. I, part 1. Brunswick, 1889.

pp. viii, 66.

Contents: Account of Society; Early movements to separate the District of Maine from Massachusetts, and the Brunswick convention of 1816, by Henry L. Chapman; Brunswick at the time of its incorporation, by Henry W. Wheeler; Reminiscences of a former resident of New Meadows, written in 1843; Thomas Crowell, by Sumner L. Holbrook; James Cary, by Ira P. Booker; Brunswick wharf, by Henry W. Wheeler.

66. *YORK INSTITUTE.*

Saco, Me.

YORK INSTITUTE. Constitution and By-laws of the York Institute. Located at Saco, Me. Established March, 1866. Biddeford, 1866.

8vo, pp. 7.

Inserted are a blank form of subscription and a circular.

YORK INSTITUTE. Act of Incorporation, Constitution, and By-laws. Established March, 1866. Incorporated 1867. Biddeford, 1867.

8vo, pp. 8.

YORK INSTITUTE. Publications of York Institute, Vol. I, Nos. 1, 2. Saco 1884.

Two pamphlets, 8vo.

Contents: 1. York Institute: something of its past, present, and future, by B. Redford Melcher, 24 pp. 2. Industrial education in public schools, by E. F. Small, 19 pp.

This society is devoted to the collection of historical and scientific information connected with York County.

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MARYLAND.

67. *ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Annapolis, Md.

ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Handbook of the city of Annapolis and the United States Naval Academy. Prepared and published by the Society. Annapolis, 1888.

8vo, pp. 99.

68. *HARFORD HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Bel Air, Md.

HARFORD HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Constitution and By-laws of the Society, with sketch of its history, list of members, contributors, etc. Incorporated 1886. Baltimore, 1889.

8vo, pp. 37.

Contents: The Antiquary; Motto; Officers and standing committees; Introduction; Sketch of the history of the Society; Constitution and By-laws; Titles of papers read before the Society, with the names of their authors; Plan for genealogical records; Members.

HARFORD HISTORICAL SOCIETY. History of the old Catholic Chapel at Priest's Ford, in Harford County, Md. Read before the Society, October 26, 1889, by G. W. Andrew, M. D.

United States Catholic Historical Magazine, Vol. III, pp. 41–64.

69. *JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.*

Baltimore, Md.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY. Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. Herbert B. Adams, editor. Vol. I, Nos. 1–12. Local Institutions. Baltimore, 1882.

8vo.

CONTENTS.

No. 1. An introduction to American institutional history written for this series. By Edward A. Freeman. 39 pp.

No. 2. The Germanic origin of New England towns. Read before the Harvard Historical Society, May 9, 1881. By Herbert B. Adams. With notes on cooperation in university work. 57 pp.

No. 3. Local government in Illinois. By Albert Shaw. Reprints from the *Fortnightly Review;* and Local government in Pennsylvania. By E. R. L. Gould. 57 pp.

No. 4. Saxon tithing-men in America. Read before the American Antiquarian Society, October 21, 1881. By Herbert B. Adams. 23 pp.

No. 5. Local government in Michigan and the Northwest. Read before the American Social Science Association, September 7, 1882. By Edward W. Bemis. 25 pp.

No. 6. Parish institutions of Maryland. By Edward Ingle. 48 pp.

No. 7. Old Maryland manors. With the records of a court-leet and a court-baron. by John Johnson. 38 pp.

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No. 11. The genesis of a New England State (Connecticut). By Alexander Johnston. 29 pp.

No. 12. Local government and free schools in South Carolina. By B. James Ramage. 40 pp. Index.

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JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY. **Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. Herbert B. Adams, editor. Vol. II, Nos. 1–12. Institutions and Economics. Baltimore, 1884.**

8vo, pp. (4), 629.

CONTENTS.

Nos. 1 and 2. Methods of historical study. By Herbert B. Adams. January and February, 1884. 136, (1) pp. Diagram.

No. 3. The past and present of political economy. By Richard T. Ely. March, 1884. 64 pp.

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No. 7. Institutional beginnings in a Western State [Iowa]. By Jesse Macey. July, 1884. 38 pp.

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No. 11. Rudimentary society among boys. By John Johnson. November, 1884. 56 pp.

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JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY. **Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. Herbert B. Adams, editor. Vol. III, Nos. 1–12. Maryland, Virginia, and Washington. Baltimore, 1885.**

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CONTENTS.

No. 1. Maryland's influence upon land cessions to the United States, with minor papers on George Washington's interest in Western lands, the Potomac Company, and a national university. By Herbert B Adams. January, 1885. 102 pp.

Nos. 2 and 3. Local institutions of Virginia. By Edward Ingle. February and March, 1885. 127 pp.

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Nos. 5, 6, and 7. Local institutions of Maryland. By Lewis W. Wilhelm. May June, and July, 1885. 129 pp.

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Nos. 11 and 12. The city of Washington; its origin and administration. By John Addison Porter. November and December, 1885. 66 pp.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY. **Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. Herbert B. Adams, editor. Vol. IV, Nos. 1–10. State and Municipal Governments. Baltimore, 1886.**

8vo, pp. (3), 610.

CONTENTS.

No. 1. Dutch village communities on the Hudson River. By Irving Elting. January, 1886. 68 pp.

No. 2. Town government in Rhode Island. By William E. Foster. February, 1886. 36 pp.

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No. 4. Pennsylvania boroughs. By William P. Holcomb. April, 1886. 51 pp.

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No. 6. A Puritan colony in Maryland. By Daniel R. Randall. June, 1886. 47 pp.

Nos. 7, 8, and 9. History of the land question in the United States. By Shosuke Sato. July, August, September, 1886. (2), v, 181 pp.

No. 10. The town and city government of New Haven. By Charles H. Levermore. October, 1886. 103 pp.

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8vo, pp. (4), 559.

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Nos. 1 and 2. City government of Philadelphia. By Edward P. Allison and Boies Penrose.

No. 3. The city government of Boston. By James M. Bugbee.

No. 4. The city government of St. Louis. By Marshall S. Snow.

Nos. 5 and 6. Local government in Canada. An historical study. By John George Bourinot.

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No. 11. Seminary libraries and university extension. By Herbert B. Adams.

No. 12. European schools of history and politics. By Andrew D. White. Index.

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8vo, pp. 540.

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Nos. 1 and 2. Cooperation in New England. By Edward W. Bemis.

No. 3. Cooperation in the Middle States. By Edward W. Bemis.

Nos. 4, 5, 6. Cooperation in the Northwest. By Albert Shaw.

Nos. 7, 8. Three phases of cooperation in the West. By Amos G. Warner.

Nos. 9, 10. Cooperation on the Pacific Coast. By Charles Howard Shinn.

Nos. 11, 12. Cooperation in Maryland and the South. By Daniel R. Randall. Index.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY. Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. Herbert B. Adams, editor. Seventh series. Nos. 1–12. Social Science. Municipal and Federal Government. Baltimore, 1889.

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CONTENTS.

No. 1. Arnold Toynbee. By F. C. Montague. With an account of the work of Toynbee Hall, in East London, by Philip Lyttleton Gell.

No. 2. The establishment of municipal government in San Francisco. By Bernard Moses.

No. 3. Municipal history of New Orleans. By William W. Howe.

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Nos. 5, 6. English culture in Virginia, a study of the Gilmer letters, and an account of the English professors obtained by Jefferson for the University of Virginia. By William P. Trent.

Nos. 7, 8, 9. The river towns of Connecticut, Wethersfield, Hartford, and Windsor. By Charles M. Andrews.

Nos. 10, 11, and 12. Federal government in Canada. By John G. Bourinot. Index.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY. History of the Land Question in the United States. By Shosuke Sato. Baltimore, 1886.

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Reprinted from *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, Vol. IV, Nos. 7, 8, and 9.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY. Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. Herbert B. Adams, editor. Eighth series. Nos. 1–12. History, Politics, Education. Baltimore, 1890.

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Nos. 1, 2. The beginnings of American nationality. The Constitutional relations between the Continental Congress and the Colonies and States from 1776 to 1789. By Albion W. Small. January and February, 1890.

No. 3. Local government in Wisconsin. By David E. Spencer. March, 1890.

No. 3a. Notes supplementary. The Enoch Pratt Free Library. By Lewis H. Steiner.

No. 4. Spanish colonization in the Northwest. By Frank W. Blackmar. April, 1890.

No. 5. Notes supplementary, No. 3. Early Presbyterianism in Maryland. By J. W. Mellvain. 33 pp.

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Nos. 7, 8, and 9. Notes on the progress of the colored people of Maryland since the war. By Jeffrey R. Brackett. July–September, 1890. 96 pp.

No. 10. The study of history in Holland and Belgium. By Paul Frédéricq. Translation by Henrietta Leonard. October, 1890. 62 pp.

Notes supplementary, No. 4. The educational aspect of the United States National Museum. By Otis T. Mason.

Nos. 11 and 12. Seminary notes on recent historical literature. By Dr. H. B. Adams, Dr. J. M. Vincent, Dr. W. B. Scaife, and others. November, December, 1890. Index to eighth volume. 105 pp.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY. Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. Vol. IX. Baltimore, 1891.

8vo, pp. (6), 634.

Contents: Government and administration of the United States, by W. W. Willoughby and W. F. Willoughby; The history of university education in Maryland, by B. C. Steiner; The Johns Hopkins University (1876–1891), by Daniel C. Gilman; The Communes of Lombardy from the VI to the X century, by W. K. Williams; Public lands and agrarian laws of the Roman Republic, by Andrew Stephenson; Constitutional development of Japan (1853–1881), by Toyokichi Iyenaga; A history of Liberia, by J. H. T. McPherson; The character and influence of the Indian trade in Wisconsin, by F. J. Turner.

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Contents: The Bishop Hill colony, a religious communistic settlement in Henry County, Ill., by Michael A. Mikkelsen; Church and state in New England, by Paul E. Lauer; Church and state in early Maryland, by George Petrie; The religious development in the province of North Carolina, by Stephen Beauregard Weeks; Maryland's attitude in the struggle for Canada, by J. William Black;

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Quakers in Pennsylvania, by Albert C. Applegarth; Columbus and his discovery of America, by Herbert B. Adams and Henry Wood; Causes of the American Revolution, by James A. Woodburn.

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Contents: The social condition of labor, by E. R. L. Gould; The world's representative assemblies of to-day, by Edmund K. Alden; The negro in the District of Columbia, by Edward Ingle; Church and state in North Carolina, by Stephen B. Weeks; The condition of the Western farmer as illustrated by the economic history of a Nebraska township, by A. F. Bentley; History of slavery in Connecticut, by B. C. Steiner; Local government in the South and the Southwest, by E. W. Bemis and others; Popular election of United States Senators, by J. Haynes.

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[1] For the titles of publications of this Society down to 1885 the list of J. W. M. Lee has been a chief source of information. Mr. Lee kindly gave the use of his work.

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. American Colonial History. An address made by Thomas Donaldson, esq., before the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, March 29, 1849, being the fourth annual address to that Association. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co., 1849.

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This paper, enlarged and in some parts revised and recast, was published with the following title: "Tah-gah-jute; or Logan and Cresap, an historical essay. By Brantz Mayer." Albany, 1867. 8vo, pp. x, 204.

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Refers to the Peabody Institute, and the Society, to which Mr. Peabody committed, in certain event, the care of the Peabody Institute.

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Fund Publication, No. 29. Report of a Committee on the Western Boundary of Maryland. A paper read before the Society, December 9, 1889. Baltimore, 1890.
8vo, pp. 45.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Fund Publication, No. 30, [31]. The dismemberment of Maryland. An historical and critical essay. Prepared for and partly read before the Society, January 10, 1889, by G. W. Archer, M. D. Baltimore, 1890. 135 pp. [Fund Publication, No. 31. Also, A Maryland Manor. A paper read before the Society, March 11, 1889. By Gen. James Grant Wilson. Baltimore, 1890. 60 pp.] A reminiscence of the troublous times of April, 1861, based upon interviews with the authorities at Washington touching the movement of troops through Baltimore. A paper read before the Society, March 9, 1891. By Hon. J. Morrison Harris. Baltimore, 1891.
8vo, pp. 25.

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Fund Publication, No. 32. Lafayette's second expedition to Virginia in 1781. A paper read before the Society, June 14, 1886. By E. M. Allen. Baltimore, 1891.

8vo, pp. 50.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Fund Publication, No. 33. Maryland and North Carolina in the campaign of 1780–1781, with a preliminary notice of the earlier battles of the Revolution, in which the troops of the two States won distinction. A paper read before the Society, November 14, 1892, by Edward Graham Davis. Baltimore, 1893.

8vo, pp. 100. Two plates. Plan.

Contains an account of the Guilford battle monument. The occasion of the address was the erection of a monument at Guilford Court-House by the Society in memory of Maryland soldiers.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Memoir of John H. Alexander, LL. D. By William Pinkney, D. D. Read before the Maryland Historical Society on Thursday evening, May 2, 1867. [Baltimore: John Murphy, 1867.]

8vo, pp. 31, (1).

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Memoir of Jared Sparks, LL. D. By Brantz Mayer. Prepared at the request of the Society, and read before its annual meeting on Thursday evening, February 7, 1867. [Baltimore: John Murphy 1867.]

8vo, pp. 36. Portrait.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Catalogue of Paintings at the Picture Gallery of the Maryland Historical Society. Seventh exhibition, 1868. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co., 1868.

8vo, pp. 8.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Catalogue of Paintings at the Picture Gallery of the Maryland Historical Society. Free exhibition, 1874. Baltimore: Wm. K. Boyle & Son, 1874.

8vo, pp. 3.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Catalogue of Paintings at the Picture Gallery of the Maryland Historical Society. Free exhibition, 1875. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co., 1875.

8vo, pp. 4. Title on cover.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Descriptive catalogue of Statuary on exhibition at the Gallery of the Maryland Historical Society, Athenæum Building. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co., 1875.

8vo, pp. 23.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Descriptive catalogue of Statuary and Paintings on exhibition at the Gallery of the Maryland Historical Society, Athenæum Building, Baltimore. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co., 1876.

8vo, pp. 28.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Journal of Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, during his visit to Canada in 1776 as one of the Commissioners from Congress; with a memoir and notes. By Brantz Mayer. Baltimore: John Murphy, May, 1876.

8vo. pp. 110. Portraits of Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, Samuel Chase, Archbishop John Carroll, and Benjamin Franklin.

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(An edition of twelve copies on large paper, quarto, was also printed.)

This volume is a reprint of the fourth publication of the Society, made in 1845. It was reissued in this style for the 4th of July, 1876, as "The Maryland Historical Society's Centennial Memorial," and as such deposited with the Commissioners of the International Exhibition at Philadelphia. The Society's tribute is now placed in the library of the Department of State, at Washington, *in perpetuam rei testimonium*.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Publications of the Maryland Historical Society, 1844–1878. [Baltimore, 1878.]

8vo, pp. 8. No title-page.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Charter, constitution, and by-laws of the Maryland Historical Society, with the list of officers, honorary, corresponding, and active members, and a catalogue of the Society's publications, 1844–1878. Baltimore: Printed by John Murphy & Co., 1878.

8vo, pp. 42.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Descriptive Catalogue of Statuary and Paintings on exhibition at the Gallery of the Maryland Historical Society. Baltimore: Printed by John Murphy & Co., 1879.

8vo, pp. 30.

Second edition, 1879, pp. 32.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Sketch of the life of Richard Dobbs Spaight, of North Carolina. By John H. Wheeler. Baltimore, 1880.

8vo, pp. (2), 29. Coat of arms.

This is given in the "Catalogue of the second portion of the library of J. Thomas Scharf" as one of the publications of the Maryland Historical Society, but it has nothing to indicate it.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Newspapers in the Society. Communicated by John W. M. Lee, Librarian and Curator. Baltimore, 1881.

4to, pp. 4. No title-page.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. A Sketch of the Life of Thomas Donaldson. By George William Brown. Baltimore: Cushing & Bailey, 1881.

8vo, pp. 40. Large paper.

Read before the Maryland Historical Society.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Circular, 1882.

Sheet.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Archives of Maryland. Calendar and Report by the Publication Committee. [Baltimore, 1883.]

Large 8vo, pp. liv.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Archives of Maryland. [Vol. I.] Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, January, 1637/38–September, 1664. Published by authority of the State, under the direction of the Maryland Historical Society. William Hand Browne, editor. Baltimore, 1883.

4to, pp. lviii, 563.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Archives of Maryland. [Vol. II.] Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, April, 1666–June, 1676. Published by authority of the State, under the direction of the Maryland Historical Society. William Hand Browne, editor. Baltimore, 1884.

4to, pp. xvi, 585. Continued as below.

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Archives of Maryland. [Vol. III.] Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, 1636–1667. Published by authority of the State, under the direction of the Maryland Historical Society. William Hand Browne, editor. Baltimore, 1885.

4to, pp. xiv, 586.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Archives of Maryland. [Vol. IV.] Judicial and testamentary business of the Provincial Court, 1637–1650. Published by authority of the State, under the direction of the Maryland Historical Society. William Hand Browne, editor. Baltimore, 1887.

4to, pp. viii, 569.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Archives of Maryland. [Vol. V.] Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, 1667–1687/88. Published by authority of the State, under the direction of the Maryland Historical Society. William Hand Browne, editor. Baltimore, 1887.

4to, pp. ix, 592.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Archives of Maryland. [Vol. VI.] Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe, Vol. I (1750–1757). Published by authority of the State, under the direction of the Maryland Historical Society. William Hand Browne, editor. Baltimore, 1888.

4to, pp. 580.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Archives of Maryland. [Vol. VII.] Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, October, 1678–November, 1683. Published by authority of the State, under the direction of the Maryland Historical Society. William Hand Browne, editor. Baltimore, 1889.

4to, pp. (10), 3–647.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Archives of Maryland. [Vol. VIII.] Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, 1687–88–1693. Published by authority of the State, under the direction of the Maryland Historical Society. William Hand Browne, editor. Baltimore, 1890.

4to, pp. ix, 587.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Archives of Maryland. [Vol. IX.] Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe. Vol. II, 1757–1761. Published by authority of the State, under the direction of the Maryland Historical Society. William Hand Browne, editor. Baltimore, 1890.

4to, pp. x, 580.

The period covered by this volume was signalized by the capture of Crown Point and Ticonderoga, the surrender of Quebec in September, 1759, followed in 1760 by the reduction of Montreal and the establishment of British rule over Canada. The internal affairs of Maryland during this period were characterized by factious efforts on the part of the lower house, with the purpose of discrediting the proprietary government in England, to the end that the government should fall to the Crown by revocation of the charter.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Archives of Maryland. [Vol. X.] Judicial and testamentary business of the Provincial Court, 1649–50/1657. Published by authority of the State, under the direction of the Maryland Historical Society. William Hand Browne, editor. Baltimore, 1891.

4to, pp. viii, 586.

"The present volume, being the second of the Provincial Court series, continues the record without any manifest break down to 1658. The rule of the commissioners and Parliament, after the battle on the Severn and surrender of Stone, is

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marked by proceedings against the Catholics, several of whom made confession of their faith in open court, and are fined, ostensibly on the ground of complicity with Governor Stone in his endeavors to hold the province for the Proprietary."

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Archives of Maryland. [Vol. XI.] Journal of the Maryland Convention, July 26–August 14, 1775. Journal and Correspondence of the Maryland Council of Safety, August 29, 1775–July 6, 1776. Baltimore, 1892.

4to, pp. ix, (3), 585.

"The period covered by this volume is one of peculiar interest, including as it does, Maryland's transformation from a dependent province to a sovereign State."

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Archives of Maryland. [Vol. XII.] Journal and correspondence of the Maryland Council of Safety. July 7–December 31, 1776. Published by authority of the State under the direction of the Maryland Historical Society. William Hand Browne, editor. Baltimore, 1893.

4to, pp. vii, (3), 595.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Archives of Maryland. [Vol. XIII.] Proceedings and acts of the General Assembly of Maryland, April, 1684–June, 1692. Published by authority of the State under the direction of the Maryland Historical Society. William Hand Browne, editor. Baltimore, 1894.

Large 8vo pp. (6), 573.

"The present volume continues the proceedings and acts of the assembly from April, 1684 to June 1692. The continuity is broken by the revolutionary outbreak of 1689 no journal of the Association's assembly having been preserved. To fill this gap to some extent we have inserted copies of documents preserved in the Public Record Office, London, but for fuller details the council records must be consulted. This revolutionary assembly, which handed over the province to the King, was succeeded by one elected under the new order of things, and presided over by Lionel Copley, the first royal governor, which, among other fundamental changes, repealed all existing statutes in mass, and promulgated a new code, which is here given in full." Parton.

Pages 228–247 contain "Papers relating to the Association's assembly, 1689."

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Descriptive Catalogue of Statuary and Paintings on exhibition at the Gallery of the Society rooms. Baltimore, 1883.

8vo, pp. 31.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Margaret Brent; the first woman in America to claim the right to vote in a legislative body. By Hon. John L. Thomas. Read before the Society, December 10, 1883.

Bath Telegram, December 22, 1883.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Maryland's influence upon land cessions to the United States, with minor papers on George Washington's interest in Western lands, the Potomac Company, and a National University. By Herbert B. Adams. Baltimore: N. Murray, 1885.

8vo, pp. 102.

(Johns Hopkins University studies in historical and political science, third series. No. 1).

A republication in a revised form of a paper published by the Maryland Historical Society, under the title "Maryland's Influence in Founding a National Commonwealth."

Pages 97–102 contain "Origin of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad."

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Annual Report of the Officers and Committees for 1884–85. To which is added the charter, constitution, and by-laws, list of officers and members, and a catalogue of the Society's publications, 1884–85. Baltimore: J. Murphy & Co., 1885.

8vo, pp. 74.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Proceedings of the Society in commemoration of the late Hon. John H. B. Latrobe, for twenty years president of the Society. Meetings held September 12 and October 12, 1891. [Baltimore, 1891.]

8vo, pp. 41.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. A Maryland Manor. A paper read before the Maryland Historical Society, March 11, 1889, by Gen. James Grant Wilson. Baltimore, 1890.

8vo, pp. 37.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. [Correction of an error in the published "Proceedings of the Maryland Historical Society in commemoration of the late John H. B. Latrobe."] Baltimore, 1892.

8vo, pp. 4. No title-page.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Correction of an error in the published "Proceedings of the Maryland Historical Society in commemoration of the late John H. B. Latrobe." [Baltimore, 1892.]

8vo, pp. 4.

71. *SOCIETY FOR THE HISTORY OF THE GERMANS IN MARYLAND (GESELLSCHAFT FÜR DIE GESCHICHTE DER DEUTSCHEN IN MARYLAND).*

Baltimore, Md.

SOCIETY FOR THE HISTORY OF THE GERMANS IN MARYLAND. First Annual Report. Der erste Jahres-Bericht. Baltimore, 1887.

8vo, pp. 24.

The German text is given first, followed by the report in English.

SOCIETY FOR THE HISTORY OF THE GERMANS IN MARYLAND. Second Annual Report, with the papers read at its sessions, 1887–88. Baltimore, 1888.

8vo, pp. 75.

Printed in German, followed by English. The papers are: Jonathan Hagar, the founder of Hagerstown, by Basil Sollers; The Redemptioners and the German Society of Maryland, an historical sketch, read by Louis P. Henninghausen, 9th of January, 1888; The Zion Church of the city of Baltimore, compiled and read by Rev. H. Schieb, February, 1888 [in German].

SOCIETY FOR THE HISTORY OF THE GERMANS IN MARYLAND. Third Annual Report, 1888–89. [Baltimore, 1889.]

8vo, pp. 59.

Contains: List of members; Synopsis of Prof. O. Seidenstihcker's address; Johann Lederer's Book of Travels in Virginia [etc.] in 1669 and 1670; Die Protestanten-Klöster der Siebentäger in Pennsylvanien, v. Stamp; Die Revolte der Deutschen gegen die Regierung in Maryland, v. L. P. Henninghausen.

SOCIETY FOR THE HISTORY OF THE GERMANS IN MARYLAND. Fourth Annual Report, 1889–90. [Baltimore, 1890.]

8vo, pp. 39.

Contains: Auszuge aus den Archiven des Staates Maryland, vorgelesen von L. P. Henninghausen; Sketch of Dr. Seyffarth, read December 9, 1889, by John G. Morris; The First German Settlement in North America [Germantown], by Louis P. Henninghausen; An incident in the History of the Germans in Maryland, translated by John G. Morris.

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SOCIETY FOR THE HISTORY OF THE GERMANS IN MARYLAND. Fifth Annual Report, 1890-91. [Baltimore, 1891.]

8vo, 96 pp.

Contents: Memoranda in reference to early German emigration to Maryland, by F. P. Mayer; Gotlieb Mittelbergers Reise nach Pennsylvanien, von M. D. Learned; Early Western settlements, by L. P. Henninghausen; The German day in Baltimore, October 6, 1890; Die ersten deutschen Sekten in Amerika, von L. P. Henninghausen; The Diffenderfers and Frieses.

THE SOCIETY FOR THE HISTORY OF THE GERMANS IN MARYLAND. Sixth Annual Report, 1891-1892. [Baltimore, 1892.]

8 vo, pp. 92.

Contents: Early German Settlements in Western Maryland, by L. P. Henninghausen; Die ersten deutschen Sekten in Amerika, von L. P. Henninghausen; German-American families in Maryland, by C. F. Raddatz; Die Au fänge der deutschen Kultur in Amerika, von M. D. Larned; Baltimores Deutsch-Amerikaner in Handel und Industrie, von E. F. Leyh; In Memoriam: L. H. Steiner; J. A. Schriver; Christopher Lipps; Herman von Klapf; Frederick Polanger; J. H. Smith.

SOCIETY FOR THE HISTORY OF THE GERMANS IN MARYLAND. Seventh Annual Report, 1892-93. [Baltimore, 1893.]

8vo, pp. 83. Portraits.

Contains: The first German immigrants to North America, by Louis P. Henninghausen; Denkschrift über Henry L. Yesler, Gründer d. Stadt Seattle, by A. E. Schade; Louis Ferdinand Fix. Vortrag des Herrn I. Loewenthal; Reminiscences of the political life of the German-Americans in Baltimore during 1850-1860, by L. P. Henninghausen; Geschichte d. Deutschen in Amerika, von H. Schönfeld; In Memoriam: Friedrich Raine, Ernest Hoen.

MASSACHUSETTS.

72. *BACKUS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Newton, Mass.

BACKUS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. A History of New England, with particular reference to the denomination of Christians called Baptists. By Isaac Backus. Second edition, with notes, by David Weston. Vols. I-II. Newton, Mass.: Published by the Society, 1871.

8vo, 2 vols.

BACKUS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Early Baptists defended. A review of Henry M. Dexter's account of the visit to William Witter, in "As to Roger Williams." Paper read by Henry M. King at the semi-annual meeting of the Society, Boston, December 8, 1879, and published by vote of the Society. Boston, 1880.

12mo, pp. 49*

73. *BERKSHIRE HISTORICAL AND SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY.*

Pittsfield, Mass.

BERKSHIRE HISTORICAL AND SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY. Four papers of the Society. [Pittsfield,] 1886.

8vo, pp. (8), 135.

Contents: Officers; Constitution; Prefatory note; Berkshire Geology, by J. D. Dana; The Western Boundary of Massachusetts, by F. L. Pope; Judicial History of Berkshire, by Henry W. Taft; The Early Roads and Settlements of Berkshire, west of Stockbridge and Sheffield, by H. F. Keith.

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BERKSHIRE HISTORICAL AND SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY. The Western Boundary of Massachusetts: A study of Indian and Colonial history, by Franklin Leonard Pope. Pittsfield, 1886.

8vo, pp. 61, (1). Folded map.

Reprinted from the Papers of the Society.

BERKSHIRE HISTORICAL AND SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY. Book of Berkshire. Papers by its Historical and Scientific Society. Pittsfield, 1889.

8vo, pp. 108.

Contents: The early botany of Berkshire, by Rev. A. B. Whipple; Prof. Albert Hopkins, by President John Bascom; Sketches of the early ministers of Windsor, by John L. T. Phillips; Early settlements in Cheshire, by J. M. Barker.

BERKSHIRE HISTORICAL AND SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY. Berkshire book: by its Historical and Scientific Society. Vol. I. Pittsfield, 1892.

8vo, pp. vi (2), 135, 319, vii.

Contents: Berkshire Geology, by J. D. Dana; The Western Boundary of Massachusetts, by Franklin Leonard Pope; Judicial History of Berkshire, by H. W. Taft; The Early Roads and Settlements of Berkshire County, by H. F. Keith; The Early Botany of Berkshire, by A. B. Whipple; Prof. Albert Hopkins, by John Bascom; Sketches of the Early History of Windsor, by J. L. T. Phillips; Early Settlements in Cheshire, by J. N. Barker; Medicine in Berkshire, by A. M. Smith; The Protestant Episcopal Church in Berkshire, by Joseph Hooper; A Sketch of the Samuel Phillips Family, by Levi Beebe; The Indian Mission in Stockbridge, by E. W. B. Cannings; Berkshire at Bennington, by A. L. Perry; Recollections of Elder Leland, by Mrs. F. F. Petiteler; The History, Methods, and Purposes of the Berkshire Athenæum, by H. H. Ballard; Air Currents, by Levi Beebe; Col. John Brown.

BERKSHIRE HISTORICAL AND SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY. Collections. Pittsfield, 1894.

8vo, pp. (4), 138.

Contents: Jonathan Edwards, by John Bascom; Glass Manufacture in Berkshire, by William G. Harding; Indian Land Grants in Stockbridge, by E. W. B. Canning; Arnold's Expedition to Quebec, by W. E. Collins; Sandisfield: its Past and Present, by Aaron W. Field; The Battle of Bennington, by H. D. Hall.

74. *BOSTON ANTIQUARIAN CLUB.*

Boston, Mass.

BOSTON ANTIQUARIAN CLUB. Reply to Francis Brinley on the Claims of John P. Bigelow as Founder of the Boston Public Library. By Timothy Bigelow. Read before the Club, May 11, 1880. Boston, 1880.

8vo, pp. 50.

BOSTON ANTIQUARIAN CLUB. William Cooper, the Town Clerk of Boston: a paper read at the meeting of the Club, April 12, 1881, by Frederick Tuckerman. Amherst, 1885.

8vo, pp 7.

75. *BOSTON NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.*

Boston, Mass.

BOSTON NUMISMATIC SOCIETY. Address of Winslow Lewis on resigning the presidency of the Society, January 5, 1865. New York, 1866.

12mo, pp. 13.

BOSTON NUMISMATIC SOCIETY. Constitution and by-laws. Boston, 1867.

Square 8vo, pp. 12.

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BOSTON NUMISMATIC SOCIETY. Constitution and by-laws. Boston, 1871.
Square 8vo, pp. 15.

BOSTON NUMISMATIC SOCIETY. Constitution, by-laws, charter, and list of members. Boston, 1884.
8vo, pp. 15.

76. *BOSTONIAN SOCIETY.*

Boston, Mass.

BOSTONIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the annual meeting, January 9, 1883. Boston, 1883.
8vo, pp. 27. Plate.

BOSTONIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the annual meeting, January 8, 1884. Boston, 1884.
8vo, pp. 54. Plate.

BOSTONIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the annual meeting, January 13, 1885. Boston, 1885.
8vo, pp. 90. Plate.

BOSTONIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the annual meeting, January 12, 1886. Boston, 1886.
8vo, pp. 55. Plate.

BOSTONIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the annual meeting, January 11, 1887. Boston, 1887.
8vo, pp. 71. Portrait. Two plates.

BOSTONIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the annual meeting, January 10, 1888. Boston, 1888.
8vo, pp. 55. Two plates.

BOSTONIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the annual meeting, January 8, 1889. Boston, 1889.
8vo, pp. 54.

BOSTONIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the annual meeting, January 14, 1890. Boston, 1890.
8vo, pp. 46.

BOSTONIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the annual meeting, January 13, 1891. Boston, 1891.
8vo, pp. 60.
Contains an account of the Leffingwell autographs purchased by the Society, and incidentally gives historical reminiscences of the Old State House. The pamphlet also includes photogravures of the three water-color views of Boston, taken by Capt. Richard Byron about 1764.

BOSTONIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings at the annual meeting, January 12, 1892. Boston, 1892.
8vo, pp. 72.

BOSTONIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings, January 10, 1893. Boston, 1893.
8vo, pp. 64.
Contains President's address, reports of committees, officers, etc., and an abstract of Judge Mellen Chamberlain's address on James Otis and the writs of assistance.

BOSTONIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings, January 9, 1894. Boston, 1894.
8vo, pp. 68. Photograph.
Pages 24–35 contain address delivered by Thomas Handasyd Perkins at the laying of the corner stone of the Merchants' Exchange, State street, August 2, 1841, in which he gave his own reminiscences of "Sixty years ago."

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BOSTONIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings, January 8, 1895. Boston, 1895.

8vo, pp. 76. Photograph of the wharves of Boston in 1820.

Pages 29–47 contain list of pictures of vessels exhibited in 1894.

BOSTONIAN SOCIETY. Abel Bowen, engraver. A sketch prepared for the Bostonian Society, by W. H. Whitmore. Boston, 1884.

8vo, pp. 32. Illustrated. Portrait.

A photograph of Bowen, and twelve woodcuts by him printed from the origina blocks are inserted.

BOSTONIAN SOCIETY. New Chapter in the History of the Concord Fight: Groton Minutemen at the North Bridge, April 19, 1775. [Read before the Society, April 14, 1885.] Appendix: (1) Towns engaged in the fighting and movements, losses, etc. (2) Monuments, memorials, etc., erected to commemorate the events of the day. By William W. Wheildon. Boston, 1885.

8vo, pp. 32. Inserted engraving of old North Bridge.

BOSTONIAN SOCIETY. Prytaneum Bostoniense. Notes on the history of the old State House, formerly known as the Town House in Boston—the Court-House in Boston—the Province Court-House, the State House, and the City Hall. By George H. Moore. Read before the Society May 12, 1885. Boston, 1885.

8vo, pp. 31.

BOSTONIAN SOCIETY. New chapter in the Concord fight: Groton Minutemen at the North Bridge, April 19, 1775. [Paper by William W. Wheildon, read at a meeting of the Bostonian Society, April 14, 1885.] Groton, 1886. [Groton Historical Series, No. 16.]

8vo, pp. 3–10.

BOSTONIAN SOCIETY. Collections of the Bostonian Society. Vol. I. Nos. 1, 2, 3. Boston, 1886–1888.

8vo, pp. 32.

Contents: Vol. I, No. 1. William Blaxton, read by Thomas Coffin Amory, November 9, 1880. Boston, 1886. pp. (2) 28 (1). No. 2. Abel Bowen, by William Henry Whitmore, Boston, 1887. pp. (2), 29–56. [Consists of a reproduction of the copperplates and woodcuts engraved by Bowen and used by him in his Picture of Boston and other publications, with explanatory notes. Eight full-page copperplates; 12 full-page woodcuts; 3 heliotype portraits; 7 woodcuts in the text.] Vol. I, No. 3. Changes of values in real estate in Boston the past one hundred years. Read by Alexander S. Porter, April 13, 1886. Boston, 1888. pp. (2), 57–75, 8vo. Contains a woodcut of Curtis House, Jamaica Plain.

BOSTONIAN SOCIETY. The Old Boston Taverns and Tavern Clubs. By Samuel Adams Drake. Boston, 1886.

12mo, pp. 70.

"Of what is now included in the following pages, a portion was read by me to the Bostonian Society several years ago, but not printed." (Preface.)

BOSTONIAN SOCIETY. The Old State House Defended from unfounded Attacks upon its Integrity. Being a reply to Dr. G. H. Moore's second paper, read before the Bostonian Society, February 9, 1886. By William H. Whitmore. Boston, 1886.

8vo, pp. 8.

Addressed to the members of the Society.

BOSTONIAN SOCIETY. Provincial Pictures by Brush and Pen: an address delivered before the Bostonian Society, in the Council Chamber of the old State House, Boston, May 11, 1886. By Daniel Goodwin, jr. Chicago: Fergus Printing Company. 1886.

8vo, pp. 84. Plate. Portraits.

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BOSTONIAN SOCIETY. Prytaneum Bostoniense. Notes on the History of the Old State House. By George H. Moore. Second paper. Read before the Society, February 9, 1886. Boston, 1886.

8vo, pp. 80.

BOSTONIAN SOCIETY. Prytaneum Bostoniense. Examination of Mr. William H. Whitmore's old State House Memorial and Reply to his Appendix N. By George H. Moore. Second edition, with additions. Boston: Cupples, Upham & Co. 1887.

8vo, pp. 39, (1).

Pages 25–39 contain, with a separate title-page, The Old State House Defended from Unfounded Attacks upon its Integrity. Being a reply to the third appendix to Dr. George H. Moore's second paper, read before Bostonian Society, February 9, 1886, by William H. Whitmore, with footnotes. Boston, 1886. Reprinted, New York, 1887.

BOSTONIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings of the Society. [Special meeting, May 24, 1877.] Eulogy on Samuel Miller Quincy, by Samuel Arthur Bent, May 24, 1887. Boston, 1887.

8vo. pp. 27. Portrait.

BOSTONIAN SOCIETY. [Letter accompanying] Portrait of John Paul Jones, presented to the Bostonian Society, November 12, 1889. By B. F. Stevens. [Boston, 1889.]

8vo, pp. 8.

BOSTONIAN SOCIETY. The Province Seal of New Hampshire under William and Mary, 1692–1694. A paper read before the Society, June 12, 1888, by James Ridge Stanwood. Boston, 1889.

8vo, pp. 28.

BOSTONIAN SOCIETY. Isaac Hull and American frigate "*Constitution*. Letter accompanying picture presented to the Bostonian Society," February 11, 1890, by Benjamin Franklin Stevens. [Boston, 1890.]

8vo, pp. 22.

BOSTONIAN SOCIETY. John Hancock and his Times. Read before "The Bostonian Society," in the old State House, by the Secretary, William Clarence Burrage, June 13, 1880. Published by the John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Company, of Boston, 1891.

8vo, pp. 18. Nine plates.

BOSTONIAN SOCIETY. Catalogue of the Collections of the Society in the Memorial Halls of the Old State House, Boston, February 1, 1893. Prepared by Samuel Arthur Bent, Clerk of the Society. Boston, 1893.

8vo, pp. (2), 91.

77. *BROOKLINE HISTORICAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY.*

Brookline, Mass.

BROOKLINE HISTORICAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY. Publications No. 1. A letter from Rebecca Boylston to Edmund Boylston, March 5, 1810.

8vo, pp. 6.

BROOKLINE HISTORICAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY. Publications, No. 2. The Sharpe papers in the Brookline public library.

8vo, pp. 14.

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BROOKLINE HISTORICAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY. Publications, No. 3. Brookline in the Revolution. By Margaret Elizabeth May.

8vo, pp. 15–34.

BROOKLINE HISTORICAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY. Publications No. 4. Papers of the White family of Brookline, 1650–1807.

pp. 37–53.

78. *CANTON HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Canton, Mass.

CANTON HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Did John Eliot preach at Ponkipog? Paper read before the Society, May 6, 1878, by D. T. V. Huntoon.

Broadside.

79. *THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS.*

Boston, Mass.

THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS. By-laws. With the certificate of incorporation and lists of officers and members. Boston, 1893.

8vo, pp. 17.

THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS. Historical work in Massachusetts. By Andrew McFarland Davis. Cambridge, 1893.

8vo, pp. 57.

Reported from the Publications of the Society.

THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS. Publications. Vol. I. Transactions, 1892–1894. Boston, 1895.

8vo, pp. xx, 525. Facsimiles. Portraits.

CONTENTS.

Part 1. Introductory note; Transactions, 1892: Council; Members; Historical work in Massachusetts, by Andrew McFarland Davis; Beverly and the settlement at Bass River, by A. C. Goodell, jr.: John Saffin and Slave Adam, by A. C. Goodell, jr.; Palatine Light and the Shipwreck of the Palatines, by H. H. Edes; Daniel Denison, by D. D. Slade; Remarks on the Antinomians and Quakers, by A. C. Goodell, jr. The Lady Mowlson scholarship, by W. W. Goodwin; Minutes of the Bristol Convention, 1774, by A. C. Goodell; jr., and E. G. Porter; Corporations in the days of the Colonies, by Andrew McF. Davis, with remarks by A. C. Goodell, jr. The right to coin under the Colonial charters, by R. N. Toppan; The Psalmodies of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay, by S. Lothrop Thorndike; Draft by Major Shaw, of the Institution of the Cincinnati with facsimile, and remarks by A. C. Goodell, jr.; Minutes of the Bristol Convention, 1775; Memoir of Frederick Lothrop Ames, by Leverett Saltonstall. A frontier family, by Edmund G. Wheelwright; Memoir of Francis Parkman, by Edward Wheelwright; The pedigree of Ann Radcliffe, Lady Mowlson, by A. McF. Davis; Commission to Charles de La Tour as Lieutenant-General of Acadia, 1631; John Saffin's tomb and family, by A. C. Goodell, jr.; The family of John Kind; Andrew and Peter Faneuil, and Peter Boynton and his Sutton lands, by H. H. Edes; Document pertaining to English Center Articles for the sufferers by the battle of Lexington; The Massachusetts election sermons.

THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS. Corporations in the days of the Colony. By Andrew McFarland Davis. Cambridge, 1894.

8vo, pp. 34.

Reprinted from the Publications of the Society, Vol. I.

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COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS. Memoir of Francis Parkman. By Edward Wheelwright. Cambridge, 1894.

8vo, pp. 49. With portrait.

Reprinted from the Publications of the Society, Vol. I. (160 copies.)

COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS. Memoir of Frederick Lothrop Ames. By Leverett Saltonstall. Boston: Printed for private distribution. 1894.

8vo, pp. 9. With portrait.

Reprinted from the Publications of the Society, Vol. I. (100 copies.)

80. *CONCORD ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.*

Concord, Mass.

CONCORD ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. [List of officers; By-laws.] [Concord, 1886.]

8vo, pp. (4). No title-page.

81. *CONNECTICUT VALLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Springfield, Mass.

CONNECTICUT VALLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Papers and Proceedings, 1876–1881. Springfield, 1881.

4to, pp. xi, 325. Portrait.

Contents: Prefatory Note; Officers of the Society, 1881–82; List of Members; Articles of Association; By-Laws; Introductory Address, by the President, Henry Morris; The Breck Controversy in the First Parish in Springfield, in 1735, by Mason A. Green; Salmon and Shad in the Connecticut River, by Alfred Booth; The Old Springfield Fire Department, by Joseph K. Newell; The Old Main Street Jail and the House of Correction in Springfield, by Henry Morris; Dr. Stephen Williams, by John W. Harding; Elizur Holyoke, by Henry Morris; Springfield in the Insurrection of 1786 (Shays's Rebellion), by William L. Smith; Review of Peters's History of Connecticut, by Charles Hammond; Early navigation of the Connecticut River—the First Steamboat, by T. M. Dewey; The Old Pynchon Fort and its Builders, by Henry Morris; Count Rumford and his Early Life, by Everett A. Thompson; Dartmouth College and the State of New Connecticut, 1776–1782, by John L. Rice; Slavery in the Connecticut Valley, by Henry Morris; Ryefield; or, a Town in the Connecticut Valley at the Commencement of the Nineteenth Century, by Mrs. William Rice; Letter of Stephen Williams, D. D., to his children, 1769; Miles Morgan, by Henry Morris; Minnetona, or the Indian Gift, an Historical Poem, by William S. Shurtleff; Bicentennial Address, 1836, by Oliver B. Morris (originally delivered in the First Church in Springfield, May 25, 1836, on the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Settlement of the Town).

82. *DANVERS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Danvers, Mass.

DANVERS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Old Anti-Slavery Days. Proceedings of the commemorative meeting held by the Danvers Historical Society, at the Town Hall, Danvers, April 26, 1893, with introduction, letters, and sketches. Danvers, 1893.

8vo, pp. xxvii, 151. Photograph. Plate.

83. *DEDHAM HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Dedham, Mass.

DEDHAM HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Plan of Dedham Village, Mass., 1636–1876. With description of the grants of lots to the original owners, transcribed from the town records; the plan showing approximately the situation of the original grants with relation to the present village. Published by the Dedham Historical Society, 1883.

8vo, pp. 15, (1). Plan.

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DEDHAM HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Dedham, England. A paper read at the monthly meeting of the Society, December 7, 1887. By Rev. William F. Cheney. [Dedham, 1887.]

8vo, pp. 4.

DEDHAM HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Epitaphs in the old burial place, Dedham, Mass. Copied and arranged by Rev. Carlos Slafter, A. M. Published by the Dedham Historical Society, 1888.

8vo, pp. 53. Woodcut.

DEDHAM HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Annual reports of the Society, 1889, with by-laws and list of members. Dedham, 1889.

8vo, pp. 14, (1). View.

DEDHAM HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Annual reports of the Society, 1890, with by-laws and list of members. Dedham, 1890.

8vo, pp. 7.

DEDHAM HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Annual reports, 1891. Dedham, 1891.

8vo, pp. 8.

DEDHAM HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Northerly part of ancient line between Dedham and Dorchester. By Charles Francis Jenney. Read before the Society, November 7, 1889. Reprinted from the Dedham Historical Register. Vol. I, 1890. [Dedham, 1890.]

8vo, pp. 15. Two maps.

DEDHAM HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Paul's Bridge. By Charles F. Jenney. [Dedham, 1890.]

8vo, pp. 7. Woodcut.

DEDHAM HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Dedham Historical Register. Published by the Society. Vol. I. Dedham, 1890.

8vo, pp. iv, 120. Illustrated.

Contents: Prospectus; Brief sketch of the Society; Publications; Diary of Nathaniel Ames; Incidents in the history of West Dedham, by Calvin S. Locke; The Fisher family; The penal institutions of Dedham, by John W. Worthington; Sheriffs of County of Norfolk; Gleanings from newspaper literature; Dedham in the Rebellion, by Joseph H. Lathrop; Bibliography of Dedham, by G. W. Humphrey; Notes and queries; Book notices; Northerly part of ancient line between Dedham and Dorchester, by Charles Francis Jenney; Extracts from the Ames Diary, by Sarah B. Baker; Dover records, by Charles H. Smith; Gleanings from newspaper literature; The Hawes family, by Gilbert R. Hawes; Dedham in the Rebellion, by Joseph H. Lathrop; Pen pictures of old times; Needham epitaphs, with notes, by Charles C. Greenwood; Abigail Ellis; Annual meeting; Notes and queries; The old Townsend house in Needham, by George K. Clarke; The schools and teachers of Dedham, by Carlos Slafter; The old chestnut trees, Dedham, by G. W. Humphrey; Births, marriages, and deaths, Franklin, Mass., by H. E. Ruggles; Stagecoaching in old times; Obituary; Notes and queries; Paul's Bridge, by C. F. Jenney; The Pillar of liberty; Recollections of the old Dedham branch railroad, by G. F. Fisher; Caryl family, by C. S. Locke.

DEDHAM HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The Dedham Historical Register. Vol. II. Dedham, 1891.

8vo, pp. (6), 166. Illustrated.

Contents: The birds of Dedham, by J. R. Wakefield; Schools and teachers of Dedham, by C. Slafter; The brute enemies of the early settlers, by A. J. Hewins; Needham epitaphs, by C. C. Greenwood; Diary of Nathaniel Ames; Franklin [Mass.] records, by H. E. Ruggles; Dedham in the Rebellion, by J. H. Lathrop; Dover [Mass.] records, by C. H. Smith; Proceedings; Madame Knight's journal, by E. Worthington; Hon. George H. Kuhn, by G. K. Clarke; John Cox, by H. O.

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Hildreth; A pen picture of old times; Mrs. Sally Cole, by H. O. Hildreth; Vine Rock bridge in Dedham, by H. T. Boyd; A tomb in the old burying ground, by F. L. Gay; Clerks of the first parish in Needham, by G. K. Clarke; The Colburn family of West Dedham; Dover in the Revolution, by F. Smith; Matilda W. Vose; The old school and court-house; Domestic utensils and furniture used in Dedham since 1635, by R. M. Ferguson; Lusher wills, by F. L. Gay; Boston and Providence Railroad; The treasurers of the first parish in Needham, by G. K. Clarke; The Dedham covenant; Notes and queries; New publications.

DEDHAM HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The Dedham Historical Register. Vol. III. Dedham, 1892.

8vo, pp. (6), 205. Illustrated.

Contents: Indian missions in Massachusetts, by M. S. Locke; Schools and teachers of Dedham, by C. Slafter; Early times in Dedham, by M. A. Smith; Diary of Nathaniel Ames; Dover, Mass., in the Revolution, by F. Smith; Franklin (Mass.) records, by H. E. Ruggles; Dedham in the Rebellion, by J. H. Lathrop; First parish in Needham records, by G. K. Clarke; The editor of bygone days, by H. T. Boyd; Dover records, by C. H. Smith; Needham epitaphs, by C. C. Greenwood; John Eliot; Samuel Dexter, by C. A. Staples; First parish in Needham, deacons, by G. K. Clarke; Warren Colburn; Annual report of the Society, 1892; Dedham town government, by M. A. Smith; The Chickering family, by F. Smith; John Hunting, by T. D. Hunting; High street, Dedham, by D. G. Hill; Extracts from the Richards diary, 1801-1844, by M. A. Smith; Michael Metcalf's freedom, 1618; Isaac Colburn; The Dedham institutions for savings, by D. G. Hill; Extracts from the Sewall diary, by F. L. Gay; The Fisher family, by P. A. Fisher; Notes and queries.

DEDHAM HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The Dedham historical register. Vol. IV. Dedham, 1893.

8vo, pp. (6), 187. Illustrated.

Contents: The first court-house, 1793, by Erastus Worthington; The stone court-house, 1827, by J. H. Cobb; The court-house extension, 1862, by J. H. Cobb; Schools and teachers of Dedham, by C. Slafter; The Fisher family, by P. A. Fisher; Needham epitaphs, by C. C. Greenwood; Diary of Nathaniel Ames, by S. B. Baker; First parish in Needham, records, by G. K. Clarke; Quaker persecutions in Dedham, by F. L. Gay; Dedham in the Rebellion, by J. H. Lathrop; The Whiting family, by C. L. Alden; Folklore, from early Dedham records; The Chickering family, by F. Smith; Dover records, by C. H. Smith; Some graduates of Harvard College, by A. B. Page; The stone mill and water privileges, 1862, by C. Guild; Franklin records, by H. E. Ruggles; Annual report of the Society, 1893; The Richards diary, by M. A. Smith; Wrentham records; The powder house, Dedham; Daniel Whiting, by F. Smith; Members of the Society; H. O. Hildreth, by E. Worthington; The Lewis family, by F. L. Gay; Descendants of Ensign Thomas Fuller, by F. H. Fuller; Barnabas Metcalf and his descendants, by F. J. Metcalf; Notes on the Woodcock family, by H. R. Guild; Deaths; Notes and queries.

DEDHAM HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The Dedham Historical Register. Vol. V. Dedham, 1894.

8vo, pp. (6), 187. Illustrated.

Contents: The Dexter clock, 1763; Schools and teachers of Dedham, continued; The Lewis family, continued; Dedham in the Rebellion, continued; The Metcalf family, continued; The Fisher family, continued; The Fuller family, continued; Connecticut Corner, Dedham, before 1810, by Calvin Guild; Needham branch of the Tolman family, by A. M. Pickford; The English Church in Dedham and Stoughton, by W. F. Cheney; A brief sketch of Warren Colburn, by G. A. Gordon; The Ames diary, continued; Needham epitaphs, continued; The early days of the Dedham branch railroad, by H. T. Boyd; Robert Record's arithmetic, 1630, by M. A. Smith; Dedham Village in 1807, by D. P. Wight; The Dexter house during the siege of Boston, by E. Worthington; The Fisher Ames estate.

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DEDHAM HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Dedham Historical Register. Vol. VI. Dedham, 1895.

8vo, pp. (6), 153. Illustrated.

Contents: Address by the Rev. Carlos Slafter on the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the free public school in Dedham; Henry Deengaine, by F. Howe, jr.; Horace Mann; The Foster family of Salem and Attleboro, Mass., by H. R. Guild; Ann Eaton; Wrentham births; John Endicott, 1764–1857; Nathaniel and Samuel Colburn, by D. G. Hill; The maternal ancestry of Capt. Joseph Guild by H. R. Guild; Joseph Carrol; Stoughtoniana, by F. S. Pratt and C. S. Locke; Dedham as a postal center, by C. W. Ernst; Rachel, the wife of Elder John Pond, by E. D. Harris; Hannah Adams; West Roxbury Schoolhouse, 1767; Old sawmill and grist mill on Mother Brook; Moses and Aaron Lewis, by G. H. Lewis; The Puritan road, by C. W. Ernst; Sarah Richards Lawrence; The Smith family, of Barrington, R. I., by H. R. Guild.

DEDHAM HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Samuel Dexter, 1726–1810. A paper read before the Society, February 3, 1892. By Carlton Albert Staples. Dedham, 1892.

8vo, pp. 18.

DEDHAM HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Descendants of Ensign Thomas Fuller, of Dedham. By Francis H. Fuller. [Dedham], 1893.

8vo, pp. 8.

Reprinted from *Dedham Historical Register* for October, 1893.

DEDHAM HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Some graduates of Harvard College. By Alfred Baylies Page. [Dedham, 1893.]

8vo, pp. 3. No title-page.

Reprinted from the *Dedham Historical Register* for January, 1893.

DEDHAM HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Views in Dedham, Mass. Fourth edition. The Dedham Historical Society, 1893.

8vo, pp. (7). Twenty-four views, obl. 12mo.

DEDHAM HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Needham branch of the Tolman family. By Anna Maria (Tolman) Pickford. Reprinted from the *Dedham Historical Register*, Vols. V and VI, for 1894. Dedham, 1894.

8vo, pp. (2), 29. Portrait.

84. *DORCHESTER ANTIQUARIAN AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Dorchester, Mass.

DORCHESTER ANTIQUARIAN AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Nos. 1–3. Boston: D. Clapp, 1844–1850. Three volumes.

12mo.

Contents: (1) Memoirs of Roger Clap, 1630. 1844. Reprinted 1854. (2) Annals of the town of Dorchester, by J. Blake 1846. (3) Journal of Richard Mather, 1635. His life and death, 1670. Boston, 1850.

DORCHESTER ANTIQUARIAN AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. History of the town of Dorchester, Mass. By a Committee of the Society. Boston, 1859.

8vo, pp. xii, 672.

An account of the authors of the serial portions of this history was given by W. B. Trask in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, October, 1890, and also at the same time in pamphlet form.

DORCHESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The centennial anniversary of the birth of Edward Everett, celebrated by the Dorchester Historical Society, April 11th, 1894. Boston, 1895.

8vo, pp. 100. Plate. Seal.

The oration was delivered by Rev. James De Normandie.

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85. *ESSEX INSTITUTE.*

Salem, Mass.

[Formerly Essex Historical Society.]

ESSEX HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Incorporated June 11, 1821. Petition for incorporation, act of incorporation, and constitution. [Salem, 1821.]
12mo, pp. 8.

ESSEX HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Constitution. [Salem, n. d.]
8vo, pp. 4. No title-page.

ESSEX HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Discourse pronounced at the request of the Society, on the 18th of Sept., 1828, in commemoration of the first settlement of Salem, Mass. By Joseph Story. Published at the request of the Society. Boston, 1828.
8vo, pp. 90.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. Notice of the Perkins Arms in England. Extracts from a letter from Mansfield Parkyns, esq., of London, to W. H. Turner, esq., of Oxford. Communicated by Aug. T. Perkins, esq. Historical Collection of the Essex Institute, Vol. XV, Nos. 1 and 2. With coats of arms, etc.
8vo, pp. 13. Plate.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. Constitution. [Salem], [1848?]
8vo, pp. 4.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. Proceedings and communications. 1848–1868. Salem, 1806–1870. Six volumes.
8vo.
Discontinued. The proceedings for succeeding years appear in the Bulletin. The communications from 1848 to 1864 were incorporated in the *Proceedings*. From 1864 to 1870 they were issued quarterly, with independent title-pages and paging.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. List of infusorial objects found chiefly in the neighborhood of Salem, Massachusetts; with a sketch of progress of this branch of natural history. By Thomas Cole. Salem, 1853.
8vo, pp. 18.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. Victoria Regia, or the Great Water Lily of America. By J. F. Allen. 1854.
Royal folio. Six colored plates.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. Act of incorporation, constitution, and by-laws of the Essex Institute, incorporated February, 1848, with a catalogue of the officers and members. Salem, 1855.
8vo, pp. 24.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. Act of incorporation, constitution, and by-laws, with a catalogue of officers and members. Salem, 1855.
12mo, pp. 24.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. Account of Leslie's Retreat at the North Bridge, in Salem, on Sunday, Feb'y 26, 1775. By Charles M. Endicott. Salem, 1856.
8vo, pp. 47.
From the *Proceedings of the Institute*.

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ESSEX INSTITUTE. An account of the newspapers and other periodicals published in Salem, from 1768 to 1856. By Gilbert L. Streeter. Salem, 1856.

8vo, pp. 33.

From the *Proceedings of the Institute.*

ESSEX INSTITUTE. A brief sketch of a lecture [by D. A. White], before the Essex Institute, May 12, 1856, respecting the founders of Salem and the First Church. Salem, 1856.

8vo, pp. 14.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. Covenant of the First Church. By D. A. White. [Salem, 1856.]

8vo, pp. 356-264. No title-page.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. On the Egg Tooth of Snake and Lizards. By D. F. Weinland. [Salem, 1856.]

8vo, pp. 28-32. Plate.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. An account of the life, character, etc., of the Rev. Samuel Parris, of Salem Village, and of his connection with the witchcraft delusion of 1692. Read before the Institute November 14, 1856. By S. P. Fowler. Salem, 1857.

8vo, pp. (2) 20.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. Catalogue of members of the late English High School of Salem, Mass., from the class entering July 7, 1827, to the class which graduated from the Salem Classical and High School, January 28, 1857, inclusive; embracing an account of the school, by each of the principal teachers; an account of the late festival and reunion; the constitution of the "Salem English High School Association," etc. Embellished with a lithographic view of the old schoolhouse, and the likenesses of the principal teachers. Salem, 1857.

8vo, pp. 56.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. Proceedings upon the dedication of Plummer Hall at Salem, October 6, 1857, including Rev. Mr. Hoppin's address and Judge White's memoir of the Plummer family. Salem, 1858.

8vo, pp. 97.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. Historical Collections. Vols. I-XXVIII. Salem, 1859-1891.

8 vo, 28 vols.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. Historical Collections. January-December, 1892. Vol. XXIX. Salem, 1893.

8vo, pp. iii, 224.

Contents: The dwellings of Boxford, by Sidney Perley; Were the Salem witches guiltless? By Barrett Wendell; Genealogical record of the Houlton or Holton family of Danvers, by Eben Putnam; Revolutionary letters; Soldiers in the French war from Essex County, 1755-1761; Militia officers, Essex County, 1761-1771; Danvers tax list, 1775; Index.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. Historical Collections, Vol. XXX. Salem, 1893.

8vo, pp. (4), 232.

Contents: Columbus day in Salem, by W. A. Mowry; The building of Essex bridge, Salem; James Robinson Newhall, by N. M. Hawkes; Roll of Caleb Lowe's Company, belonging to Danvers, April 19, 1775; Memorial of Henry Wheatland,

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ESSEX INSTITUTE. Historical Collections, Vol. XXXI. Salem, 1895.

8vo.

Contents: Baptismal records of the church in Topsfield, 1727–1779; Salem and the Conkling family; The Pepperell portraits, C. H. C. Howard; * * * A historic ball room, by R. S. Rantoul: List of Salem vessels insured by Timothy Orm, John Nutting, jr., and John Higginson, December, 1757 to December, 1758; Lady Deborah Moody, by Mrs. H. W. Edwards; Some localities about Salem, by H. M. Brooks.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. Collection of geographical names in the Algonkin language. [Salem, 1868.]

8vo, pp. 6. No title-page.

Extracted from the Historical Collections of the Essex Institute, Vol. VIII, No. 3.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. Town histories and genealogies in the Library of the Institute, January, 1893. Salem, 1893.

32mo, pp. 30.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. History of the Salem and Danvers Aqueduct. By C. M. Endicott. Salem, 1860.

8vo, pp. 16.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. Notes on the ripening of certain varieties of pears. Remarks on ripening summer and autumn pears. By James Upton. Salem [1860].

8vo, pp. 429–434. No title-page.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. The Weal-Reaf. A record of the Essex Institute Fair at Salem, September 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. With supplementary numbers, September 10, 11, 1860. [Salem], 1860.

4to, pp. 60.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. New England Congregationalism in its origin and purity; illustrated by the foundation and early records of the First Church in Salem, and various discussions pertaining to the subject. By D. A. White. Salem, 1861.

8vo, pp. (1), 11, (1), 319.

"The whole work * * * is presented to [the] Society that they may distribute and dispose of the public copies in such manner as they may see fit."—Preface.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. Catalogue of the birds found at Norway, Oxford County, Me. By A. E. Verrill. [Salem, 1862.]

8vo, pp. 25.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. A list of the butterflies of New England. By S. H. Scudder. [Salem, 1862.]

8vo, pp. 161-179. No title-page.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. A Memorial Discourse on William Symmes, esq. Delivered at Andovér and North Andover in the winter of 1859–60, by N. W. Hazen. [Salem, 1862.]

8vo, pp. 193–217. No title-page.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. Report on the Army Worm, *Leucania unipuncta* Haw. By Carleton A Shurtleff. [Salem, 1862.]

8vo, pp. 8.

From *Proceedings of Essex Institute*, Vol. III.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. Memoir of General John Glover, of Marblehead. By William P. Upham. Salem, 1863.

8vo, pp. 61. Portrait.

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ESSEX INSTITUTE. Memoir of Daniel Appleton White, by George W. Briggs. Prepared by request of this Institute, and read January 11, 1864. From the Historical Collections. Salem, 1864.

Small 4to, pp. (2), 47.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. On the sodalite at Salem, Mass. By David M. Balch. [Salem, 1864.]

8vo, pp. 3–6. No title-page.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. An historical Notice of the Essex Institute. Act of incorporation, constitution, and by-laws, and a list of officers and members. Salem, 1865.

8vo, pp. 44.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. Notes on the habits of some species of humble bees, and on the leaf-cutting bee. By F. W. Putnam.—The humble bees of New England and their parasites [etc.]. By A. S. Packard, jr. Salem, [1865].

8vo, pp. 98–140. Plate.

From the *Proceedings of the Institute*, Vol. IV.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. The Publications of the Institute, from 1848 to 1865. Salem, 1865.

8vo, pp. 8, (1).

ESSEX INSTITUTE. The Naturalist's Directory. Parts 1, 2. Salem: Published by the Essex Institute, 1865–66.

8vo, pp. 31, 4, 84, 16.

The second part, which is arranged systematically under subjects, followed by an alphabetical index, comprises the matter of the first part, which is alphabetical only, and therefore the second part is practically a new edition of the directory, not a continuation.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. Report of the Committee of the Institute on the First Church of the Pilgrims. Rendered June 19, 1865. [Salem, 1865.]

8vo, pp. 8.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. A journey to the West in 1817. Notes of travel by a Salem mechanic on his way to the Ohio fifty years ago. Selected from his journal by [his son] James Kimball. [Salem, 1866.]

8vo, pp. 226–250. No title-page.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. List of birds observed near Hamilton, Canada West. By Thomas McIlwraith. [Salem, 1866.]

8vo, pp. 79–96. No title-page.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. Observations on polyzoa, sub-order phylactolæmata, with nine plates, by Alpheus Hyatt. Salem. From Proceedings of the Institute, Vols. IV and V. 1866–1868.

8vo, pp. iv, 103, (9).

ESSEX INSTITUTE. Prodrome of a monograph of the pinnipedes. By Theodore Gill. Salem, 1866.

8vo, pp. 13.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. Researches and experiments upon silk from spiders, and upon their reproduction. By Raymond Maria de Termeyer, a Spaniard. Translated from the Italian. Review by Burt G. Wilder. Communications of the Essex Institute, Vol. V. 1866–67. [Salem, 1867.]

8vo, pp. 51–79.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. Notice of some of the descendants of Joseph Pope, of Salem. By Henry Wheatland. [Salem, 1867.]

8vo, pp. 14.

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ESSEX INSTITUTE. On the phalangeæ of the United States. By H. C. Wood. [Salem, 1867.]
8vo, pp. 10–40. Woodcuts. No title-page.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. Catalogue of the birds in North America contained in the Museum of the Essex Institute; with which is incorporated a list of the birds of New England. With brief, critical, and field notes. By Elliott Coues. [Salem, 1868.]
8vo.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. Description of Mexican ants noticed in the *American Naturalist*, April, 1868. By Edward Norton. [Salem, 1868.]
8vo, pp. 10. Woodcuts. No title-page.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. Flora of the Hawaiian Islands. By Horace Mann. [Salem, 1868.]
8vo, Vol. v. pp. 113–144; 161–192; 233–248. Vol. vi, pp. 105–112. No title-page.

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ESSEX INSTITUTE. Supplement to the priced catalogue of the publications of the Institute. July, 1886.
Sheet.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. A contribution to the history of the ancient family of Woodbury. Communicated by Robert S. Rantoul. [Salem, 1887.]
8vo, pp. 42. Portrait. Title on cover.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. Conventionalism in ancient American art. By F. W. Putnam. Salem, 1887.
8vo, pp. (2), 155–157. Seven folded plates.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. The development of Crangon vulgaris. Second paper. With plates 1 and 2. By J. S. Kingsley. [Salem, 1887.]
8vo, pp. 99–152. No title-page.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. Early record of the church in Topsfield. Communicated by John H. Gould. From the Collections of the Institute, Vol. XXIV. [Salem, 1887.]
8vo, pp. 27.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. Early settlers of Rowley, Mass., including all who were here before 1662, with a few generations of their descendants. Communicated by George B. Blodgette. Salem, 1887.
8vo, pp. (2), 239.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. A few additional notes concerning Indian games. By Andrew McFarland Davis. From the Bulletin of the Institute, Vol. XVIII. Salem, 1887.
8vo, pp. 23.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. Inscriptions from the old burying ground in Dodge's row (North Beverly). Copied by Wellington Pool, August 18, 1882. [Salem, 1887.]
8vo, pp. 14. No title-page.

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ESSEX INSTITUTE. Inscriptions from the old burying ground at Lynnfield Centre. Copied by John T. Moulton. Salem, 1887.
8vo, pp. 11.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. Inscriptions from the gravestones in the old burying ground in Wenham. Copied by Wellington Pool. Salem, 1887.
8vo, pp. 28.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. Letters concerning the Perkins family. Salem, 1887.
8vo, pp. 28.
Contains "Notice of the Perkins arms in England," "Two historical letters," by Augustus T. Perkins, and "Notes on the Perkins pedigree," by William H. Whitmore. The last is from the England historical genealogical reg., Vol. XII, p. 294.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. Negro Slavery in Massachusetts. By Robert Rantoul, sr. Salem, 1887.
8vo, pp. 30.
From the *Historical Collections of the Institute*, Vol. XXIV.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. On West Indian iguanidæ, and on West Indian scincidæ, in the collection of the Museum of Comparative Zoölogy at Cambridge, Mass. By Samuel Garman.
8vo, pp. 29. Title on cover.
From the *Bulletin of the Institute*, Vol. XIX, 1887.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. On West Indian reptiles and batrachians in the Museum of Comparative Zoölogy at Cambridge, Mass. By Samuel Garman. [Boston, 1887.]
8vo, pp. 24.
From the *Bulletin of the Institute*, Vol. XIX, 1887.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. Pay roll of Capt. Jn°. Dodge's company of guards, found among the papers of Enos Gallop, 1834. [Salem, 1887.]
8vo, pp. 4.
From *Collections*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 157–160.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. A pen-ramble in Linebrook. By M. V. B. Perley. Salem, 1887.
8vo, pp. 10.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. Sketch of Mrs. William Jarvis, of Weathersfield, Vt. By Mrs. Mary Pepperell Sparhawk Jarvis Cutts. Edited by her grandson, Cecil Hampden Cutts Howard. Salem, 1887.
8vo, pp. (2), 33.
From the *Historical Collections of the Institute*, Vol. XXIV. Parts 1 and 2.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. An account of the field meeting at Montserrat, September 7, 1887, with some light on the vexed question of the origin of the name Beverly. Salem, 1888.
8vo, pp. (2), 35.
From the *Bulletin of the Essex Institute*, Vol. XX, 1888.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. An Audean medal. By Samuel Garman.
8vo, pp. 4. Title on cover.
From the *Bulletin*, Vol. XX, 1888. [Salem, 1888.]

ESSEX INSTITUTE. The batrachia of Kalms' "En resa til Norra America." By Samuel Garman. [Salem, 1888.]
8vo, pp. 11. Cover title.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. Genealogy of the Allen family, of Manchester, Mass., from the earliest settlement to 1886. By John Price. Salem, 1888.
8vo, pp. 47, 14.

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ESSEX INSTITUTE. Gleanings relative to the family of Adam Hawkes, one of the early settlers of the third plantation of Massachusetts Bay. Contributed by Nathan M. Hawkes. [Salem, 1888.]

8vo, pp. 20. No title-page.
From the *Historical Collections*, Vol. XXIV.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. A History of Methodism in Salem, Mass. By James F. Almy. Salem, 1888.

8vo, pp. 33.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. Inscriptions from the old burying ground at Lynnfield Centre. Copied by John T. Moulton. [Salem, 1888.]

8vo, pp. 11.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. A Sketch of Tristram Dalton. By Eben F. Stone. [Salem, 1888.]

8vo, pp. 29.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. An account of the yacht *Cleopatra's Barge*, built at Salem in 1816. From the Historical Collections of the Institute. By Benjamin W. Crowninshield. With appendix and plates. Salem, 1889.

8vo, pp. (2), 38.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. Charter and by-laws of the Institute, with a list of its officers and members. Salem, 1889.

8vo, pp. 26.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. Choate—Cushing—Rantoul. An address delivered before the Essex bar on the opening of the new court-house at Salem, February 2, 1889. By Hon. Eben F. Stone. Reprinted from the Historical Collections of the Essex Institute, Vol. XXVI. With plates. Salem, 1889.

8vo, pp. (2), 50. Three portraits.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. The glacial phenomena of North America and their relation to the question of man's antiquity in the valley of the Delaware. Abstract. [Salem, 1889.]

8vo, pp. 8.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. The part taken by Essex County in the organization and settlement of the Northwest Territory. Reprinted from Historical Collections of the Essex Institute, Vol. XXV, 1888. Salem, 1889.

8vo, pp. 72.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. Reminiscences of the Revolution. Prison letters and sea journal of Caleb Foot: born, 1750; died, 1787. Compiled by his grandson and namesake, Caleb Foote. [Salem, 1889.]

8vo, pp. 33.
From the *Collections*.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. Semi-historical rambles among the eighteenth-century places along Saugus River. By Nathan M. Hawkes. From the Historical Collections of the Essex Institute. Vol. XXV. Salem, 1889.

8vo, pp. 35.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. History of the Salem Light Infantry from 1805 to 1890. By George M. Whipple. Essex Institute. Salem, 1890.

8vo, pp. (4), 148.

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ESSEX INSTITUTE. Our Trees. A popular account of the trees in the streets and gardens of Salem, and of the natural trees of Essex County, Mass, with the location of trees, and historical and botanical notes. By John Robinson. Published by the Institute. Salem, 1891.
8vo, pp. (4), 120.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. Some material for a genealogy of the Prince family, of Danvers. By Eben Putnam. [Salem, 1891.]
8vo, pp. 11.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. A rough subject index to the publications: Proceedings, Vols. I–VI; Bulletin, Vols. I–XXII; Historical Collections, Vols. I–XXVII. By Gardner M. Jones. [Salem, 1890.]
8vo, pp. 29.
From the *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute*, Vol. XXVII.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. Genealogical gleanings in England. By Henry F. Waters. Extracts from marriage licenses granted by the bishop of London, 1598 to 1639. Salem, 1892.
8vo, pp. 2, 107.
From the *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute*, Vol. XXVIII, Nos. 2 and 3.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. Soldiers in the French war from Essex County, 1755–1761. Militia officers, Essex County, Mass., 1761–1771. Danvers tax list, 1775, district covered by Amos Trask, collector. By Eben Putnam. [Salem, 1892.]
8vo, pp. 15.
From the *Collections*, Vol. XXIX, 1892.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. A partial catalogue of the publications of the Institute. Salem, 1894.
12mo, pp. 28.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. Why the old town house was built, and some things which have been talked of within its walls since. By Nathan M. Hawkes. Salem, [1892].
8vo, pp. 13. Woodcut. Title on the cover.

ESSEX INSTITUTE. James Robinson Newhall, printer, lawyer, judge, and historian. A memorial address by Nathan M. Hawkes, delivered before the Lynn Press Association at Lynn, Mass., upon the anniversary of Benjamin Franklin's birthday, January 17, 1894. [Salem, 1894.]
8vo, pp. 22. Title on cover.
Reprinted from the *collections*, Vol. XXX.

86. *FITCHBURG HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Fitchburg, Mass.

FITCHBURG HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Proceedings of the Fitchburg Historical Society, and papers relating to the history of the town, read by some of the members. Vol. I. Fitchburg, 1895.
8vo, pp. 271.
Contents: Officers, 1895; Constitution; Proceedings, February 16, 1892–July 4, 1894; The early days of railroads in Fitchburg, by Henry A. Wills; Early history of the fire service of Fitchburg, by J. F. D. Garfield; Postal communication, past and present, by F. A. Currier; The post-offices and postmasters of Fitchburg, by F. A. Currier; Fitchburg's response to the Lexington alarm, by J. F. D. Garfield; Lunenburg and Leominster in the Revolution, by J. F. D. Garfield; Capt. Thomas Cowdin's journal, May 25–June 2, 1784, by Charles Fosdick; "The Album; or panacea for ennui" [a magazine of 1831], by A. P. Mason; Pioneer printers of

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Fitchburg, by J. F. D. Garfield; The "Old Rogers Bible," by G. M. Bodge; Capt. Ebenezer Bridge, by J. F. D. Garfield; The Fitchburg Philosophical Society, by E. Bailey; The Fitchburg Athenæum, 1852–1859, by A. P. Mason: The fugitive slave law and its workings, by M. E. Crocker; Dedication of the Fitch memorial tablet at Ashby; Address, by Ezra S. Stearns; Papers relating to the capture of John Fitch and defense of the frontier.

FITCHBURG HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Fitchburg's response to the Lexington alarm. Lunenburg and Leominster in the Revolution. By J. F. D. Garfield. Fitchburg, 1895.

8vo, pp. 12 (2), 13–24.

Pages (2) 13–24 consist of "Lunenburg and Leominster in the War of the Revolution." A paper read at a meeting of the Society, May 16, 1892, with separate title-page.

FITCHBURG HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Pioneer printers of Fitchburg. A paper read at a meeting of the Society, November 20, 1893. By J. F. D. Garfield. Fitchburg, 1895.

8vo, pp. 15. Portrait.

FITCHBURG HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Sketch of Capt. Ebenezer Bridge, the leader of the Fitchburg minute-men. A paper read at a meeting of the Society, February 19, 1894. By J. F. D. Garfield. Fitchburg, 1895.

8vo, pp. 15.

87. *GROTON HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Groton, Mass.

GROTON HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Officers and by-laws. Incorporated 1894. Ayer, 1894.

16mo, pp. (2), 8. Title on cover.

88. *HARVARD HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Cambridge, Mass.

HARVARD HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Outline of a course of nine lectures on the campaigns of the civil war. [Cambridge.] No date.

8vo, pp. 12.

HARVARD HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The Germanic origin of New England towns. Read before the Society, May 9, 1881. By Herbert B. Adams. With notes on cooperation in university work. Baltimore, 1882.

8vo, pp. 57.

Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, No. 2.

HARVARD HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The Southern question, past and present. An address delivered before the Society, March 12, 1890. By R. P. Hallowell. Boston, 1890.

Small 8vo, pp. 34.

89. *HISTORICAL AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY OF OLD NEWBURY, MASSACHUSETTS.*

Newburyport, Mass.

HISTORICAL AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY OF OLD NEWBURY. An oration before the Society, September 11, 1878, commemorative of the settlement of Newbury, A. D. 1635. By G. D. Wildes. New York, 1878.

8vo, pp. 27.

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HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF OLD NEWBURY. Celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of Newbury, June 10, 1885. Newburyport, 1885.

8vo, pp. 150.

Pages 36–67 contain the Historical Address of Samuel Colcord Bartlett, D. D.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF OLD NEWBURY. Two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of Newbury. Brief biographical sketches. By Robert Noxon Tappan. Newburyport, 1885.

12mo, pp. 134.

90. *HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WATERTOWN.*

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WATERTOWN. By-laws of the Historical Society of Watertown. With a list of the past and present officers and members of the Society. Incorporated 1891. Watertown, 1893.

12mo, pp. 15.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WATERTOWN. Watertown records, comprising the first and second books of town proceedings, with the land grants and possessions; also the Proprietors' book and the first book and supplement of births, deaths, and marriages. Prepared for publication by the Historical Society. Watertown, 1894.

8vo, pp. vi, 161, 199, 81. Three folded plans. Facsimiles.

91. *HISTORICAL, NATURAL HISTORY, AND LIBRARY SOCIETY.*

South Natick, Mass.

HISTORICAL, NATURAL HISTORY, AND LIBRARY SOCIETY. A review of the first fourteen years of the Society. With the field-day proceedings of 1881–82–83. South Natick, 1884.

pp. 126.

Contents: Officers; Review of the first fourteen years of the Society, by A. P. Cheney; First field day, by J. P. Sheafe, jr.; Homes of early white settlers, by E. Perry; The Indian burying grounds, the old cemetery, the old meeting houses, by J. P. Sheafe, jr.; The old Eliakim Morrill tavern, by S. B. Noyes; Merchants' block, by W. Edwards; The Ebenezer Newell house, by A. P. Cheney; Samuel Lawton, by E. Perry; The Carver house and family, by M. P. Richards; The Pratt house, by A. P. Cheney; Joshua Brand; Badger place, by J. P. Sheafe, jr.; The Hezekiah Broad or Cook house, by A. P. Cheney; Rev. Oliver Peabody estate, by E. Perry; The Bacon house, by H. Mann; S. B. Sawin, by J. Parmenter; The Elijah Esty place, by E. Perry; Thomas Sawin and his descendants, by H. Mann; The Eliot oak; The villages of the praying Indians; An ancient document, by E. C. Morse; David Morse place and Pelatiah Morse place, by H. Mann; B. P. Cheney place, by J. P. Sheafe, jr.; The Dana homestead, by S. D. Hosmer; The Kimball place, by H. L. Morse; The Welles mansion, by A. P. Cheney; Dr. Isaac Morrill place, by S. B. Noyes; "Wellesley," the country seat of H. H. Hunnewell; Newport Green, by H. Mann; Aaron Smith and the Indian mill, by H. Mann.

92. *HYDE PARK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Hyde Park, Mass.

HYDE PARK HISTORICAL SOCIETY. John Eliot and the Indian Village at Natick. By Erastus Worthington. [Hyde Park, 1890.]

8vo, pp. (2) 10. Published for the Society.

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HYDE PARK HISTORICAL SOCIETY. John Eliot and the Indian Village at Natick. By Erastus Worthington. [Read before the Society, October 1, 1890.] Hyde Park, 1890.

8vo, pp. 10.

HYDE PARK HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The Hyde Park Historical Record. Vol. I, 1891–92. Hyde Park, 1892.

8 vo, pp. 72. Portraits.

Contents: A brief sketch of the Society; Zenas Allen; Pemaquid and Monhegas, by C. L. Woodbury; The Butler School, by F. B. Rich; Hyde Park births, 1868–1870, by E. C. Jenney; Henry Grew; Matilda Whiting Vose, by C. F. Jenney; A reminiscence of Gordon H. Nott, by O. T. Gray; Proceedings; Necrology; A. A. Page; W. T. Hart; Martin Luther Whitcher, by C. L. Sturtevant; The streets of Hyde Park, by G. L. Richardson; Legal reminiscences, by E. Davis; Benjamin Franklin Radford; A Revolutionary hero, Lemuel Trescott; Opposition of Milton to incorporation of Hyde Park; John Ellery Piper, by P. B. Davis; Reminiscences of twenty years ago, by C. G. Chick; Index.

HYDE PARK HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The Hyde Park Historical Record. Vol. II, 1892–93. Hyde Park, 1893.

8 vo, pp. 80. Portraits.

Contents: William J. Stuart; Geological formation of Hyde Park, by Ella F. Boyd; Mrs. Martha Foster Clough, by C. F. Gerry; Hyde Park births, 1870–72; Dr. Horatio Leseur, by J. K. Knight; The old Sumner homestead, by Anna H. Weld; Teachers in the Readville School; Ida Lewis Benton, by C. D. Chick; W. H. H. Andrews, by C. G. Chick; The striped pig; John Blackie, by John Scott; Lyman Hall, by G. L. Richardson; Extracts from reports of the school committee of Dorchester relating to schools in Hyde Park.

93. *LEXINGTON HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Lexington, Mass.

LEXINGTON HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Circular asking aid toward the purchase of Sandham's painting of the battle of Lexington.

4to, pp. 4. No title-page.

LEXINGTON HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Address at a dinner given by the Society, November 5, 1889, on the 100th anniversary of Washington's visit to Lexington. By Rev. Edward G. Porter. Boston, 1890.

8vo, pp. 10.

LEXINGTON HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Proceedings and papers relating to the history, read by some of the members. Vol. I. Lexington, 1890.

8vo, pp. lxxxii, 9–141. Woodcuts.

Contents: Proceedings "1886–1889"; Origin of the name "Lexington," by A. E. Scott; A sketch of the history of Lexington Common, by C. A. Staples; Robert Munroe, by G. W. Sampson; Captain John Parker, by Elizabeth S. Parker; A few words for our grandmothers of 1775, by Elizabeth W. Harrington; Matthew Bridge, by Harry W. Davis; Reminiscences of a participant in the occurrences of April 19, 1775, by George O. Smith; Amos Locke, by Herbert G. Locke; The old taverns of Lexington, by Edward P. Bliss; Lexington Academy, by A. E. Scott; Lexington Normal School, by Rebecca Viles; A sketch of the life and character of the late William Eustis, by G. W. Porter, D. D.; Col. Francis Faulkner and the battle of Lexington, by Cyrus Hamlin, D. D.; Lexington in 1775 and in 1861, by W. Sampson. Appendix: The second meeting house in Lexington, erected by the town in 1714; Some facts relating to the third meeting house in Lexington, built by the town in 1794; Members.

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LEXINGTON HISTORICAL SOCIETY. My grandfather, Col. Francis Faulkner, and my uncle, Francis Faulkner, jr., in the battle of Lexington. Read before the Lexington Historical Society, May, 1886. By Rev. Cyrus Hamlin, D. D., LL. D. Boston, 1887.

8vo, pp. 16. Two plates.

94. *MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Boston, Mass.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Proposal of Joseph Belknap and Alexander Young for printing a weekly paper, to be entitled the *American Apollo*, containing the publications of the Historical Society [etc.]. Boston, 1791.

8vo, pp. 4, (1).

Reprinted in 1879.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Circular letter of the Society [from Jeremy Belknap, secretary]. [Boston, 1791.]

8vo, pp. 3. No title-page. On the objects of the Society. Reprinted from Collections. First series, vol. ii.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Discourse, intended to commemorate the Discovery of America by Christopher Columbus; delivered at the request of the Society, on the 23d of October, 1792, being the completion of the third century since that event. Added, four dissertations. By Jeremy Belknap. Boston, 1792.

8vo, pp. 132.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The *American Apollo*, containing the publications of the Historical Society [etc.], Vol. I, Nos. 1–39. Boston, 1792.

8vo.

See note under Collections.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections, Vol. I. Boston, 1792. Reprinted 1806 and 1859.

8vo, pp. (4), 288.

["The first publications of the Society appeared January 6, 1792, in the *American Apollo*, a weekly magazine beginning at that time. They were printed in connection with the magazine during thirty-nine weeks, and comprised usually a signature of eight pages, which could be separated from the rest of the pamphlets, and was called part 1 of each number. The first 208 pages of Vol. I of the Collections were published in this way; and the remainder, consisting of 80 pages, came out in monthly parts in September, October, November, and December, 1792. The second and third volumes were continued in monthly parts, but the fourth and fifth were issued in quarterly parts."—Samuel A. Green. All the volumes of the first and second series and Vol. I of the third have been reprinted. The dates of the original editions and of the reprints are respectively as follows:

Vol. I, printed in 1792, reprinted in 1806 and in 1859; Vol. II, printed in 1793, reprinted in 1810; Vol. III, printed in 1794, reprinted in 1810; Vol. IV, printed in 1795, reprinted in 1835; Vol. V, printed in 1798, reprinted in 1816 and 1835; Vol. VI, printed in 1800, reprinted in 1846; Vol. VII, printed in 1801, reprinted in 1846; Vol. VIII, printed in 1802, reprinted in 1856; Vol. IX, printed in 1804, reprinted in 1857; Vol. X, printed in 1809, reprinted in 1857; second series, Vol. I, printed in 1814, reprinted in 1838; second series, Vol. II, printed in 1814, reprinted in 1846; second series, Vol. III, printed in 1815, reprinted in 1846; second series, Vol. IV, printed in 1816, reprinted in 1846; second series, Vol. V, printed in 1815, reprinted in 1848; second series, Vol. VI, printed in 1815, reprinted in 1848 (these last two comprising

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Hubbard's History of New England); second series, Vol. VII, printed in 1818, reprinted in 1826; second series, Vol. VIII, printed in 1819, reprinted in 1826; second series, Vol. IX, printed in 1822, reprinted in 1832; second series, Vol. X, printed in 1823, reprinted in 1843; third series, Vol. I, printed in 1825, reprinted in 1846.]

Contents: Vol. I: Constitution of the Society; Introductory Address; Letters relating to the Expedition against Cape Breton; A Topographical Description of the Dutch Colony of Surinam, by George H. Apthorp; Observations on the British Colonies on the Continent of America, Weare; Account of the Examination of Dr. Benjamin Church, 1775; Letter on the Dark Day, May 19, 1780, by S. Tenney; Letter from the Town Clerk of Dorchester, 1792 [on early history of Dorchester]; Extracts from the Records of the Province of Maine; Letter from Cotton Mather in 1718 to Lord Barrington, a Character of the Inhabitants of New England; A General Description of the County of Middlesex, by J. Winthrop; Letter of an English Merchant, upon the Expedition to Louisburg, 1775; Account of General Montgomery's Burial; A Topographical Description of the Town of Worcester, by T. Paine [and others]; New England's Plantation, written 1629, by F. Higgeson; W. Morell's Poem on New England; Fabulous Traditions and Customs of the Indians of Martha's Vineyard, by Thomas Cooper; Inscription Copied from a Gravestone at Gay Head; Historical Collections of the Indians in New England, by Daniel Gookin; A Short Account of Daniel Gookin; Indian names of Places within or near the County of Barnstable, by J. Freeman; Account of the Coast of Labrador, by Sir Francis Bernard; A Topographical Description of Concord, 1792, by W. Jones; New England's First Fruits, in Respect to the progress of learning in the College of Cambridge, 1643; A Topographical Description of Georgetown; Account of the First Settlement of Boston, by Samuel Mather, 1784; Indian Places in Truro, by J. Damon; An Historical Account of the Settlement of Brookfield, by N. Fiske; A Description of Brookfield, by N. Fiske; Letter from Roger Williams to Major Mason, 1870 [on the relations between R. W. and Plymouth Colony]; Letter from a Gentleman Upon his Return from Niagara, 1792; Errata.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections, Vol. II. Boston, 1793. Reprinted 1810.

8vo, pp. (4), 246.

Contents: Collections for 1793; Circular Letter; A Topographical Description of Duxborough; Communications from the Town Clerk of Dorchester [N. Clap]; Ponkapog Plantation; Epitaph; Letter from Cotton Mather to Dr. John Woodward [on a Tide and Storm of Uncommon Circumstances], 1723; Letter from John Winthrop, 1717 [on Storms in Connecticut]; Account of the First Appearance of the Aurora Borealis in New England in 1716, by Thomas Prince; A Letter giving an Account of a wonderful Meteor [Aurora Borealis] that appeared in New England December 11, 1719; An Account of a Recent Discovery of Seven Islands in the Pacific, by Joseph Ingraham; Letter from N. Tracy on the Posterity of Daniel Gookin; Original Orders of General Burgoyne to Colonel Baum, with a Brief Description of the Battle of Bennington; Account of Northfield, by J. Hubbard, 1792; Letter from John Colman, giving an Account of the Hearing before the Privy Council, on the Complaint of Governor Shute Against the House of Representatives of Massachusetts Bay; An Account of the Death of Charles I; Letter from King Philip to Governor Prince; An Historical Journal of the American War, 1765–1783, by T. Pemberton.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections, Vol. III. Boston, 1794. Reprinted 1810.

8vo, pp. (4), 304.

Contents: Collections for 1794; Description of Middleborough, by N. Bennet; Bill of Mortality in Hartford, 1783–1793, with Remarks on the History of the Town, by Noah Webster, jr.; Topographical Description of York [Maine], by D. Sewall; Appendix Relative to Agamenticus, by J. Belknap; A Topographical Description of Barnstable, by J. Mellen, jr.; Description of Holliston; Extract from a Journal of a Gentleman Belonging to the Army of General St. Clair; Governor Bradford's Letter Book; A Descriptive and Historical Account of New England in Verse, from a Manuscript of William Bradford; A Topographical

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Description of the County of Prince George, Va., 1793, by J. J. Spooner; Remarks on Webster's Calculations on Lives, by J. Mellen, jr., with Mr. Webster's Reply; Miscellaneous Remarks and Observations on Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Cape Breton: Road from Halifax to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, 1792; Governors of Nova Scotia from 1720; The Atherine; Account of the Burning of Fairfield, in July, 1779, by Andrew Eliot; Governor Shirley's Letter to the Board of Trade respecting Fort Dummer, 1748; Two original letters from Benjamin Franklin to Thomas Cushing, Speaker of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts [on the Reception of the Petition to the King, regarding the Trade Regulations]; A Topographical Description of Wellfleet, by L. Whitman; Letters from Increase and Cotton Mather to Governor Dudley, 1707-1708; Letter from Governor Dudley to Increase and Cotton Mather, 1707-08; Extract from Cotton Mather's Private Diary; A Topographical Description of Wells [Maine], by Nathaniel Wells; A Topographical Description of Topsham [Maine], by Jonathan Ellis; A Topographical Description of Machias [Maine], by John Cooper; An Historical Account of Middleborough, by Isaac Backus; A Topographical Description of Nantucket, by W. Folger, jr.; A Short Journal of the First Settlement on the Island of Nantucket, by Zaccheus Macy; Births, Marriages, and Deaths in Nantucket, 1789-1792; Progress of the Whale Fishery at Nantucket; Letters to Benjamin Franklin from Granville Sharp, on the subject of American Bishops; A Topographical Description of Raynham, by P. Fobes; The family of Leonard; Iron Ore, by I. Backus; Letters from Rev. John Eliot, of Roxbury, to Hon. Robert Boyle, 1670-1688; Biographical and Topographical Anecdotes respecting Sandwich and Marshpee, by Gideon Hawley; List of the Governors and Commanders in Chief of Massachusetts and Plymouth; A Topographical Description of Truro, 1794; A Key Into the Language of America [Indians of New England], by Roger Williams; A Topographical Description of the Plantations on Sebago Pond; A Topographical and Historical Description of Boston, 1794, by T. Pemberton; A List of Writers who were Citizens of Boston, with the Time of their Decease.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Vol. IV. Boston, 1795. Reprinted 1835.

8vo, pp. v, 298.

Contents: Collections for 1795: Act of Incorporation Laws, etc., of the Society, 1794; A Topographical Description of Hopkinton, by Dr. J. Stimson; Topographical Description of Thomaston; Proceedings of two Conventions, held at Portland, to Consider the Expediency of a Separate Government in the District of Maine; Account of Wellfleet and Cape Cod Harbor, by L. Whitman; Account of an Uncommon Frost, May 17, 1794, by N. Thayer; Description of Marlborough, by Asa Packard; Letter from Rev. Gideon Hawley, of Marshpee, containing an Account of his Services among the Indians of Massachusetts and New York, and a Narrative of his Journey to Onohoghwage, 1794; Answers to Queries respecting Western Indians, by J. T. Kirkland; Letter from Dr. William Clarke to Dr. Franklin, 1754 [in regard to French and Indian troubles]; Letter from Dr. William Clarke to an American Gentleman in London, 1748; Dr. Belknap's letter to Dr. Kippis [concerning action of Continental Congress in regard to Captain Cook]; Letter from Dr. William Clarke to Benjamin Franklin, 1755; Topographical Description of Exeter, N. H., by Samuel Tenney; Observations on the Southern Indians, by Dr. Ramsey; Observations and Conjectures on the Antiquities of America, by Jacob Bailey, with remarks by J. T. Kirkland; An Account of the Church of Christ in Plymouth, by John Cotton; Observations on the Climate, Soil, and Value of the Eastern Counties of Maine, by Gen. B. Lincoln; Letter from Gen. B. Lincoln, on the Religious State of the Eastern Counties of Maine, 1790; Extracts of two Letters from Charles Thomson, Secretary of Congress during the Revolution, relative to Dr. Kippis's Misrepresentations; Letter from William Bentley, 1795; An Inquiry into the Right of the Aboriginal Natives to the Lands in America, and the Titles derived from them, written in 1724 by Rev. John Bulkley; A Sketch of the History of Guilford, Conn., by Rev. Thomas Ruggles; Letter from J. Belknap concerning Fire Engines, Fires, and Buildings in Boston, 1725; Queries respecting the Slavery and Emancipation of Negroes in Massachusetts, answered by J. Belknap; References to the Topographical and

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Historical Description of Boston, published in Vol. III of the Collections; Burials and Baptisms in Boston, 1701–1774; "Observations made by the Curious on New England about 1673;" Letter sent from Dublin to Provost Dunster in 1655; Account of the First Century Lecture held at Salem; Answers of the General Court of Connecticut to Certain Queries of the Lords of the Committee of Colonies, 1680; Account of the Earthquake at Port Royal in 1692; An Account of Some Effects of the Great Earthquake in 1755, by John Mellen; Topographical Description of New Bedford; The Discovery and Description of the Islands called Marquesas, in the South Pacific, with Account of Adjacent Islands, discovered by Capt. Joseph Ingraham; Observations on the Islands of Juan Fernandez, Massafuero, and St. Ambrose, by Bernard Magee; Account of the Discovery of a Group of Islands in the North Pacific Ocean, by Capt. James Magee; A Brief Account of the Agency of John Winthrop, 1662, in Obtaining a Charter for Connecticut, by Roger Wolcott.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Vol. V. Boston, 1798. Reprinted 1816 and 1835.

8vo, pp. (2) 290.

Contents: Answer of Dr. Kippis respecting an error in his Life of Captain Cook; Observations on the Indians, containing an Answer to some Remarks of Dr. Ramsey, by General Lincoln; Report on the Oneida and Mohekunnuh Indians in 1796; Historical and Characteristic Traits of the Indians, and those of Natick in Particular, by Stephen Badger; Law Cases, 1795–1797; An Account of the Great Fire in Boston in 1711, by Cotton Mather; Memorabilia of Yarmouth, by T. Alden, jr.; Account of the Witchcraft Delusion in New England, 1692, by Thomas Brattle; Vocabulary of the Narragansett Language; Letter from Paul Revere on Events of 1774, 1775; Letters from Governor Shute to Rallé, the Jesuit, 1718; Letters from Col. J. Dwight and Col. Oliver Partridge to Governor Shirley, 1754; Law Case; An Account of the Present State and Government of Virginia, 1696–1698(?); Settlement and Antiquities of Windsor, in Connecticut, by D. McClure; An Abstract of the Laws of New England, 1641; An Address to the Reader, by William Aspinwall; Letter from His Majesty's Commissioners to Governor Prince, written at Rhode Island, in 1664; Articles of Agreement between the Court of New Plymouth and Awasuncks, the Squaw Sachem of Saconet, 1671; Dartmouth Indians' Engagement, September 4, 1671; Letter from Awasuncke to Governor Prince, 1671; Letter of Governor Prince, 1671; Letter from Jeremiah Dummer to Dr. Benjamin Colman, 1714; Letter from Rev. Daniel Neal to Rev. Benjamin Colman, 1718; Letter from Dr. Watts to Dr. C. Mather, concerning Neal's History of New England, February, 1719–20; The Importance of Cape Breton to the British Nation, by Robert Auchmuty; Account of the Smallpox, 1721; A Narrative of the Newspapers Printed in New England; A Brief Account of the Several Settlements and Governments about Narraganset Bay, by Francis Brinley; Charles the Second's Letter to the Governor and Magistrates of Rhode Island, 1678–1679; Address of the Governor and General Assembly of Rhode Island to Charles I; Letter of the Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England respecting Mount Hope, 1679; A True and Brief Account of the Right to Lands in the Narraganset Country, 1680; Charles the Second's Commission to Edward Cranfield and Others to Examine into the Claims and Titles to the Narraganset Country; Summons to Persons Claiming Rights in the Narraganset Country; Report of the Commissions on the Claims to the Narraganset Country, 1683; James II's Commission for a Council for Massachusetts Bay, Narraganset Country, etc.; Proceedings of a Court in the Narraganset Country, 1686; Paukatuck River, the Boundary between Connecticut and Rhode Island, 1663; Act of the Assembly of Rhode Island, in favor of Humphrey Atherton, 1672; Description and History of Newton, by Jonathan Homer; Natural History of the Slug-worm, by W. D. Peck; Members.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Vol. VI. Boston, 1800. Reprinted 1846.

8vo, pp. xxii, 288.

Contents: Collections for 1799: Life and Character of Rev. Dr. John Clarke, by J. Belknap; Life of J. Belknap; Remarks made during a Residence at Stabroek, Rio Demerary, in 1798, by Thomas Pierronet; Specimen of the Mountaineer, or

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Sheshatapooshsheosh skoffie, and Micmac Languages; Gen. John Winslow's Letter, relative to his Conduct on the Ticonderoga Expedition in 1756; Secretary Willard's Letter relative to the Failure of the Crown Point Expedition, 1756; Letter from W. Bollan, Agent for the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, 1759; Memorandum of Particulars Showing the Exhausted State of Massachusetts Province; A Brief State of the Province of Quebec, 1787; Continuation of the Narrative of Newspapers published in New England, from 1704 to the Revolution; Letters of J. Dummer, 1711; Letter of James Cudworth to Governor Winslow, declining his appointment to a military command, 1673-1675; Letter from John Easton to Governor Winslow, 1675; Letter from Nathaniel Thomas, on the expedition against Philip, 1675; Letter of Secretary Rawson on the proceedings in the Sound, 1675; Letter of John Leverett, 1676; Letters on King Philip's War; Edward Randolph's letter relative to proceedings at Piscataqua, 1679; Answer of King Philip to the Governor of New Plymouth; Edward Rawson's letter soliciting aid for the college at Cambridge, 1671-72; Letter of instructions from the Massachusetts General Court to William Bollan, their agent at the Court of Great Britain, 1756; Letter of Leonard Hoar, 1661; Memoirs for the continuation of the history of the troubles of the New-English colonies from the Indians, 1726, by B. Colman; * * * Letter from Paul Mascarene to Governor Shirley on the government of Acadia, 1748; * * * Petition of William Bollan to the Duke of Bedford, relative to French encroachments, 1748; Letters of Washington and others, on Dinwiddie's expedition against the French on the Monongahela, 1754; List of the Presidents of the Colony of Rhode Island, 1647-1789; Letter from Governor Jay on the Brothertown Indians, 1799; Letter on the propriety and expediency of an appropriate national name designatory of citizens of the United States; Letter of Jonathan Trumbull, August 21, 1779 [on the Revolution]; Petition of the Earl of Stirling praying to be in possession of some lands called the county of Canada, 1760; Letters relative to a reimbursement from Parliament for the expense of supporting the French neutrals from Nova Scotia; Letter relative to the duty on molasses, 1763-64; Letters, etc., on King Philip's War; A description of Salem, by W. Bentley.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Vol. VII. Boston, 1801. Reprinted 1846.

8vo, pp. viii, 280.

Contents: Collections for 1800: Remarks on a "History of Salem;" History of Cambridge, by Abiel Holmes; A review of the military operations in North America, from the commencement of the French hostilities on the frontiers of Virginia, in 1753, to the surrender of Oswego, August 17, 1756; A description of Wiscasset, by Alden Bradford; Marshe's Journal of the treaty held with the Six Nations at Lancaster, June, 1744; List of the public offices in the Province of Maryland; Plan of union of the British American Colonies, 1754; Connecticut's reasons against the plan; Petitions respecting Bishops, 1713; Account of the trade of Newfoundland, 1799; Number of British subjects in the Colonies, 1755; A bill for better regulating of charter and proprietary governments in America; Dedications to the Rev. John Eliot's Indian version of the Old and New Testaments; Sir Thomas Temple's apology for coinage in Massachusetts; Queries and answers relative to the present state and condition of Connecticut, 1774; Some account of the severe drought in 1749; Grand jury bill against Mary Osgood, 1692; Biographical notice of Rev. James Noyes; A description and historical account of the Isles of Shoals; Ecclesiastical history of Massachusetts.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Vol. VIII. Boston, 1802. Reprinted 1856.

8vo, pp. (4), 284.

Contents: Remarks upon the History of Salem; Historical account of John Eliot; Governor Dudley's letter to the Countess of Lincoln, 1631; Historical sketch of Col. Ephraim Williams, and of Williams College; Topographical and historical account of Marblehead; Bill of mortality of Middleborough, 1770 to 1801; Biographical notices of Marston Watson; Sketch of the life and character of Thomas Brottle; Notice of Ezekiel Price; Character of G. R. Minot; Description

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of the eastern coast of the county of Barnstable; Description of Sandwich; Note on Falmouth; Description of Dennis; Note on the south parts of Yarmouth, Barnstable, and Harwich; Description of Chatham; Description and history of Eastham; Description of Orleans; Note on Welfleet; Description of Provincetown; State of the cod and whale fisheries in Massachusetts, 1763; Mourt's Journal of a plantation settled at Plymouth, 1621; Edward Winslow's relation of things remarkable in Plymouth, 1623; Memoirs of the Rev. Dr. Thacher.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Vol. IX. Boston, 1804. Reprinted 1857.

8vo, pp. (4), 283, (1).

Contents: Ecclesiastical history of Massachusetts; Settlement of the first churches; Account of ministers who were fixed in Salem, Charlestown, Dorchester, Boston, Watertown, and Roxbury; Controversy with Roger Williams and Mrs. Hutchinson; Synod in 1637, and state of religion to 1647; Memoir and poem Parmenicis; Memoir of the Moheagans, and of Uncas, their ancient sachem, by A. Holmes; Language of the Moheagans; Extract from an Indian history; Journal of the siege of York, in Virginia, by a chaplain of the American Army; Memoirs of Ebenezer Grant Marsh; Topographical description of Catskill, N. Y., 1803, by Clark Brown; Topographical description of Newtown, N. Y., 1803, by Clark Brown; Topographical description of Brimfield, by Clark Brown; Description and history of Waterford (Me.), by L. Ripley; Chronological and topographical account of Dorchester, by T. M. Harris; Notes on Compton, R. I., 1803; Biographical memoir of William Fisk, by James Winthrop; The history of the Penobscott Indians, by James Sullivan; Account of earthquakes in New Hampshire, by Timothy Alden, jr.; Bill of mortality for Middleborough, 1802 and 1803, by I. Thompson; Bill of mortality for Portsmouth, N. H., 1801-1803; Extracts from a journal kept on board ship *Atahualpa*, on a voyage from Boston to the northwest coast and the Sandwich Islands; Convention between Increase Mather and King William, 1689; Observation upon the natural production of iron ores, and some account of the iron manufacture in the county of Plymouth, by James Thacher; An account of a conference between the late Mr. Grenville and the several colony agents in 1764, previous to the passage of the stamp act; Extract from the history of the New England colonies concerning the charter of William and Mary; On smallpox inoculation, by Increase Mather; Extracts from a letter by a London merchant to his friend in Virginia.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Vol. X. Boston, 1809. Reprinted 1857.

8vo, pp. (iv), 314.

Contents: Ecclesiastical history of Massachusetts, continued: Account of the New England platform; Of the attempts made to convert the natives, and the state of religion from 1648, during the Commonwealth in Great Britain; An account of the several religious societies in Portsmouth, N. H., to 1805, by T. Alden, jr.; A topographical description of Brewster, 1806, by J. Simpkins; An account of Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1760, by Alexander Grant; Account of Stow, by J. Gardner; Account of Westborough, by E. Parkman, 1767; Memoir of Sudbury, 1767, by I. Loring; Account of Harvard, by J. Wheeler; Note on Marlborough, 1767, by A. Smith; Memoir of Marlborough Association, by N. Stone; Notes with extracts respecting Ruggles's History of Guilford; Memoir of the Pequots, by E. Stiles; Number of Nyantic Indians; Indians on Connecticut River; Account of the Montauk Indians, by S. Occum; Memoir of Block Island, 1762, by E. Stiles; An account of the Indians in and about Stratford, Conn., by E. Birdsey; An account of the Potenummecut Indians, 1762; An account of the Mashpee Indians, 1762; Monymoyk Indians; Saconet Indians; Eastern Indians; Indians in Acadia, 1760; Number of Indians in Connecticut, 1774; Number of Indians in Rhode Island, 1774; An account of the several nations of Southern Indians, 1768, by E. Potter; List of the nations of Indians at Niagara, 1764; Estimate of the Indian nations employed by the British in the Revolutionary War; Number of Delaware Indians, 1794; An account of Indian churches in New England, 1673, by

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John Eliot; Account of an Indian visitation, 1698, by G. Rawson and S. Danforth; List of Indians at Natick, 1749; Numbers in the Norridgwok and Mohawk language; Account of defeat of Indians at Werntsam, by J. Mann; Letter relating to the Indian school at Stockbridge, by J. Edwards; Sketch of eminent men in New England, 1768, by Charles Chauncy; Sketch of eminent ministers in New England, by J. Barnard; Life of President Charles Chauncy, by C. Chauncy; Memoirs of E. Tyng; Memoirs of William Tyng, by T. Alden, jr.; * * * Bills of mortality for Middleborough, 1805, 1806, by I. Thomas; Memoir of Andrew Eliot; Memoir of Thomas Pemberton; Resident members; General table of contents of the ten volumes; Chronological table; General index; Index of authors; Laws of the Society.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Second series, Vol. I. Boston, 1814. Reprinted 1838.

8vo, pp. xxxi, (4), 260.

Contents: Discourse before the Society, December 22, 1813, at their commemoration of the first landing of our ancestors at Plymouth, 1620, by John Davis; Act of incorporation, etc.; Bacon and Ingram's rebellion; Account of fires in Boston and other towns in Massachusetts, 1701-1800; Letter respecting mounds, by A. Bradford; Progress of medical science in Massachusetts, by Josiah Bartlett; A brief review of the state of religious liberty in the colony of New York, 1773; Account of the dissenting interest in the Middle States, 1759, by E. Spencer; Biographical memoir of Rev. Charles Morton; Notice of Shrewsbury, by J. Sumner; Biography of Rev. John Lothropp, by John Lathrop; Topographical description of Needham; Topographical and historical sketch of Lunenburgh; Note on Attleborough, by H. Weld; Letter of Richard Henry Lee, 1781; Remarks on the cultivation of the oak, by B. Lincoln; Ecclesiastical history of Massachusetts, continued: Account of the third synod in Boston, 1662; Of the proceedings of the government with regard to the Baptists and Quakers; Memoir toward a character of Rev. John Eliot; * * * Biographical memoir of James Sullivan; Memoir of Rev. William Emerson.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Second series, Vol. II. Boston, 1814. Reprinted 1846.

8vo, pp. (4), 242.

Contents: Report on the Western Indians, by J. F. Schermerhorn; Historical sketch of the Society for propagating the gospel among the Indians in North America; Wonder-working Providence of Sion's Saviour in New England, by Edward Johnson; Notice of Edward Johnson, by J. Chickering; Extract from "The life and errors of John Dunton;" On his residence in Massachusetts, 1686; Letter concerning Tristan d'Acunha, by B. F. Seaver; Some original papers respecting the Episcopal controversy in Connecticut, 1722; Historical sketch of Brookline; Births, deaths, etc., in Billerica, 1654-1704; Historical sketch of Charlestown, by J. Bartlett; Brief history of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company; * * * On Episcopacy in the colonies, 1760-61, by A. Eliot; Statistics of New Haven, 1774, New London, 1774; Account of the first Congress, 1774, by the Connecticut delegates; A circumstantial account of the affair of April 19, 1775; Journal of Arnold's expedition to Quebec, 1775, by R. J. Meigs; A sketch of Amherst, N. H., by J. Farmer; Letter from the general association of Congregational ministers in Connecticut to the clergymen in Boston, with answers, 1774 [on sufferings in Boston from the Port Bill]; Extracts from President Stiles's literary diary, 1773; Letter from Sir Edward Andros to Governor Dudley, 1686; Bills of mortality for Middleborough, 1805-1813, by J. Thompson; Letter from Governor Dudley to Rev. Cotton Mather, 1706; Letter from general court of Massachusetts Bay to Dr. John Owen, 1663; Indian names of White Hills and Piscataqua River, by T. Alden; A particular of necessaries to provide to go to Virginia, 1626; Account of the Loganian library in Philadelphia, by Ebenezer Hazard; Notice respecting the author of "A brief view of the state of religious liberty in New York, 1773," Rev. John Rodgers; Memoirs of the late Rev. J. S. Buckminster, by James Savage; Correction of an error in Hutchinson [on New England money]; Circular letter of the Society, 1813; Prospectus of Hubbard's History of New England; Donations.

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MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Second series, Vol. III. Boston, 1815. Reprinted 1846.

8vo, pp. (4), 296.

Contents: A description of Mashpee, 1802; State of the Indians in Mashpee, 1767; Notes on New Bedford, 1807; Notes on Nantucket, 1807; A description of Dukes County, 1807; Slaves in Massachusetts, 1754; Note on Lancaster, N. H., 1814; A geographical sketch of Bath, N. H., 1814, by D. Sutherland; Note on Plymouth, N. H., 1814; Note on New Holderness, N. H., 1814; Note on Wolfborough, N. H., 1814; Note on Middletown, N. H., 1814; Johnson's Wonder-working Providence of Sion's Saviour, continued; Notes on Plymouth, Mass.; Description of Kingston; Rise and progress of the bass and mackerel fishery at Cape Cod; Recantation of confessors of witchcraft; Criticism on the Landing of the Fathers, a picture by Henry Sargent; Notices of the Life of Benjamin Lincoln; Expedition against Canada, 1690, by Thomas Savage; A topographical and historical description of Waltham; Note on the historical sketch of Brookline; Note on Jamaica, 1793, by Harris; Letters respecting Hubbard's History; Deaths in King's Chapel Society, 1747–1775, 1788–1814.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Second series, Vol. IV. Boston, 1816. Reprinted 1846.

8vo, pp. iv, 308.

Contents: Wonder-working Providence of Sion's Saviour, in New England, continued; Anecdote of the soldiers of Arnold, by W. Eustis; A topographical description and historical account of Sudbury; A topographical description and historical account of East Sudbury; Anecdote of King Philip's gun-lock, by John Lathrop; A paper relating to Harvard College, 1707; Remarks on Mr. Schermerhorn's report concerning the Western Indians, 1815; Account of earthquakes in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Maine, by T. Alden, 1804–1807; Bill of mortality for Amherst, N. H., 1805–1815, by J. Farmer; Catalogue of ministers in New Hampshire, 1767; History of free schools in Plymouth colony and in the town of Plymouth, 1815; Progress of vaccination in America; Russian voyage of discovery, 1815; Paper money; A barque built at Plymouth, 1641; Memoir of Joshua Scottow; Nonconformist's oath; New England's Jonas cast up at London, 1647; An historical sketch of Haverhill; A topographical and historical sketch of Freeport, Me., by R. Nason; A topographical and historical sketch of Saco, Me., by J. Cogswell; Historical sketch of North Hampton, N. H., by J. French; Historical sketch of Tyngsborough, by N. Lawrence; Letter to Governor John Winthrop, by W. White; Note on an ancient manuscript, ascertained to be a part of Governor Winthrop's journal; Deposition of John Odlin, respecting Blackstone's sale; General Gage's instructions of 22d February, 1775; also an account of the transactions of the British troops, April 18 and 19, 1775; History and description of Scituate, 1815; Topography and history of Rochester, 1815; History and description of Plympton, 1815; Description of Carver, 1815; Notes on Halifax; History of Plympton [Carver and a part of Halifax, inclusive]; Topography and history of Wareham, 1815; Original paper respecting the Episcopal controversy in Connecticut, 1722; Addenda to preceding articles on towns in the county of Plymouth.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Second series, Vol. V; Hubbard's History of New England. Part 1. Events from the discovery to 1641; A general history of New England, from the discovery to 1680, by the Rev. William Hubbard, minister of Ipswich, Mass. Cambridge, 1815. Reprinted 1848.

8vo, pp. (2), vi, (8), 7–304.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Second series, Vol. VI; Hubbard's History of New England. Part 2. Events from 1635 to 1650. Cambridge, Mass., 1815. Reprinted 1848.

8vo, pp. (2), 305–676.

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MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Second series, Vol. VII. Boston, 1818. Reprinted 1826.

8vo, pp. (4), 300.

Contents: Continuation of Johnson's Wonder-working Providence; A summary notice of the first settlements made by white people in Tennessee; Note on the county of Hillsborough, N. H., by John Farmer; Letter from B. Franklin, 1759, on inoculation for smallpox in Boston; Rhode Island State papers; Deposition of R. Williams, 1682; Form of government, 1638; Laws, 1647; Letter from O. Cromwell, 1655; Letter of commissions on Narragansett; General assembly on the Quakers, 1657; * * * Number of inhabitants of Rhode Island, 1730–1701; History and description of Abington, 1816; Sketch of Walpole, N. H., by A. Bellows; Apology of John Pratt; Note on Ezekiel Cheever, by W. Lyon; Anniversary of the landing of the forefathers; Boston bill of mortality, 1815–1817; Boston votes; Description of Bridgewater, 1818; Biographical notice of Peter Whitney; Account of the Prince Library; * * * Annals of New England, by Thomas Prince, Vol. II, Nos. 1–3.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Second series, Vol. VIII. Boston, 1819. Reprinted 1826.

8vo, pp. iv, 332.

Contents: Continuation of Johnson's Wonder-working Providence of Sion's Saviour in New England, 1645–1651; Bill of mortality of Boston, 1817; Letter of Sir Richard Saltonstall to Governor Winthrop, of Connecticut, 1636; Order of march at the funeral of Governor Leverett; List of the provincials who were killed, wounded, and missing in the battle of Lexington, April 19, 1775; Danforth papers; Letters from general court of Massachusetts to Charles II, 1662; Letter from R. Doyle to Governor Endicott, 1665; Letter from Charles II to Governor Endicott, 1662; Address of Nichols and the other commissioners of the King to general court, 1665; Commissioners' reply; * * * Secretary Rawson's letter about Harvard College, 1665; Same on construction of the charter for Massachusetts; Reply of general court respecting the regicides Whalley and Goffe; Petition of Samuel Gorton and others, of Warwick, 1664–65; Reply of Secretary Rawson on trade of Massachusetts, 1665; Answer of the general court to the commissioners as to the power and form of civil government; The oath of allegiance, prayer book, etc.; * * * Proposal of commissioners to amend province laws, 1665; Brief narrative of the negotiations between the general court and the commissioners, 1664–65; * * * Petition of citizens of Boston to the general court respecting the charter, 1665; A description of Mount Catardin, 1804, by C. Turner; Letter from Matthew Craddock to Capt. John Endicott, 1629; A brief history of the Pequot war, by John Mason; Original account of Braddock's defeat, 1755, by R. Orme; Life and character of Rev. Joseph McKean; An account of Plainfield, by J. Porter; Note on New London, N. H., by J. Farmer; Churches and ministers in New Hampshire, by J. Farmer; Andros's administration; Letters on the origin and progress of attempts for the abolition of slavery in Pennsylvania, 1819; Letter of Roger Williams, 1682; Estimates of Province of Massachusetts Bay, 1764; The new life of Virginia, 1612; Pincheon papers; Biographical memoir of Father Rasles; Eastern Indians, letter to the governor, 1721; * * * Letter of Professor Ebeling to President Stiles, 1794; * * * Life and character of Caleb Gannett; Memoir of William Tudor; Opinion of court about Malden church, 1651.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Second series, Vol. IX. Boston, 1822. Reprinted 1832.

8vo, pp. (4), 312, liv, 367–372.

Contents: A brief relation of the discovery of New England, 1607–1622; Mourt's relation or journal of the beginning and proceedings of the English plantation at Plymouth, 1622; Winslow's Good newes from New England, 1624; A perfect description of Virginia, 1649; Statistical account of the town of Middlebury, Vt., by F. Hall; Donations to Boston during the siege; Historical account of Providence,

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R. I., by Stephen Hopkins; Number of dwelling houses, stores, and public buildings in Boston, 1789; The Massachusetts [Indian] language; The Indian grammar begun, by John Eliot, 1666; Notes on Eliot's Indian grammar, by P. S. Du Ponceau; Sketches of ministers and churches in New Hampshire, continued.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Second series, Vol. X. Boston, 1823. Reprinted 1843.

8vo, pp. iv, 399.

Contents: Memoirs of Hon. Joshua Thomas; Detection of witchcraft, by E. Turell; Representatives of the town of Boston in the general court before the Revolution; Topographical description of Rochester, by A. Holmes; Letter from Dr. I. Watts to a friend in New England, May 8, 1734; Some account of Cummington, by Jacob Porter; Notices by Ezra S. Goodwin, of Sandwich, of the effects in that vicinity of the storm of September 23, 1815; Churches and ministers in New Hampshire; Notes on Duxbury, by A. Bradford; A descriptive and historical account of Boscawen, N. H., by J. Farmer; Biographical notice of Hon. James Winthrop; Dr. Edwards's observations on the Mohegan languages; Obituary notice of William Dandridge Peck; Memoirs of William Blackstone, an early planter of Boston; What is the meaning of the aboriginal phrase Shawmut? Notes on the springs of Boston; Instances of longevity in New Hampshire; Hutchinson papers; Members of the Society; General table of contents of the ten volumes of the second series; Index of authors; Chronological table; General index; Officers of the society.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Third series, Vol. I. Boston, 1825. Reprinted 1846.

8vo, pp. iv, 299.

Contents: Hutchinson papers; Account of Boston, December 17, 1742; Churches and ministers in New Hampshire; Instances of longevity in New Hampshire; Seven letters of Roger Williams; Two letters of Hugh Peters; Letter of William Hooke to John Winthrop; Letter of John Maidston to John Winthrop; Plymouth Company accounts; Memoir of Gamaliel Bradford; A brief history of the Narraganset country; Letter of John Haynes to John Winthrop; Memorial of Jeremiah Dummer on the French possessions on the river of Canada; Letters of Henry Jacie to John Winthrop, jr.; Address of condolence to Governor Talcott, of Connecticut, on the death of his wife; Charlestown church affairs, 1678; Memoir of William Jones Spooner; Branch Bank of the United States at Boston, 1825; Boston bills of mortality, 1818-1824; Members of the Society.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Third series, Vol. II. Cambridge, 1830.

8vo, pp. (4), 368. Three plates.

Contents: Memoir of the French Protestants settled at Oxford, 1686, by A. Holmes; History and description of Cohasset, by J. Flint; New England's Salamander discovered, by E. Winslow, 1647; Vocabulary of the Massachusetts (or Natick) Indian language, by Josiah Cotton; Account of Plymouth Colony records; Address of the ministers of Boston to the Duke of Newcastle, 1737; Memoir of the Narragansett Townships, by J. Farmer; Biographical notice of Dudley Atkins Tyng, by John Lowell; Instances of longevity in New Hampshire; Bill of mortality for Amherst, N. H., 1815, by J. Farmer; Churches and ministers in New Hampshire; MS. journals of the Long, Little, etc., Parliaments, by James Bowdoin.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Third series, Vol. III. Cambridge, 1833.

8vo, pp. (4), 408. Folded map.

Contents: Advertisements for the unexperienced planters of New England or anywhere, by John Smith; Plain dealing: or news from New England, by Thomas Lechford, 1642; Instructions from Massachusetts to John Winthrop, first governor of Connecticut, to treat with the Pequots, 1636; Leift Lion Gardener, his relation of the Pequot warres; Relation of the Indian plott, 1642; Settlement of Connecticut; Letter from Rev. J. Davenport and Governor Eaton, 1638-39; Letter to Sir Edmund Andros, by John Talcott, 1687; Salem witchcraft; Extracts

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from the records of the church in Danvers, 1691–92, 1693–94; Vocabulary of words in the language of the Passamaquoddy Indians; Churches and ministers in New Hampshire, continued; Memoir of Christopher Gore; Intrusion of the Rhode Island people upon the Indian lands, 1669; An account of two voyages to New England, by John Josselyn, 1670; Chronological observations of America [by John Josselyn], 1673; Note to Lechford's "Plain Dealing."

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Third series, Vol. IV. Cambridge, Mass., 1834.

8vo, pp. v, (2), 336.

Contents: Tracts relating to the attempts to convert to Christianity the Indians of New England: The day-breaking, if not the sun-rising, of the Gospel with the Indians in New England, 1647; Clear sunshine of the Gospel, by Thomas Shepard; The glorious progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England, by E. Winslow; The light appearing more and more toward the perfect day, by Henry Whitfield; Strength out of weakness, by Henry Whitfield; Tears of repentance: or a further narrative of the progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England, by J. Eliot and E. Mayhew; A late and further manifestation of the progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England, by J. Eliot; A list of representatives in the general court of Massachusetts, 1689 to 1692, by J. Farmer; Churches and ministers in New Hampshire, continued; Description of some of the medals struck in relation to important events in North America, by James Mease; General abstracts of the bills of mortality for Boston, 1825–1832.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Third series, Vol. V. Boston, 1836.

8vo, pp. 300. Folded plate.

Contents: Journal of the proceedings of the Congress held at Albany in 1754; Journal of the treaty held at Albany in August, 1775, with the Six Nations by the commissioners of the Twelve United Colonies; Journal of Christopher Gist, who accompanied George Washington on his first visit to the French commander on the Ohio, 1753; Journal of a treaty held in 1793, with the Indian tribes northwest of the Ohio; Autobiography of the Rev. John Barnard, of Marblehead, 1766; Repeal of the clause in the act of the assembly of Rhode Island excepting Roman Catholics from the privileges of freemen; Memoir of Rev. John Allyn, by C. Francis; Memoir of Samuel Davis; Memoir of the Rev. James Freeman, D. D., by F. W. P. Greenwood; Memoir of Rev. John Prince, LL. D., by Charles W. Upham; Memoir of Rev. Ezra Shaw Goodwin; Letter from Col. George Morgan to General Washington, inclosing the Lord's Prayer in Shawanee; Bills of mortality for Boston, 1833–1835.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Third series, Vol. VI. Boston, 1837.

8vo, (4), 300.

Contents: Capt. John Underhill's history of the Pequot war, entitled Newes from America, 1638; A trve relation of the late battell fought in New England between the English and the Pequot salvages, 1638, by P. Vincent; Sir Ferdinando Gorge's description of New England; A briefe narration, etc., 1658; A description of New England, or the observations and discoveries of Capt. John Smith, London, 1616; An account of the captivity of Hugh Gibson among the Delaware Indians, 1756–1759; History of the French and Indian wars, by Rev. Samuel Niles; Letter from Juan Galindo, transmitting his chorographical description of Costa Rica and Central America; Letter from E. Mattoon on the wound received by General Lincoln at Saratoga, 1777; Bills of mortality for Boston, 1836; Description of American medals, by J. F. Fisher.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Third series, Vol. VII. Boston, 1838.

8vo, pp. 304.

Contents: An account of the Society, by W. Jenks; "A word to Boston," by Governor William Bradford; Our forefather's song, 1630; Model of Christian charity, by John Winthrop; History of the post-office in Boston and New England; Papers relative to the rival chiefs, D'Aulney and La Tour, governors of

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Nova Scotia; Papers relating to Whalley and Goffe; Instructions to Edward Randolph; Commission to Sir Edmund Andros; Papers relative to the period of usurpation in New England; Orders for sending Sir Edmund Andros to England; Episcopal minister's address to King William; Higginson letters, 1692–1699; Colonel Quarry's memorial to the Lords Commissioners on the state of the American colonies, 1703; Memoir of Isaac Allerton, by Leonard Bacon; Memoranda on Beverly, by R. Rantoul; Memoir of the Rev. John Hale; Memoir of the Rev. Abiel Holmes, D. D., by W. Jenks; Old American coins, by J. Mease; Bill of mortality for Boston, 1837; List of portraits in the hall of the Society; Letter from J. Davis, respecting Isaac Allerton.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Third series, Vol. VIII. Boston, 1843.

8vo, pp. 348.

Contents: Extract from the history of the Catholic sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella, by Andres Bernaldez; Documents relating to Capt. Bartholomew Gosnold's voyage to America, 1602: Archer's account of Gosnold's voyage; Brereton's account of Gosnold's voyage: A brief and true relation of the discovery of the north part of Virginia, by J. M. Brereton, 1602; Tracts appended to Brereton; A true relation of the voyage made, 1605, by Capt. George Waymouth in the discovery of the land of Virginia, by James Rosier; A voyage into New England, begun in 1623 and ended in 1624, performed by Christopher Levett, 1628; Remarks on the early laws of Massachusetts Bay, with the code adopted in 1641, and called the Body of Liberties, now first printed, by F. C. Gray; Order in Council of 20th July, 1677, on the Gorges claim; Gleanings for New England history, by James Savage.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Third series, Vol. IX. Boston, 1846.

8vo, pp. (4), 301, (3).

Contents: Memoir of James Grahame, by Josiah Quincy; Memoirs of the pilgrims at Leyden, by George Sumner; Memoir of Gamaliel Bradford, by C. Francis; Notice of Orono, a chief at Penobscot, by W. D. Williamson; Indian tribes in New England, by W. D. Williamson; Queen Anne's instructions to Governor Dudley in 1702; Notice of the life of Leverett Saltonstall; The Christian Commonwealth, by John Eliot; A discourse pronounced before the Society, October 31, 1844, on the completion of fifty years from its incorporation, by John G. Palfrey; The New England confederacy of 1643, by John Quincy Adams; Memoir of James Bowdoin; The Winthrop papers; Officers of the Society.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Third series, Vol. X. Boston, 1849.

8vo, pp. (4), 360.

Contents: The Winthrop papers; More gleanings for New England history, by James Savage; Suffolk emigrants—genealogical notices of various persons and families who in the reign of Charles the First emigrated to New England from the county of Suffolk, by Joseph Hunter; Lion Gardiner, by Alexander Gardiner; Memoir of Hon. John Davis, LL. D., by Convers Francis; Memoir of Hon. John Pickering, LL. D., by W. H. Prescott; Memoir of William Lincoln, by Joseph Willard; General table of contents of the third series; Index of authors; Chronological table; General index to the third series; Officers of the Society; Members, 1849.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Fourth series, Vol. I. Boston, 1852.

8vo, pp. xxi, 295.

Contents: Complete list of the members of the Society in the order of their election; Memoir of Rev. William Adams and Rev. Eliphalet Adams, by F. M. Caulkins; Collections concerning the early history of the founders of New Plymouth, by Rev. Joseph Hunter; Biographical notice of Philip Vincent, by Rev. Joseph Hunter; More gleanings for New England history, by James Savage;

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Wadsworth's journal of treaty with the Five Nations at Albany, 1694; Memoir of Rev. John Robinson, by Robert Ashton; A manumission to a manuduction, by John Robinson, 1615; Good news from New-England, 1648; Strachey's account, by W. S. Bartlet; The second book of the first decade of the historie of travaile into Virginia, entreating * * * of the first colonie upon the Island of Roanoak, as also of the northern colonie, upon the River Sachadehoc, transported 1585, at the charge of Sir John Popham, gathered by William Strachey; Extract from the autobiography of Sir Symonds D'Ewes (concerning New England), 1648; Letter of Prest. Dunster, 1648; Letter from Rev. Samuel Danforth, 1720; A journal kept during the time yt Boston shut up in 1775–76, by Timothy Newell; Memoir of John Pierce, D. D., by Charles Lowell.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Fourth series, Vol. II. Boston, 1854.

8vo, pp. xv, (2), 307, (1).

Contents: Ill newes from New England, by John Clark, of Rhode Island, 1652; Letter from certain ministers and others of New England to Cromwell, upon his application to persons here to settle in Ireland; Letter from William Bradford to John Winthrop, 1645; Letter from Emanuel Downing, 1620; Supposed letter from Cotton Mather; Memoir of Rev. T. M. Harris, by N. L. Frothingham; The first Plymouth patent; Letters from Dr. William Douglass, of Boston, to Cadwallader Colden, of New York, 1720, 1735, 1736; The Dunster papers; Correspondence relating to a memoir of Hon. John Quincy Adams: Memoir of Thomas L. Winthrop; Memorials of the Whites, by L. Shattuck; The Leverett papers; Detail of the patent of Beauchamp and Leverett; Instructions to Sedgwick and Leverett by Oliver Cromwell, 1653, 1656; The Dudley papers; Correspondence between Rev. Thomas Prince and Rev. Charles Chauncy; David Trumbull to Jeremy Belknap; Memoir of Rev. Alexander Young, by Chandler Robbins; Exemplification of the judgment for vacating the charter of the Massachusetts Bay; Orders in council, 1660–61, 1692–93, Governor Bradstreet to Sir Lionel Jenkins; Increase Mather to Earl of Nottingham; Letter of Governor Joseph Dudley.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Fourth series, Vol. III. Boston, 1856.

8vo, pp. xix, (1), 476, (1).

Contents: Officers; Members; Memoir of Samuel Appleton, by S. K. Lothrop; History of Plymouth plantation, by William Bradford, now first printed from the original manuscript, edited by Charles Deane; Passengers of the *Mayflower;* Commission for regulating plantations; Verses in memory of Mrs. Alice Bradford.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Fourth series, Vol. IV. Boston, 1858.

8vo, pp. xxiij, 514.

Contents: Correspondence in 1774 and 1775 between a committee of the town of Boston and contributors of donations for the relief of sufferers by the Boston port bill; A narrative of the planting of the Massachusetts colony in 1628, published by old planters, 1694; The extinction of slavery in Massachusetts, by Emory Washburn; Letters of Thomas Cushing, from 1767 to 1775; Queries of George Chalmers, with answers of General Gage, in relation to Braddock's expedition, the stamp act, and Gage's administration of the government of Massachusetts Bay; Destruction of tea in the harbor of Boston, December 16, 1773; Letter from Samuel Adams to James Warren, 1774; Letter from Joseph Hawley to Thomas Cushing, 1775; Letters from Andrew Eliot to Thomas Hollis, 1766 1771; Notice of the Sieur d'Aulnay, of Acadie, by W. Jenks; Petition of Roger Williams to the general court of Massachusetts; A declaration of the affairs of the English people that first inhabited New England, by Phinehas Pratt; A relation of the troubles which have happened in New England, by reason of the Indians, by Increase Mather [extract]; Memoir of Nathaniel Morton Davis, by N. Mitchell; Memoir of Abbott Lawrence, by N. Appleton; Memoir of William Parsons Lunt, by Nathaniel L. Frothingham.

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MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Fourth series, Vol. V. Boston, 1861.

8vo, pp. xvi, (3), 600.

The Hinckley papers; A summary historical narrative of the wars in New England with the French and Indians, by Samuel Niles.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Fourth series, Vol. VI. Boston, 1863.

8vo, pp. xiv, 602. Eight plates.

The Winthrop papers. Part 1.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Fourth series, Vol. VII. Boston, 1865.

8vo, pp. xiv, (2), 602. Eleven plates.

The Winthrop papers. Part 2.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Fourth series, Vol. VIII. Boston, 1868.

8vo, pp. xvi, (2), 736.

The Mather papers.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Fourth series, Vol. IX. Boston, 1871.

8vo, pp. xv, (5), 488, (2).

The Aspinwall papers. Part 1.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Fourth series, Vol. X. Boston, 1871.

8vo, pp. x, (2), 489–990.

The Aspinwall papers. Part 2. Contents and index of Vols. I–X of the Fourth series.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Fifth series, Vol. I. Boston, 1871.

8vo, pp. xliv, (2), 527. Facsimiles of autographs and signatures and seals. Fifteen plates.

Members of the Society. The Winthrop papers. Part 3.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Fifth series, Vol. II. Boston, 1877.

8vo, pp. xvii, (5), 500.

The Belknap papers; Correspondence between Jeremy Belknap and Ebenezer Hazard. Part 1.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Fifth series, Vol. III. Boston, 1877.

8vo, pp. (6), 461.

The Belknap papers; Correspondence between Jeremy Belknap and Ebenezer Hazard. Part 2. Letters and documents relating to slavery in Massachusetts; Negro petitions for freedom; Brief of Levi Lincoln in the slave case tried, 1781.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Fifth series, Vol. IV. Boston, 1878.

8vo, pp. xii, (4), 530.

Centennial volume; Heath papers; Winthrop papers; Warren papers.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Fifth series, Vol. V. Boston, 1878.

8vo, pp. x, (40), 532. Portrait.

Diary of Samuel Sewall. Vol. I, 1674–1700.

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MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Fifth series, Vol. VI. Boston, 1879.

8vo, pp. ii, iv, 131, (2), 462.

A memorial of the present deplorable state of New England, 1707; A modest inquiry into the grounds and occasions of a late pamphlet intituled A memorial of the present deplorable state of New England, 1707; The deplorable state of New England by reason of a covetous and treacherous governor, 1708; Diary of Samuel Sewall, 1700–1714.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Fifth series, Vol. VII. Boston, 1882.

8vo, pp. (4), 572.

Diary of Samuel Sewall, 1714–1729.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Fifth series, Vol. VIII. Boston, 1882.

8vo, pp. xviii, 596.

The Winthrop papers. Part 4.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Fifth series, Vol. IX. Boston, 1885.

8vo, pp. xvii, 546.

The Trumbull papers. Vol. I. Miscellaneous letters of William Samuel Johnson to the governors of Connecticut; Letters of Col. Jedediah Huntington.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Fifth series, Vol. X. Boston, 1888.

8vo, pp. vi, (4), 543.

The Trumbull papers. Vol. II. Trumbull and Washington letters. Contents and general index to the Fifth series.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Sixth series, Vol. I. Boston, 1886.

8vo, pp. xxxi, (5), 424.

List of Members; Letter-book of Samuel Sewall. Vol. I, 1687–1712.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Sixth series, Vol. II. Boston, 1888.

8vo, pp. ix, (3), 377. Facsimile.

Letter-book of Samuel Sewall. Vol. II, 1712–1729.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Sixth series, Vol. III. Boston, 1889.

8vo, pp. xiii, 579. Portrait.

Winthrop papers. Part 5. Correspondence of Fitz John Winthrop.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Sixth series, Vol. IV. Boston, 1891.

8vo, pp. xviii, 648.

Contents: Officers; Members; The Belknap papers. Part 3.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Sixth series, Vol. V. Boston, 1892.

8vo, pp. xxi, 529. Facsimiles of signatures to letters contained in the volume. Portrait.

Contents: The Winthrop papers. Part 6. Correspondence of Waite Winthrop; Correspondence of John Winthrop; Brief in appeal of John Winthrop to the Privy Council.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Sixth series, Vol. VI. Boston, 1893.

8vo, pp. xxii, 535.

Contents: The Belcher papers. Part 1, 1731–1733.

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MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Sixth series, Vol. VII. Boston, 1894.

8vo, pp. xviii, 577. Portrait.

Contents: The Belcher papers. Part 2, 1733–1743.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Sixth series, Vol. VIII. Boston, 1896.

8vo, pp. xix (1), 580. Portrait of Timothy Pickering.

Contents: Officers and members, 1895; Historical index to the Pickering papers.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Historical Collections of the Indians in New England. By Daniel Gookin, gentleman. Boston, 1792.

8vo, pp. 89.

Reprinted from *Collections*, first series, Vol. I.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. An Historical Journal of the American War, 1765–1784. By Thomas Pemberton. Boston, 1793.

8vo, pp. (1), 43–246.

Reprinted from the *Collections*.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Act of incorporation, the laws and the circular letter of the Society, with an appendix. Boston, 1794.

8vo, pp. 14.

Reprinted from *Collections*, first series, Vol. IV, pp. 1–14.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. An Historical Journal of the American War. Extracted from the publications of the Massachusetts Historical Society. [By Thomas Pemberton.] Boston, 1795.

8vo, pp. (2), 206.

Reprinted from *Collections*, first series, Vol. II.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Catalogue of books in the library. Boston, 1796.

8vo, pp. 40.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Description and History of Newton, in the county of Middlesex. By Jonathan Homer. [Boston, 1798.]

8vo, pp. 28. No title-page.

Reprinted from *Collections*, first series, Vol. V.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. History of Cambridge. By Abiel Holmes. Boston, 1801.

8vo, pp. (2) 67.

Reprinted from the *Collections*, first series, Vol. VII.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. A description of the eastern coast of the county of Barnstable, from Cape Cod, or Race Point, in latitude 42° 5′, to Cape Malabar, or the Sandy Point of Chatham, in latitude 41° 33′, pointing out the spots on which the trustees of the Humane Society have erected huts. By a member of the Humane Society [James Freeman]. Boston, 1802.

8vo, pp. 15.

Reprinted from the *Collections*.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Chronological and topographical account of Dorchester. By Rev. T. M. Harris. [Boston, 1804.]

8vo, pp. 55.

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MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Memoir of the Moheagan Indians. Written in MDCCCIV. By A. Holmes. [Boston, 1804.]

8vo, pp. 27.

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MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. A Memoir of Stephen Parmenius, of Buda; with a Latin poem composed by him in MDLXXXIII, and now first translated into English. [By Abiel Holmes.] 1804.

8vo, pp. 19. [No title-page.]

Reprinted from *Collections*, first series, Vol. IX.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. An account of the several religious societies in Portsmouth, N. H., from their first establishment, and of the ministers of each, to the first of January, 1805. By Timothy Alden, jr. Boston, 1808.

8vo, pp. 40.

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MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Memoirs of Edward Tyng, esquire, of Boston, and of William Tyng, esquire, of Gorham. By T. Alden, jr. Boston, 1808.

8vo, pp. 8.

Reprinted from *Collections*, first series, Vol. X.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Catalogue of the books, pamphlets, newspapers, maps, charts, manuscripts, etc., in the library of the Society. Boston. 1811.

8vo, pp. 96, vi, (1).

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Act of incorporation, by-laws, catalogue of members, and circular letter of the Society; with a list of articles on which the Society wish for information [etc.]. Boston, 1813.

8vo, pp. 26.

Reprinted from *Collections*, second series, Vol. I.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Biographical memoir of Rev. John Lothrop. By the Rev. John Lathrop, D. D. Boston, 1813.

8vo, pp. 18.

Reprinted from *Collections*, second series, Vol. I, pp. 163–178.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Memoir towards a character of Rev. John Eliot, S. T. D., prepared for the Massachusetts Historical Society and published in their Collections. By one of the members [Joseph McKean]. Boston, 1813.

8vo, pp. 40.

Reprinted from *Collections*, second series, Vol. I.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Bacon's Rebellion. [Boston, 1813.]

8vo, pp. 56.

Reprinted from *Collections*, second series, Vol. I.

A second edition, edited by Charles Deane, with notes, was published in the *Proceedings* for August, 1866, and also separately in 1867.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Order of services XXII December, MDCCCXIII, at King's Chapel, Boston, in commemoration of the landing of the forefathers. [Boston, 1813].

8vo, pp. 4.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Discourse before the Society, December 22, 1813. At their anniversary commemoration of the first landing of our ancestors at Plymouth, in 1620. By John Davis. Boston, 1814.

8vo, pp. 31.

Reprinted from *Collections*, second series, Vol. I.

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MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Historical Collections. [Circular asking for subscriptions to the Collections.] [Boston], 1814.
Sheet reprinted from *Collections*, second series, Vol. II.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. An historical sketch of Charlestown, in the county of Middlesex, and Commonwealth of Massachusetts. By Josiah Bartlett. Boston, 1814.
8vo, pp. 24.
Reprinted from *Collections*, second series, Vol. II. Reprinted in 1880.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Hubbard's History of New England. [Circular relative to subscriptions for proposed publication.] Cambridge, 1814.
Sheet.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. A general history of New England, from the discovery to 1680. By the Rev. William Hubbard, minister, of Ipswich, Mass. Cambridge, 1815.
8vo, pp. VI (8) 7–676.
Reprinted from *Collections*.
Another edition was published in 1848, edited by W. T. Harris.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Notices of the life of Benjamin Lincoln. [Boston, 1815.]
8vo, pp. 23. No title-page.
Reprinted from *Collections*, second series, Vol. III. Signed P. C. (Peleg Coffin?).

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. An historical sketch of Haverhill, in the county of Essex. With biographical notices. [By Leverett Saltonstall.] Boston, 1816.
8vo, pp. (1) 56 (1).
From *Collections*, second series, Vol. IV.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Annals of New England. By Thomas Prince. Vol. II, No. 1–[3]. Boston, 1818.
8vo, pp. (2) 96 (1).
From *Collections*, second series, Vol. VII.
An edition of the Annals complete was published in 1826 by Nathan Hale; a third edition of thirty copies, by Samuel G. Drake, was published in 1852.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Memoir of Hon. William Tudor. [By William Tudor, jr.] [Boston, 1819.]
8vo, pp. 41. [No title-page.]
Reprinted from *Collections*, second series, Vol. VIII.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Sketch of the life and character of Caleb Gannett. [Boston, 1819.]
8vo, pp. 9. [No title-page.]
Reprinted from the *Collections*.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. An historical sketch of Amherst, in the county of Hillsborough, in New Hampshire. From the first settlement to the present period. Amherst, 1820.
8vo, pp. 35.
Reprinted from the *Collections* for 1814. Sabin notes an edition of 1816.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Circular letter of the Society, respectfully addressed, in 1794, by J. Belknap, then corresponding secretary, to every gentleman of science in America. [Boston, 1822.]
4to, pp. 3.
Reprinted from *Collections*, second series, Vol. I.

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MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. A Grammar of the Massachusetts Indian Language. By John Eliot. A new edition: with notes and observations, by Peter S. Du Ponceau, LL. D., and an introduction and supplementary observations, by John Pickering. As published in the Massachusetts Historical Collections. Boston, 1822.

8vo, pp. 28, 3–66. 1vi.

Reprinted from *Collections*, second series, Vol. IX.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Obituary notice of Prof. [W. D.] Peck. [By D. A. Tyng.] [Boston, 1822.]

8vo, pp. 10.

Reprinted from *Collections*, second series, Vol. X.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Observations on the Language of the Muhhekaneew Indians. By Jonathan Edwards, D. D. A new edition: with notes, by John Pickering, as published in the Massachusetts Historical Collections. Boston, 1823.

8vo, pp. 82.

An edition was published in 1843.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Memoir of the French Protestants, who settled at Oxford, in Massachusetts, A. D. MDCLXXXVI; with a sketch of the entire history of the Protestants of France. By Abiel Holmes. Cambridge, 1826.

8vo, pp. 1v, 84.

Memoir presented to the Society, and afterwards published in *Collections*, third series, Vol. II.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Vocabulary of the Massachusetts (or Natick) Indian language. By Josiah Cotton. Cambridge, 1829.

8vo, pp. 112.

Reprinted from the *Collections*, third series, Vol. II. Some copies have original pagination, 147–257.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Biographical notice of the late Hon. Dudley Atkins Tyng. By John Lowell. [Boston, 1830.]

8vo, pp. 17.

From the *Collections*, third series, Vol. II.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Circular asking for aid in the purchase of a building. [Boston, 1832.]

8vo, sheet.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Laws and regulations. Revised and reported by the standing committee, pursuant to a vote of the Society, April 25, 1833. Cambridge, 1833.

8vo, pp. 8.

Reprinted from *Collections*, third series, Vol. IV.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Memoir of Rev. John Allyn, D. D. By Convers Francis. [Boston, 1836.]

8vo, pp. 8. No title-page.

Reprinted from *Collections*, third series, Vol. V.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. A briefe narration of the originall undertakings of the advancement of plantations into the parts of America. Especially showing the beginning, progress, and continuance of that of New England. Written by the Right Worshipfull Sir Ferdinando Gorges. London, 1658. Reprinted, Boston, 1837.

8vo, pp. —.

Reprinted from *Collections*, third series, Vol. VI, pp. 45–73.

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MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Historical sketch of Amherst, in the county of Hillsborough, N. H., from its first settlement to 1837. By John Farmer. Second edition. Concord, N. H., 1837.

8vo, pp. 52.

Reprinted from *Collections* for 1814.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. List of portraits in the hall of the Society. [Boston, 1838.]

8vo, pp. 285–291.

Reprinted from *Collections*, third series, Vol. VII.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Historical account of Massachusetts currency. By Joseph B. Felt. Boston, 1839.

8vo, pp. 259.

"Enlargement of two lectures delivered at the request of the Massachusetts Historical Society."

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Gleanings for New England history. By James Savage. [Boston, 1843.]

8vo, pp. 106. No title-page.

Reprinted from *Collections*, third series, Vol. VIII.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The New England Confederacy of MDCXLIII. Discourse before the Society, May 29, 1843, in celebration of the second centennial anniversary of that event. By John Quincy Adams. Boston, 1843.

8vo, pp. 47.

Reprinted from *Collections*, third series, Vol. IX.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Remarks on the early laws of Massachusetts Bay; with the code adopted in the year 1641, and called the Body of Liberties, now first printed. By Francis C. Gray. Boston, 1843.

8vo, pp. 49.

Reprinted from the *Collections*.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The Jenks family. Copy of a letter to Alonzo Lewis, intended for use in preparing the second edition of his history of that town. By William Jenks. [Boston, 1844.]

8vo, pp. 6. No title-page.

Communicated to the Society, September 26, 1844, and in July, 1855, printed in *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, from which it was reprinted.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Rules adopted April, 1844.

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MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Memoir of James Grahame, LL. D., author of the History of the United States. Originally prepared for the *Collections*. By Josiah Quincy. Boston, 1845.

8vo, pp. 51.

Reprinted from *Collections*, third series, Vol. IX.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Memoirs of the Pilgrims at Leyden. By George Sumner. Cambridge, 1845.

8vo, pp. 35. Lithograph.

From the *Collections*, third series, Vol. IX.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Memoir of Gamaliel Bradford, M. D. By Convers Francis. [Boston, 1846.]

pp. 7. No title-page.

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MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Notice of the life of Hon. Leverett Saltonstall. [Boston, 1846.]

8vo, pp. 9. No title-page.

Reprinted from the *Collections*, third series, Vol. IX.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. A general history of New England from the discovery to MDCLXXX. By the Rev. William Hubbard, minister of Ipswich, Mass. Second edition collated with the original MS. Boston, 1848.

8vo, pp. vi, (14), xvii, 7–768.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Memoir of Hon. John Davis, LL. D. First published in the Collections of the Society. By Convers Francis, D. D. Cambridge, 1848.

8vo, pp. 20.

Reprinted from the *Collections*.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Memoir of Hon. John Pickering, LL. D. First published in the Collections. By W. H. Prescott. Cambridge, 1848.

8vo, pp. 27.

Reprinted from *Collections*, third series, Vol. X.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Memoir of William Lincoln. First published in the Collections of the Society. By Joseph Willard. Cambridge, 1848.

8vo, pp. 13.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Memoir of the Rev. William Adams, of Delham, and of Rev. Eliphalet Adams, of New London, Conn. By Miss F. M. Caulkins. Cambridge, 1849.

8vo, pp. 5–49.

Reprinted from *Collections*, fourth series, Vol. I.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Memorials of the Whites. [Read by Lemuel Shattuck before the Society, October 31, 1850.] [Boston, 1851.]

8vo, pp. 215–220. No title-page.

From the *Collections*, fourth series, Vol. II.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Act of incorporation and by-laws. [Boston,] 1853.

8vo, pp. 12.

Reprinted from *Collections*, fourth series, Vol. II.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Circular letter asking for coöperation in the collection and preservation of copies of all the Journals of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts which were printed from 1715 to 1780. Boston, 1854.

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MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The first Plymouth patent; granted June 1, 1621. Now first printed from the original manuscript. Edited by Charles Deane. Cambridge, 1854.

8vo, pp. 16, large paper.

One hundred copies.

Reprinted from *Collections*. Four copies were printed on vellum, which Mr. Winsor says was the earliest instance of book printing on that material in the United States. One copy was printed on old paper. The vellum copies were given to friends by Mr. Deane: one to James Lenox, one to Edw. A. Crowninshield (sold at the Menzies' sale for $51), one to George Livermore (Libbie sale, $31), and one was retained by Mr. Deane.

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MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Memoir of John Pierce, D. D. Communicated by Charles Lowell. [Boston, 1854.]
8vo, pp. 277–295.
Reprinted from *Collections*, fourth series, Vol. I.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Memoir of Rev. Thaddeus Mason Harris, D. D. By Nathaniel L. Frothingham. From the Collections of the Society, fourth series, Vol. II. Cambridge, 1854.
8vo, pp. 28.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Memoir of Rev. Thaddeus Mason Harris. By N. L. Frothingham. From the Collections of the Society, fourth series, Vol. II. Cambridge, 1855.
8vo, pp. 28.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Proceedings of the Society [at the annual meeting], April 12, 1855. Boston, 1885.
8vo, pp. 15.
Reprinted from *Proceedings*, April, 1855.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Catalogue of the private library of Thomas Dowse, presented to the Society, July 30, 1856. Boston, 1856.
8vo, pp. (2), 214.
Twenty-five copies printed for private distribution.
Same. Boston, 1870. 8vo, (2), pp. 214.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. History of Plymouth Plantation. By William Bradford, the second governor of the colony. Edited, with notes, by Charles Deane. Now first printed from the original manuscript, for the Society. Boston, 1856.
8vo, pp. xix (1), 476.
Fifty copies reprinted from *Collections*, fourth series, Vol. III.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Memoir of the Hon. Abbott Lawrence, prepared for the Society, by Nathaniel Appleton. Boston, 1856.
8vo, pp. 21.
Reprinted from *Proceedings*, Vol. III, and *Collections*, fourth series, Vol. IV.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The Washington chair, presented to the Society by Benjamin R. Winthrop. [Boston, 1856.]
8vo, pp. 7. Plate.
Reprinted from *Proceedings*, November, 1856.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Act of incorporation, with the additional acts and by-laws. Boston, 1857.
8vo, pp. 19.
Reprinted from *Collections*, fourth series, Vol. IV.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Bibliographical essay on Governor Hutchinson's historical publications. By Charles Deane. Boston, 1857.
Square 16mo, pp. 39.
Fifty copies printed. Also in *Proceedings*, Vol. III.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Report of the proceedings at the annual meeting of the Society. Address of R. C. Winthrop, and the remarks of E. Everett, with a description of the Dowse library. Boston, 1857.
8vo, pp. 8.
Reprinted from *Proceedings*, April, 1857.

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MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. A declaration of the affairs of the English people that first inhabited New England. By Phinehas Pratt. Edited, with notes, by Richard Frothingham, jr. Boston, 1858.

8vo, pp. 20.

One hundred copies reprinted from the *Collections*, fourth series, Vol. IV.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Memoir of William Parsons Lunt, D. D., by N. L. Frothingham. [Boston, 1858.]

Reprinted from the *Collections*, fourth series, Vol. IV, pp. 8. No title-page. 8vo.

Same. Boston, 1858. 12mo., pp. 16.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Memorial [to the legislature against allowing the adoption of the name of New England Historical and Genealogical Society by the Historic-Genealogical Society]. February 8, 1858. [Boston, 1858.]

4to., pp. 3.

Reprinted from *Proceedings*, February, 1858.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Speech of Josiah Quincy, delivered in February, 1858, before the committee of the Massachusetts legislature, to whom was referred the petition of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, for a change of their corporate name, and the remonstrance of the Massachusetts Historical Society. [Boston, 1858.]

8vo, pp. 8. No title-page.

Reprinted from *Proceedings*, March, 1858.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Annual report of the treasurer, year ending April, 1859–April, 1877. [Boston, 1859–1877.]

8vo, 19 sheets.

Same. April, 1878–March 31, 1885. [Boston, 1878–1885.] 7 ppbs. 8vo.

All but 1875 reprinted from *Proceedings*.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Catalogue of the library of the Society. Boston, 1859, 1860.

8vo, 2 vols.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The Dowse Library. Proceedings of the Society relating to the donations from Thomas Dowse; with the eulogy by Edward Everett. Boston, 1859.

8vo, pp. v, 80. Portraits. Plate.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Eulogy on Thomas Dowse, pronounced before the Society, 9th Dec., 1858. By E. Everett. With the introductory address by R. C. Winthrop, and an appendix. Boston, 1859.

8vo, pp. 82. Portraits.

Reprinted from *Proceedings*, December, 1858.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Paper read before the Society, January, 1859. By C. H. Warren. [Boston, 1859.]

8vo, pp. 6.

Reprinted from *Proceedings*, January, 1859.

"In regard to the origin of the uniform of the Continental Army."

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Proceedings, 1791–1890. Vols. I–XX. Second series, Vols. I–V. Boston, 1859–1890.

8vo, 25 vols.

Vol. I, comprising the years 1791–1835, and Vol. II, 1835–1855, were issued in 1879 and 1880, respectively. Vol. III, 1855–1858, published in 1859. The contents of the succeeding volumes are as follows: (4) 1858–1860; (5) 1860–1862; (6) 1862–63;

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(7) 1863–64; (8) 1864–65; (9) 1866–67; (10) 1867–1869; (11) 1869–70; (12) 1871–1873; (13) 1873–1875; (14) 1875–76; (15) 1876–77; (16) 1878; (17) 1879–80; (18) 1880–81; (19) 1881–82; (20) 1882–83.

Second series: (1) 1884–85; (2) 1885–86; (3) 1886–87; (4) 1887–1889; (5) 1889–90.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Proceedings. Second series, Vol. VI, 1890–91. Boston, 1891.

8vo, pp. xx, 538. Portraits. Photographs. Facsimiles of "White Hills" map.

Contents: Remarks on Thomas Lyon, his family, and connections, by R. C. Winthrop, jr.; Papers relating to Capt. Thomas Lawrence's company, 1758, by Samuel A. Green; Remarks by W. S. Appleton on a Columbus pamphlet and a portrait of Washington; Indian hemp, by H. W. Haynes; English exiles in Amsterdam, 1597–1625, by H. M. Dexter; John Dickinson, by G. E. Ellis; Jeremiah Morrow and Samuel F. Vinton, by R. C. Winthrop; Journal of Ebenezer Wild, 1776–1781; Letters of Louis de Masquerelle and Bernard M. Lamarquisie, 1789–1797; Letter of Lafayette, April 12, 1782; Remarks on a file of the Boston News-Letter, with notes by Judge Sewall, by Samuel A. Green; Remarks on the death of Henry M. Dexter; Remarks on Otis's argument against the writs of assistance, by Samuel A. Green; Memoir of Robert B. Forbes, by L. Saltonstall; Bibliography of the Society's publications, by S. A. Green; Letter of William Coffin, jr., 1746; Daniel Leonard, by M. Chamberlain; Letter from Justin Winsor on the Winthrop map of New England; Memoir of Richard H. Dana, by C. F. Adams; Centennial commemoration of the Society; Remarks on the death of Charles Devens; of George Bancroft; The inscriptions on Cabot's Mappe-Monde, by C. C. Smith; Subscription paper for a public dinner on the two hundredth anniversary of the settlement of Boston, by S. A. Green; Remarks on the death of Samuel C. Cobb; Papers relating to the building of Fort Dummer, by E. C. Smyth; Copy of the first letter of Columbus, communicated by W. W. Goodwin; Remarks on Aristotle's treatise on the constitution of Athens, by W. W. Goodwin; Memorandum of Samuel Sewall, by A. C. Goodel, jr.; Letter of Francis Parkman, accompanying a gift of historical manuscripts; Remarks on an anonymous Indian tract, "The Day-Breaking," by S. A. Green; Record of marriage of John Hancock and Dorothy Quincy; The authorship of Massachusettensis and of the preface to Wood's New England's Prospect, by M. Chamberlain; Letter of Anne Higginson, and one of Thomas Hooker; Muster roll for the Canada expedition of 1760; Memorial of Capt. Charles Cochrane, by M. Chamberlain; Memoir of Rev. James Walker, by O. B. Frothingham; Paper on the Loyal petitions of 1666, by W. S. Appleton; Church discipline in colonial New England, by C. F. Adams; Paper on the New England Courant, by S. A. Green.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Proceedings. Second series, Vol. VII, 1891–2. Boston, 1892.

8vo, pp. xx, 487.

Portraits: Charles Deane, Thomas Aspinwall, Francis W. Palfrey, Henry M. Dexter, Charles Devens, Samuel C. Cobb, Augustus T. Perkins; Photogravure: Section of Waters-Winthrop map; Facsimile of a deed of Governor Winthrop.

Contents: Preface; Officers, 1892; Members; Proceedings of the Society from October, 1891, to June, 1892; Remarks on the death of James Russell Lowell, by George E. Ellis, Charles Francis Adams, E. R. Hoar, and H. E. Scudder; Paper on Horace Walpole on America, by R. C. Winthrop; Remarks, in communicating a Latin letter of Samuel Winthrop to John Winthrop, 1645, and a fragment of an anonymous letter, by R. C. Winthrop, jr.; Account of visits to Dartmoor prison, and to Peter O. Hutchinson, by Edward L. Pierce; Description of three Dutch medals of 1782 relating to the United States, by S. R. Thayer; The site of the Wessagusset [Weymouth] settlement, by C. F. Adams; Memoir of Col. Thomas Aspinwall, by Charles C. Smith; Memoir of Francis Winthrop Palfrey, by John C. Ropes; Memoir of Charles Deane, LL. D., by Justin Winsor; Memoir of Henry Martyn Dexter, DD., LL. D., by John E. Sanford; Memoir of Charles Devens, LL. D., by John C. Ropes; List of memoirs in the Collections of the Society, by Samuel A. Green; Governor Winthrop's estate, by Mellen Chamberlain; Diary of Lawrence Hammond, of Charlestown and Boston, 1687–88–1691, with remarks by Samuel A. Green; The genesis of the Massachusetts town, and the develop-

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ment of town-meeting government, by Charles Francis Adams, with letter from Abner C. Goodell, jr.; Remarks by Mellen Chamberlain and Dr. Edward Channing; Diary of a journey from Charlottesville, Va., to the junction of the Ohio and the Wabash rivers in 1836, by Lucian Minor; Remarks on Copley's portrait of Paul Revere, by George B. Chase; Remarks by Robert C. Winthrop upon Thomas Adams, who impersonated Charles II in Connecticut in 1652; The results in Europe of Cartier's explorations, 1542–1603, by Justin Winsor; Remarks of Dr. Samuel A. Green upon two recent gifts to the Society; Memoir of Hon. Samuel Crocker Cobb, by James M. Bugbee; Remarks on the death of John G. Shea and George W. Cullum; Remarks on the Waters-Winthrop map, by Samuel A. Green; Diary of Ezra Stiles of a journey on horseback from New Haven to Philadelphia in 1754. * * * A few more words about Leif Ericson and Norse sagas, by Henry W. Haynes; Remarks in communicating some extracts from unpublished letters of Jedediah Huntington and Joshua Huntington on events in Boston preceding the evacuation in 1776, by Roger Wolcott; Remarks on the formation of boards of selectmen, by L. R. Paige; Remarks on Fitch's map of the Northwest Territory, 1785, by Justin Winsor; Reports of officers; Diary of Eli Forbes of Brookfield, 1762; Diary of Rev. Benjamin Boardman during part of the siege of Boston, July 31–November 12, 1775; Remarks by Samuel A. Green on presenting a letter written by John Tully in 1694; Remarks on the voyage of Capt. Robert Gray in the ship *Columbia*, 1792, by E. G. Porter; Remarks on the death of Edward A. Freeman, by William Everett; Memoir of Augustus T. Perkins, by William H. Whitmore; Letter of Lieut. John Whiting from Orangetown, September 29, 1780, reciting the treason of Arnold and capture of André, with remarks by S. F. McCleary; Letter of Robert Johnson, Boston, June 21, 1801: * * * ; Index.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Second series, Vol. VIII, 1892–1894. Boston, 1894.

pp. xx, 581. Portraits: Robert C. Waterston, Henry W. Longfellow, Henry W. Foote, Fitch E. Oliver, Francis Parkman. Facsimiles of the Maiollo map; Facsimile of Rufus Putnam's map of a part of Worcester County.

Contents: Preface; Officers, 1894; Members; Proceedings, October, 1892–March, 1894; Remarks on the discovery of the fifth satellite of Jupiter, by R. C. Winthrop; Diary of John Winthrop, jr., on a journey from Boston to Connecticut and return, November 11, 1645–December 5, 1645, with remarks by R. C. Winthrop, jr., and some papers relating to the iron works at Braintree; The Spanish discovery of America, by Charles Francis Adams; Remarks of Samuel A. Green on facsimile reproductions of single numbers of early newspapers; Remarks on the death of Fitch Edward Oliver; Remarks in communicating some original letters from the Bowdoin papers, by R. C. Winthrop, jr.; Instructions to Daniel Henchman, commander-in-chief of the forces raised against the Indians, 1676, by W. P. Upham; The anticipations of Cartier's voyages, 1492–1534, by Justin Winsor; Remarks on the death of Phillips Brooks; Remarks in communicating the instructions for Joseph Dudley as governor of New Hampshire, by R. C. Winthrop, jr.; Remarks on the transfer of the Massachusetts charter, by Mellen Chamberlain; Remarks on the Diary of Ebenezer Miller, of Quincy, 1777–1799, by Charles Francis Adams; Hugh Peter in literature, by W. S. Appleton; Remarks on the Talcott papers and the Winthrop-Lechmere case, by Mellen Chamberlain; Remarks on a portrait of Increase Mather, by Samuel A. Green; Memoir of Henry W. Longfellow, by Horace E. Scudder; The Indian name "Nonacoicus," by Samuel A. Green; Diary of Samuel Sewall, and Diary of Samuel Sewall, jr.; Chart of Boston harbor, 1688–89 (?), by A. C. Goodell, jr., also remarks on the case of William Rous and others, 1706; Memoirs of Rev. Henry W. Foote, by Winslow Warren; Lines on the removal of Rev. Horace Holley; Paper on the proper designation of Harvard College or Harvard University, by George S. Hale; Remarks of Hamilton A. Hill on the significance of certain initials on one of the corner stones of the Old South meeting house; Remarks on the censorship of the press in Massachusetts, by A. C. Goodell, jr.; Remarks on the death of Abbott Lawrence and Edwin L. Bynner; The literary services of Jared Sparks; Remarks on Rufus Putnam's map of a part of Worcester

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County, 1785, by Samuel A. Green; Remarks on the recovery of the seals attached to the first Plymouth patent, by Arthur Lord; Memoir of R. C. Waterston, by J. P. Quincy; Remarks on the death of Francis Parkman; The World's Fair at Chicago, by C. F. Adams; The formation and growth of the Society's Library, by Samuel A. Green; Letters from Increase Mather to Anthony Wood; Special meeting on the death of Francis Parkman; Remarks on some original papers relating to Rev. John Wheelwright, and on Massachusetts, its historians and its history, by R. C. Winthrop, jr.; Letters from Emmanuel Downing to Sir John Coke; Remarks on two elegies by Benjamin Tompson, by Samuel A. Green; Tribute to Henry W. Torrey; Remarks on Massachusetts and its history, by C. F. Adams; Remarks on the alleged ill treatment of Captain Fenton's wife and daughter, by Samuel A. Green; Translation of several letters from Pero Menendez de Aviles to the King of Spain, written from August 13, 1565, to January 30, 1566, giving a report of his expedition for the conquest and settlement of Florida; Remarks in communicating an original letter from New England, written in 1631, by R. C. Winthrop, jr.; Memoir of Fitch Edward Oliver, by E. F. Slafter; Remarks on the character of Emmanuel Downing, by R. C. Winthrop, jr.; Copies of original records relating to John Wheelwright; Memoirs of Francis Parkman, by O. B. Frothington; Index.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Proceedings. Second series, Vol. IX, 1894–95. Boston, 1895.

8vo, pp. xviii, 570. Portraits. Facsimiles.

Contents: Officers and members; Remarks of Samuel A. Green in communicating some verses relating to the events of 1775, and a letter from John Winslow; Verses of Samuel Sewall "Upon the drying of that ancient river, the River Merrymak;" "Connecticut's flood, or Merrymak's ebb," 1719–20; Letter of Jonathan Belcher to William Brattle, 1747–48; Findings of the Grand Jury of Middlesex County, from May 15, 1753, to March 15, 1754; A journal from August 5 to December 13, 1775, kept by Lieut. Jabez Fitch, jr., of Harwich, at the siege of Boston; Remarks of Samuel A. Green in communicating a list of the junior members of the Society; Documents from the Suffolk court files relating to Harvard College, 1672–1677; Frederick Fraley, by H. A. Hill; Remarks of Mellen Chamberlain, with regard to a contribution in aid of the people of South Carolina and Georgia, 1781; Remarks on a rare French play, "La Bohemienne," by E. G. Porter; Some notes on the anniversary meetings of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, Alpha of Massachusetts, 1803–1848, by John Pierce; Sketch of President Kirkland, by John Pierce; Remarks on the death of Oliver Wendell Holmes; Remarks by S. A. Green in presenting some rare German prints of New York and Quebec; Memoir of Edward L. Bynner, by Barnett Wendell; The earliest printed sources of New England history, by Justin Winsor; MS. plans of Dunstable and neighborhood, by J. Danforth; Memoirs of Henry W. Torrey, by W. W. Goodwin; Remarks on the death of Robert C. Winthrop; On the death of George E. Ellis; Letter from Ebenezer R. Hoar, presenting a lock of the hair of President Lincoln; Michael Wigglesworth and the Day of Doom, by Samuel A. Green; Memoir of Henry Wheatland, by William P. Upham; Death of Ebenezer R. Hoar; Remarks by Henry F. Jenks in communicating some original letters by Isaac Watts; Early American imprints belonging to the Society, by Samuel A. Green.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Proceedings, 1858–1860. Selected from the records. Specimen. Boston, 1859.

8vo, pp. (1) 21.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Proceedings of the Society in respect to the memory of William Hickling Prescott, February 1, 1859. Boston, 1859.

8vo, pp. 53.

Reprinted from *Proceedings*, February, 1859.

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MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Naturalization in the American colonies, with more particular reference to Massachusetts. Paper read before the Society at the July meeting, 1859. By Joseph Willard. Boston, 1859.

8vo, pp. 30.

Reprinted from *Proceedings*, July 1859.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Rosier's narrative of Waymouth's voyage to the coast of Maine in 1605, complete. With remarks by George Prince, showing the river explored to have been the Georges River; together with a map of the same and the adjacent islands. Reprint from the Collections of the Society. Bath [Me.], 1860.

8vo, pp. 45.

Reprinted from *Collections*, third series, Vol. VIII.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Report of the committee appointed to consider and report what measures should be taken by the Society in respect to publishing papers read and proceedings at meetings. Boston, 1860.

4to, pp. 2.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Circular letters from a committee, asking for aid in the collection of works illustrating the history of the civil war. Boston, 1861. .

1 page, sheet.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Papers discussing the comparative merits of Prescott's and Wilson's Histories, pro and con, as laid before the Society, by George Ticknor, Prescott's proposed biographer; also, three letters of Prescott, commending Wilson's historical research. Boston, 1861.

8vo, pp. 6. No title-page.

Reprinted from the *Proceedings*.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Memoir of Hon. Nathan Appleton, LL. D. Prepared agreeably to a resolution of the Society. By Robert C. Winthrop. With an introduction and appendix. Boston, 1861.

8vo, pp. (4), 79. Portrait. Reprinted from the *Proceedings*, October, 1861.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Report of a committee appointed by the Society on exchanges of prisoners during the American Revolutionary War. Presented December 19, 1861. Boston, 1861.

8vo, pp. 26. From *Proceedings*, December, 1861.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. An historical research respecting the opinions of the founders of the Republic on negroes as slaves, as citizens, and as soldiers. Read before the Society, August 14, 1862. By George Livermore. Boston, 1862.

8vo, pp. 14, (2), 236.

Pages 217–236 contain supplementary note and index, to be added to the first edition of "An Historical Research, by George Livermore." Reprinted from *Proceedings*, August, 1862.

The supplementary note was published separately without title-page or date. Fifty copies were issued on large paper. Five editions of the work without the supplementary notes were published, as follows: Second edition, Boston, A. Williams & Co., 1862, 8vo, pp. xviii, (2), 184. Third edition, published for the New

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England Loyal Publication Society, 1863. Fourth edition, Boston, A. Williams & Co., 1863, 8vo, pp. xviii, (2), 184. Fifth edition, same imprint and number of pages. Also as below (next title).

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. An historical research respecting the opinions of the founders of the Republic on negroes as slaves, as citizens, and as soldiers. Read before the Society, August 14, 1863. By George Livermore. Fifth edition. Boston, 1863.

4to, pp. xviii, (2), 184, large paper. Fifty copies on large paper.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Medical directions written for Governor Winthrop, by Ed: Stafford, of London, in 1643. With notes, by O. W. Holmes. Boston, 1862.

8vo, pp. 23.

Reprinted from the *Proceedings* of the Society, February, 1862.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Memoir of Nathaniel Ingersoll Bowditch. Prepared agreeably to a resolution of the Society. By S. K. Lothrop. Boston, 1862.

8vo, pp. 15. Portrait.

From *Proceedings*, March, 1862.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Memoir of Hon. Samuel Hoar; prepared agreeably to a resolution of the Massachusetts Historical Society. By William Minot. Boston, 1862.

8vo, pp. 8.

From *Proceedings*, January, 1862.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. List of the printed maps of Boston. Nathaniel B. Shurtleff. Boston: February, 1863.

8vo, pp. 8.

From *Proceedings*, June, 1862, and April, 1864.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Memoir of Rev. Charles Mason, D. D. Prepared agreeably to a resolution of the Society. By A. P. Peabody. With an appendix. Boston, 1863.

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Portraits not found in all copies.

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Same. 1864. [Boston, 1864.]
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Valedictory address on retiring from the office of president of the Society, February 7, 1866, by Winslow Lewis, M. D. Appended proceedings. pp. 23.

An address at the annual meeting, January 2, 1867, by John A. Andrew, LL. D., president of the Society. To which is added a report of the proceedings at said meeting. pp. 11, (1).

Address of Marshall P. Wilder, president of the Society, at the annual meeting, January 1, 1868, and at a special meeting, January 16. To which are appended reports of the proceedings at these meetings. pp. 15, (1).

Address of Marshall P. Wilder, president of the Society, at the annual meeting, January 6, 1869. To which is appended a report of the proceedings at that meeting. pp. 10, (2).

Address of Marshall P. Wilder, president of the Society, at the annual meeting, January 5, 1870. To which is appended a report of the proceedings at that meeting, a list of life members, and the constitution and by-laws of the Society. pp. 26, (2).

Address of Marshall P. Wilder, president of the Society, at the annual meeting, January 4, 1871. To which are appended the proceedings at that meeting and a list of the honorary and life members. pp. 36.

Proceedings at the annual meeting, January 3, 1872. pp. 38.

Address of Marshall P. Wilder, president of the Society, and the other proceedings at the annual meeting, January 1, 1873. Boston, 1873. pp. 44.

Proceedings at the annual meeting, January 7, 1874. Boston, 1874. pp. 48.

Proceedings at the annual meeting, January 6, 1875. Boston, 1875. pp. 52.

Proceedings at the annual meeting, January 5, 1876. Boston, 1876. pp. 68.

Proceedings at the annual meeting, January 3, 1877. With lists of present members, and of officers from 1845 to 1877. Boston, 1877. pp. 64.

Proceedings at the annual meeting, January 2, 1878. Boston, 1878. pp. 46.

Proceedings at the annual meeting, January 1, 1879. Boston, 1879. pp. 45.

Proceedings at the annual meeting, January 7, 1880. Boston, 1880. pp. 47.

Proceedings at the annual meeting, January 5, 1881. Boston, 1881. pp. 56.

Pages 27–36 contain E. F. Slafter's report on the Knox manuscripts.

Proceedings at the annual meeting, January 4, 1882. Boston, 1882. pp. 46.

Proceedings at the annual meeting, January 3, 1883. Boston, 1883. pp. 48.

Proceedings at the annual meeting, January 2, 1884. Boston, 1884. pp. 42.

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Pages 20–25 contain report on governors' chairs, by E. F. Slafter.

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The Simancas map, by B. F. De Costa; Societies and their proceedings; * * * Rev. Thomas Ricker Lambert, D. D., by J. Ward Denny; Gen. Nathaniel Peabody, by W. C. Todd; Inscriptions in the old Protestant Graveyard at St. Augustine, Fla., by B. F. Leeds; Will of Mrs. Margaret Hawtayne, daughter of Lawrence Washington, by G. H. Hawtayne; Letter of Robert Washington, 1775; The Aspinwall family of Muddy River, now Brookline, Mass., by E. A. Bowen; Parentage of Rev. Nicholas Street, of New Haven, Conn., by J. Henry Lea; Batchelder wills; Thomas French, of Guilford, Conn., by B. C. Steiner; Frenches of Ipswich, by A. D. Weld French; Robert Williams, of Roxbury; * * * Memoir of Jeremiah Colburn, A. M., by J. Ward Dean; Thomas Venner, the Boston wine-cooper and Fifth-monarchy man, by C. E. Banks; Griffith Bowen, of Boston, by Edward Augustus Bowen; A contribution to the early history of Stonington, Conn., by G. A. Gordon; Petition to Congress in 1819 to have the laws printed in the Hampden Patriot, published at Springfield, Mass.; John Monsall, of Woburn, by W. R. Cutter; Dover, N. H., documents, by J. S. H. Fogg; Kittery, Me., document, 1755; Records of the Jones family, by N. J. Herrick; Company of artillery commanded by Hamilton, 1776, by W. C. Ford; Remick genealogy; Obituary of the Rev. Thomas Hubbard, 1773; Index of persons; Index of places.

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NEW-ENGLAND HISTORIC GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY. Memoir of the Rev. Edward Robinson, D. D., LL. D. By Mary Augusta Robinson. Reprinted, by permission, from the fifth volume of *Memorial Biographies* of the New-England Historic Genealogical Society. Cambridge, 1895.

8vo, pp. 11.

NEW-ENGLAND HISTORIC GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY. A needed correction in the pedigree of the Cotton family as given by Mr. Savage, Mr. Libby, and some others. [By Henry Williams.] [Boston, 1895.]

8vo, pp. 3.

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NEW-ENGLAND HISTORIC GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY. Oration delivered before the New-England Historic Genealogical Society, April 19, 1895, to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary. By Charles Carleton Coffin, A. M., with addresses by William Claflin, LL.D., the President; George F. Hoar, LL.D., and Curtis Guild, and a poem by Oliver B. Stebbins. Boston, 1895.

8 vo, pp. 42.

96. *NEW ENGLAND METHODIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Boston, Mass.

NEW ENGLAND METHODIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Transactions. Nos. 1, 2. Boston, 1859, 1861.

8vo, 2 vols.

CONTENTS.

No. 1. Introduction of Methodism into Boston. A discourse at the formation of the Society, February 28, 1859. By S. W. Coggeshall. 1859, pp. 53.

No. 2. History of the North Russell Street Methodist Episcopal Church and Sabbath school; with a brief account of St. John's Church at the Odeon. Edited by D. S. King. 1861. 8vo, pp. 99.

97. *NEW ENGLAND METHODIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Boston, Mass. (*A different society from the foregoing.*)

NEW ENGLAND METHODIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Proceedings at the first annual meeting, January 17, 1881. Boston, 1881.

8vo, pp. 24.

NEW ENGLAND METHODIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Proceedings at the second annual meeting, January 16, 1882. Boston, 1882.

8vo, pp. 32.

NEW ENGLAND METHODIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Proceedings at the third annual meeting, January 15, 1883. Boston, 1883.

8vo, pp. 31.

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NEW ENGLAND METHODIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Proceedings of the fourth annual meeting, January 21, 1884. Boston, 1884.

8vo, pp. 32.

Contains annual address of Rev. Daniel Dorchester on "Methodism in New England; the struggle of its introduction and its growth."

NEW ENGLAND METHODIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Proceedings of the Society at the fifth annual meeting, January 19, 1885. Boston, 1885.

8vo, pp. 36.

Contains reports of officers and the annual address by W. R. Clark, "Three reasons why we should recount the history of Methodism."

NEW ENGLAND METHODIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Proceedings at the sixth annual meeting, January 18, 1886. Boston, 1886.

8vo, pp. 33.

Contains address of Stephen L. Baldwin on "Lessons from a century of Methodist history."

NEW ENGLAND METHODIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Proceedings at the seventh annual meeting, January 17, 1887. Boston, 1888.

8vo, pp. 46.

Contains address of Marcus D. Buell on "Pastoral leadership."

NEW ENGLAND METHODIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Proceedings at the eighth annual meeting, January 16, 1888. Boston, 1888.

8vo, pp. 36.

Pages 5–18 contain annual address by Rev. George S. Chadbourne, D. D., "The uses and benefits of a Methodist historical society."

NEW ENGLAND METHODIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Proceedings at the ninth annual meeting, January 21, 1889. Boston, 1889.

8vo, pp. 22, (1).

NEW ENGLAND METHODIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Proceedings at the eleventh annual meeting, January 19, 1891. Boston, 1891.

8vo, pp. 28.

Pages 5–16 contain annual address by Rev. Charles S. Rogers, D. D., "The obligation of the Methodism of to-day to the Methodism of yesterday, with special reference to New England."

98. *NEW ENGLAND NUMISMATIC AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.*

Boston, Mass.

NEW ENGLAND NUMISMATIC AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY. The early coins of America, and the laws governing their issue. Comprising also descriptions of the Washington pieces, the Anglo-American tokens, many pieces of unknown origin of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the first patterns of the United States mint. By Sylvester S. Crosby. Boston, 1875.

8vo, pp. v, (6), v, 11–38. Plates.

This work was published in parts, the earlier numbers being issued by the New England Numismatic and Archæological Society.

99. *NORTH BROOKFIELD HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

North Brookfield, Mass.

NORTH BROOKFIELD HISTORICAL SOCIETY. History of North Brookfield, Mass. Preceded by an account of Old Quabaug, Indian and English occupation, 1647–1676; Brookfield records, 1686–1783. By J. H. Temple. With a genealogical register. North Brookfield, 1887.

8vo, pp. 824. Illustrated. Portraits. Published under the auspices of the Society.

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100. *OLD COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Taunton, Mass.

OLD COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Papers read before the Society. Nos. 1–5. [Taunton, 1879–1895.]

8vo, Nos. 4.

CONTENTS.

No. 1. Papers read during 1878; Prefatory notes; Officers of the society; Historical sketch of the Society, by Rev. S. H. Emery; Biographical sketch of Samuel White, by Arthur M. Alger; The Pilgrims and Puritans, or Plymouth and the Massachusetts Bay, by Rev. Increase N. Tarbox, D. D.; The value of a historical society, by Thomas C. Sprout; Members. 1879. pp. 70.

No. 2. Papers read April 7, 1879, and January 12, 1880; The Province of Massachusetts Bay in the seventeenth century, with a sketch of Capt. Thomas Coran, founder of the Foundling Hospital in London, by Charles A. Reed; Was Elizabeth Pool the first purchaser of the territory and foundress of Taunton? by Henry Williams (with documentary appendix). 1880. pp. 113.

No. 3. Officers; Constitution; Minutes of proceedings; Mortimer Blake; Obituary paper of the historiographer; Taunton north purchase, by Mortimer Blake; Historical sketch of Taunton, England, by Charles H. Brigham; Algonquin, or Indian terms as applied to places and things, by Dr. P. W. Leland; Description of the MS. dictionary of the Bible in the Indian language in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, by C. H. Brigham; The original owners and early settlers of Freetown and Assonet, by Ebenezer W. Peirce; Ancient iron works in Taunton, by J. W. D. Hall. 1885. pp. 162. Portraits.

No. 4. Early voyages to America, by James Phinney Baxter, and other historical papers read before the Society; Reminiscences of the ancient iron works and Leonard mansions of Taunton, by Elisha Clarke Leonard; Indian massacres in Taunton, by Ebenezer W. Peirce; Reminiscences of Shay's insurrection, by J. W. D. Hall; King Philip's gift to James Leonard, a paper by Elisha Clarke Leonard; Dighton writing rock, by J. W. D. Hall; Obituary record. 1889. pp. 105. Portraits.

OLD COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. No. 5. Article on corporations, by Prof. John Ordronaux, LL. D., of New York City, and other interesting papers read before the Society. Published by Old Colony Historical Society. Taunton, 1895.

8vo, pp. (4), 177. Portraits.

Contents: On corporations as leading factors in the progress of civilization, by John Ordronaux; Characteristics of the Pilgrims of the Old Colony, by Nathaniel; The Continental Congress in Rehoboth, by A .C. Goodell, jr.; Historical sketch of Middleborough and Taunton precinct, by J. F. Montgomery; Cohannet alewives and the ancient gristmill at the Falls on Mill River, by J. M. Cushman; Report of committee on Dighton rock; Report upon the Baylies papers; Necrology; Taunton Green one hundred years ago; Members.

OLD COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. [Proceedings of the quarterly meet, ings, July 20, 1891–January 16, 1894. Taunton, 1891–1894.]

No title-page.

Issued in leaflets of four pages. The Proceedings of July and October, 1890, and January, 1891, were published as extras of the *Taunton Daily Gazette*.

OLD COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Address of S. Hopkins Emery, vice-president, with account of proceedings of the annual meeting, January, 1886.

Bristol County Republican, extra, January 22, 1886. Two cols., fol.

OLD COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. [Proceedings April 4, July 11, 1887.]

Taunton Daily Gazette, extra. Two broadsides.

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ODD COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Early voyages to America. By James Phinney Baxter, A. M. Read before the Society. Taunton, 1889.

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101. *OLD FOLKS' ASSOCIATION, OF CHARLEMONT, MASS.*

OLD FOLKS' ASSOCIATION OF CHARLEMONT, MASS. Sketch of the origin and growth of the Association. Compiled by a committee consisting of R. W. Field, Kate U. Clark, and E. C. Hawks. Greenfield, Mass., 1883.

8vo, pp. 65.

102. *OLD RESIDENTS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.*

Lowell, Mass.

OLD RESIDENTS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. Contributions. Vol. I. Lowell, 1873–1879.

8vo, pp. 413.

Contents: President's address, May 3, 1869; Three letters of Samuel Batchelder; The first census of Lowell; The Hamilton Manufacturing Company; First manufacture of the power loom drilling; Reminiscences of John Waugh, by Rev. Dr. Edson; School district No. 5 and my connection with it, by Joshua Merrill; Biography of Benjamin Green, by Rev. Lewis Green; Carpet-weaving and the Lowell Manufacturing Company, by Samuel Fay; Reminiscences of Joel Lewis, by Joshua Merrill; Life and character of Hon. Joseph Locke, by J. A. Knowles; Autobiography of Daniel Knapp; Francis Cabot Lowell, by Alfred Gilman; Kirk Boott, by Theodore Edson; William Livingston, by Josiah B. French; General Jackson in Lowell, by Z. E. Stone; The mayors of Lowell; Patrick T. Jackson, by J. A. Lowell; Lowell and Newburyport, by T. B. Lawson; Lowell and Harvard College, by John O. Green; History of an old firm, by Charles Hovey; Moses Hall, an early manufacturer of wool, etc., in East Chelmsford, by Alfred Gilman; A fragment written in 1843, by T. Edson; Early recollections of an old resident, by J. B. French; Memoir of S. L. Dana, by J. O. Green; The families living in East Chelmsford, or Chelmsford Neck, in 1802, by Z. E. Stone; Three letters of Samuel Lawrence: on John Brown, Milton D. Whipple, on the purchase of the outlets of the New Hampshire lakes, the main sources of the Merrimack, in 1845; Lowell and the Monadnocks, by Ephraim Brown; Early history of textile fabrics by T. B. Lawson; Early navigation of the Merrimack, by A. C. Varnum; The Willard family, and Memoir of Augusta Willard Dana, by H. Wood; Reminiscences and recollections of Lowell since 1831, by George Hedrick; Past, present, and future of Lowell, by Charles Hovey; The semicentennial history of the Lowell institution for savings, by G. J. Carney.

OLD RESIDENTS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. Contributions. Vol. II. Lowell, 1883.

8vo, pp. 461. Portrait.

Contents: Sketch of the life of Kirk Boott, by Alfred Gilman; Reminiscences of the Lowell High School, by James S. Russell; Capt. G. V. Fox in the war of the rebellion, by Alfred Gilman; Cruise of the monitor *Lehigh*, by Charles Cowley; Sketch of the life of Edward St. Loe Livermore, by C. L. Abbott; The Wyman farm and its owners, by Charles Hovey; Biography of John Dummer, by James S. Russell; Sketch of the life of John Amory Lowell; George Thompson in Lowell, by Z. E. Stone; Insurance in Lowell, by J. K. Fellows; Early trade and traders of Lowell, by Charles Hovey; Foreign colonies of Lowell, by Charles Cowley; Glass-making in the Merrimack basin, by Ephraim Brown; The Melvin suits, by John P. Robinson; The Merrimack River, its sources, affluents, etc., by Alfred Gilman; List of members; John Clark, by John W. Smith; Biographical sketch

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of Thomas Ordway, by James K. Fellows; The newspaper press of Lowell, by Alfred Gilman; The drama in Lowell, with a short sketch of the life of Perry Fuller, by H. M. Ordway; Elisha Glidden, by John A. Knowles; History of Central bridge, by Alfred Gilman; Reminiscences of the early physicians of Lowell and vicinity, by D. N. Patterson; Members of the Massachusetts Medical Society in Lowell, from 1822 to 1883, by John O. Green.

OLD RESIDENTS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. Contributions. Vol. III. Lowell, 1884.

8vo, pp. 443.

Contents: Sketch of the life of Benjamin Pierce, by Joshua Merrill; Organized charities of Lowell, by Charles Hovey; Present population of Lowell, by Nathan Allen; Resolutions adopted August 8, 1883, as a tribute of respect to the memory of Rev. Theodore Edson; Sketch of the life of Ezra Worthen, by W. R. Bagnall; The first Burns celebration in Lowell, by H. M. Ordway; the dedication and first ringing of the chime of bells in the tower of St. Anne's church, by Benjamin Walker; Paul Moody, by W. R. Bagnall; The president's addresses, Rev. John Eliot (Apostle to the Indians), Passaconaway, Wannalancet, and Capt. Samuel Mosely, by Alfred Gilman; Reminiscences of the high school, by C. C. Chase; Health of Lowell, by Nathan Allen; Consecration of St. Anne's church, March 16, 1825, by J. O. Green; Rev. Amos Blanchard, D. D., by D. N. Patterson; Samuel Batchelder, by W. R. Bagnall; Autobiography of Dr. John O. Green; Experiments in sericulture and in india rubber manufacture at Montvale, by Charles Cowley; Great freshets in Merrimack River, by James B. Francis; The discount banks of Lowell, by Charles Hovey; The freshet of 1831, by Alfred Gilman; The Middlesex Canal; History of St. Anne's church, by Charles Hovey; Kirk Boott and his experience in the British army, by James B. Francis; Memoirs of Thomas and John Nesmith, by C. C. Chase; Sketch of John A. Knowles, by J. K. Fellows; Address before the G. A. R., by Rev. A. St. John Chambre; Life of Homer Bartlett, by J. S. Russell; Lowell in 1826, by A. B. Wright.

OLD RESIDENTS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. Contributions. Vol. IV. Lowell, 1888–1891.

8vo, pp. 415. Portrait.

Contents: How Pawtucket bridge was built and owned, by James S. Russell, Harriet Livermore, by C. C. Chase; A local musical society of 1824, by Solon W. Stevens; A Chelmsford girl of two hundred years ago, by Ephraim Brown; Rev. Owen Street, D. D., a memorial discourse, by Rev. J. M. Greene; Geological explorations, by Rev. Owen Street; History of the Lowell grammar schools, by Alfred Gilman; Kirk Boott, a letter from Dr. John O. Green to Rev. Theodore Edson; Annual report of President C. C. Chase; Lives of postmasters, by C. C. Chase; Reminiscences of an ex-postmaster, by Alfred Gilman; Life and character of Nathan Allen, by Dr. D. N. Patterson; Autobiography of Alvan Clark, with an introductory letter by W. A. Richardson; Reminiscences of Warren Colburn; The American Venice, some account of the rivers, canals, and bridges of Lowell, by James Bayles; Memento of Charles Hovey, by James S. Russell; Memoir of Rev. Theodore Edson, by E. M. Edson; The early schools of Chelmsford, by H. S. Perkins; Early recollections of Lowell, by Benjamin Walker; A memoir of Mrs. J. E. Locke, by Grace Lee Baron Upham; The Lowell cemetery, by James S. Russell; President's report, May 7, 1890; Letter from W. A. Richardson; Brief biographical notices of the prominent citizens of Lowell, 1826–1836, by C. C. Chase; Capt. John Ford, by C. C. Chase; Lowell Island, by Alfred Gilman; Residences on Nesmith street, by J. S. Russell; Vice-President's report; Sketch of Lucy E. Penhallow, by J. S. Russell; Memoir of Horatio Wood, by his son.

OLD RESIDENTS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. Contributions. Vol. V. Lowell, 1894.

8vo, pp. (6), 392. Portrait.

Contents: Memoir of Hon. J. G. Abbott, by C. Cowley; The early settlers of that part of Chelmsford now Lowell, by Henry S. Perham; "The early grants of land in the wildernesse north of the Merrimack," by G. A. Gordon; My schools

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and teachers in Lowell sixty years ago, by V. Lincoln; Annual report; St. Luke's church, Lowell, by James S. Russell; The introduction of the telegraph, the telephone, and the daguerreotype into Lowell, by Z. E. Stone; Benjamin Franklin Shaw, by R. H. Shaw; Masonic events in the early days of Lowell; Life and works of James B. Francis, by W. E. Worthen; Annual report, 1893; Memoir of Dr. Gilman Kimball, by D. N. Patterson; Rev. Theodore Edson, by Rev. Edward Cowley; Personal reminiscences of Lowell fifty years ago, by Paul Hill; Lowell in the navy during the war, by C. Cowley; The Pawtucket Falls as a factor in determining so much of the northern boundary of Massachusetts as lies between the Merrimack and Connecticut rivers, by Samuel A. Green; The Old Residents' Historical Association: its origin and history for twenty-five years, by Z. E. Stone; Members, January 1, 1894; Death record, 1868–1894; [Index] of Vols I–VI; Index to Vol. V.

OLD RESIDENTS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. The semi-centennial history of the Lowell institution for savings. By G. J. Carney. Read May 8, 1879. Lowell, 1879.

8vo, pp. 25.

OLD RESIDENTS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. Edward St. Loe Livermore. By C. L. A[bbott]. Boston, 1880.

8vo, pp. 17. Portrait. Printed from a paper written by request for "The Old Residents' Historical Society of Lowell."

OLD RESIDENTS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. Discourse to the Old Residents, February 9, 1882. Subject: Parks and progress, and Rogers family. By Robert Boodey Caverley. Lowell, 1882.

12mo, pp. 27.

OLD RESIDENTS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. Great freshets in the Merrimack River. By James B. Francis. Read before the Association November 6, 1885. Lowell, 1885.

8vo, pp. 17. Half title.

OLD RESIDENTS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. Lowell. Remembrances and historical facts. By A. B. Wright. Boston, 1887.

8vo. pp. 34. "Lowell in 1826," as here printed, was adopted by "The Old Residents' Historical Association of Lowell." This paper is the thirtieth of Vol. III, in the order of their publication, and appears here separated from the others for the personal use of the author.

OLD RESIDENTS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. Memoir of Horatio Wood, for twenty-four years minister-at-large in Lowell. [Read before the Association August 4, 1891.] By his son. Lowell, 1891.

8vo, pp. 31. Portrait.

OLD RESIDENTS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. Memoir of the Hon. Josiah Gardner Abbott, LL. D., read before the Association. By Charles Cowley, LL. D. Boston, 1892.

8vo, pp. 92.

OLD RESIDENTS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. The boundary line between Massachusetts and New Hampshire, from the Merrimack River to the Connecticut. A paper read before the Association on December 21, 1893, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the formation of the Society. By Hon. Samuel Abbott Green. Lowell, 1894.

8vo, pp. 30.

103. *PILGRIM SOCIETY.*

Plymouth, Mass.

PILGRIM SOCIETY. Festival December 22, 1820. [Psalm, hymn, and ode.]

Broadside.

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PILGRIM SOCIETY. A discourse delivered at Plymouth December 22, 1820. In commemoration of the first settlement of New England. By Daniel Webster. [First edition.] Boston, 1821.
8vo, pp. 104.
Same. Fourth edition. Boston, 1826.
8vo, pp. 60.

PILGRIM SOCIETY. The constitutional articles of the Pilgrim Society. Incorporated February 24, 1820. Plymouth, 1823.
12mo, pp. 12.

PILGRIM SOCIETY. Song for the anniversary of the Society, celebrated at Plymouth December 22, 1824.
Sheet.

PILGRIM SOCIETY. An oration delivered at Plymouth December 22, 1824. By Edward Everett. Boston, 1825.
8vo, pp. 73.

PILGRIM SOCIETY. A discourse delivered before the Pilgrim Society, at Plymouth, on the 22d day of December, 1829. By William Sullivan. Published at the request of the Society. Boston, 1830.
8vo, pp. 60.

PILGRIM SOCIETY. Great principles associated with Plymouth Rock. Address before the Society December 22, 1834. By George W. Blagden. Boston, 1835.
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PILGRIM SOCIETY. Address before the Society, December 22, 1835. By Peleg Sprague. Boston, 1836.
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PILGRIM SOCIETY. Constitution, as amended May, 1836; with a list of members. Plymouth, 1840.
12mo, pp. (2), 8.

PILGRIM SOCIETY. History of the Pilgrim Society; with a brief account of the early settlement of Plymouth Colony.
New-England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. I, April, 1847, pp. 114–125.

PILGRIM SOCIETY. Report on the expediency of celebrating in future the landing of the Pilgrims on the 21st day of December, instead of the 22d day of that month, by a committee of the Society. Boston, 1850.
8vo, pp. 12.

PILGRIM SOCIETY. Speech of Allen C. Spooner, esq., before the Society, at Plymouth, December 22, 1851, in reply to the toast, "The faith of the Pilgrims: May it be our pillar of fire, to guide us alike in the day of prosperity and the night of trial." Boston, [1852].
8vo, pp. 8.

PILGRIM SOCIETY. An account of the Pilgrim celebration, at Plymouth, August 1, 1853, containing a list of the decorations in the town and correct copies of the speeches made at the dinner table. Revised by the Pilgrim Society. Boston, 1853.
8vo, pp. 182.

PILGRIM SOCIETY. A finger-point from Plymouth Rock. Remarks at the Plymouth festival on the 1st of August, 1853, in commemoration of the embarkation of the Pilgrims. By Charles Sumner. Boston, 1853.
8vo, pp. 11.

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PILGRIM SOCIETY. Illustrated Pilgrim memorial. 1860. Boston, 1860.
8vo, pp. 50. Illustrated.
Same. 1861, pp. 48.
Same. 1863, pp. 48.
Same. 1866, pp. 48.
Same. 1880, pp. 55.

PILGRIM SOCIETY. Order of exercises, two hundred and fiftieth annive sary celebration of the Landing of the Pilgrims, in the Church of tl First Parish, December 21, 1870.
Broadside.

PILGRIM SOCIETY. Oration on the two hundred and fiftieth anniversar of the Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers at Plymouth, December 2 1870. By Robert C. Winthrop, LL. D. Boston, 1871.
8vo, pp. 87. Large and small paper editions.

PILGRIM SOCIETY. Catalogue of the Cabinet and Pictures in Pilgrim Hal Plymouth, 1883. [Plymouth, 1883.]
8vo, pp. 39.

PILGRIM SOCIETY. The Proceedings at the Celebration by the Pilgrin Society, at Plymouth, August 1, 1889, of the completion of the Nationa Monument to the Pilgrims. Plymouth, 1889.
8vo, pp. 176. Plates.

104. *POCUMTUCK VALLEY MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION.*

Deerfield, Mass.

POCUMTUCK VALLEY MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION. Constitution. 1870.
4to, pp. 2. No title-page.

POCUMTUCK VALLEY MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION. Catalogue of the relics and curiosities in Memorial Hall, Deerfield, Mass. Collected by the Association. Deerfield, 1886.
8vo, pp. 108.

POCUMTUCK VALLEY MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION. Story of the Old Willard House of Deerfield, Mass. Written for and read at the eighteenth annual meeting of the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, February 22, 1887. By Catharine B. Yale. Boston, 1887.
4to, pp. (2), 24. Plates. Illustrated.

POCUMTUCK VALLEY MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION. What befell Stephen Williams in his captivity. With an appendix. Printed from the original by the Association. Edited by George Sheldon. Deerfield, 1889.
8vo, pp. 35.

POCUMTUCK VALLEY MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION. History and Proceedings of the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association. 1870–1879. Vol. I. Deerfield, Mass., 1890.
8vo, pp. 510.
Contents: Preliminary steps and organization of the Association; Field meeting at Turner's Falls, 1870; Annual meeting, 1871; Eunice Williams, by C. Alice Baker; A soldier of the Revolution of '76, by Eliza A. Starr; Field meeting, 1871; Monument to Moses Rice; Address by Col. R. H. Leavitt; Response by the president, George H. Sheldon; Historical paper, by Abby Maxwell; Stories, anecdotes, and legends, collected and written down by Deacon Phinehas Field; Third annual meeting, 1872; Biographical sketches of the settlers at Pocumtuck before Philip's war, by George Sheldon; Settlement of Deerfield, by C. Alice Baker; Field meeting, 1872, and dedication of a monument to Nathaniel Dickinson, at Northfield, Mass., September 12, 1872; Address by Phinehas Field; Address

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of President George Sheldon; Settlement of Northfield, by J. H. Temple; Historical sketch of Vernon, by A. H. Washburn; Narrative of John Stebbins, of Vernon, Vt.; Fourth annual meeting, 1873; The bar's fight, by Eliza A. Starr; Fourth field meeting, 1873, at Sunderland, Mass.; Address of Henry W. Taft, on settlement of Sunderland; Fifth annual meeting, 1874; The traditionary story of the attack upon Hadley and the appearance of General Goffe, September 1, 1675, by George Sheldon; Field meeting, 1874, in commemoration of the centennial of the incorporation of the town of Leverett, September 10, 1874; Address of welcome, by Rev. A. F. Clark; * * * Settlement of Leverett, by Rev. J. P. Watson; Brief history of the Congregational Church of Leverett, by Rev. David Eastman; History of the Baptist Church in North Leverett, by Rev. B. Newton; Sixth annual meeting, 1875; Recollections of the Old Indian house, by N. Hitchcock; Sixth field meeting; Two hundredth anniversary of the Bloody Brook massacre at South Deerfield, September 17, 1875; Address of welcome, by George Sheldon; Oration, by George B. Loring; Poem, by William Everett; Seventh annual meeting, 1876; The captive's (Sarah Coleman's) shoe, by J. F. Moors; Field meeting and bicentennial celebration of the Falls fight, on the battlefield, May 31, 1876; Address, by G. L. Barton; President Sheldon's response; Address, by J. F. Moors; Rev. Hope Atherton's deliverance; Annual meeting, 1877; Ministers and meeting houses of ye olden time, by C. Alice Baker; Sounding brass: story of the old brass kettle, by Elizabeth W. Champney; Ninth annual meeting, 1878; History of the founding of Deerfield Academy, by George Sheldon; Ensign John Sheldon, by C. Alice Baker; History of memorial hall, by George Sheldon; Tenth annual meeting, 1879; Historical sketch of Christina Otis, by C. Alice Baker; Some facts relating to the early history of Dartmouth College, by C. C. Conant; Greenfield and its first church, by Francis M. Thompson; Slavery in Massachusetts, by Phinehas Field; Members of the Association, 1870–1879; Index.

105. *PRINCE SOCIETY.*

Boston, Mass.

PRINCE SOCIETY. A collection of original papers relative to the history of Massachusetts Bay. [Anon.] By Thomas Hutchinson. Boston, 1769. Reprinted under the title: "Hutchinson Papers." Albany, 1865.

Small 4to, 2 vols.

Edited with notes and prefatory matter, by W. H. Whitmore and W. S. Appleton.

PRINCE SOCIETY. Wood's New England's Prospect. Boston, 1865.

Small 4to, pp. xxxi, 131. Map.

Edited by Charles Deane.

Consists of reprint of the London (1634) edition, with the preface to the Boston edition of 1764, which is ascribed to Nathaniel Rogers.

PRINCE SOCIETY. Letters written from New England, A. D. 1686. By John Dunton. In which are described his voyages by sea, his travels on land, and the characters of his friends and acquaintances. Now first published from the original manuscript, in the Bodleian Library. With notes and an appendix, by W. H. Whitmore. Boston, 1867.

Small 4to, pp. xxiv, 340.

The appendix contains account of the Blue Anchor Tavern; Inventory of the Estate of Michael Perry, bookseller, 1700; List of the inhabitants of Boston, 1687.

PRINCE SOCIETY. The Andros tracts; being a collection of pamphlets and official papers issued during the period between the overthrow of the Andros government and the establishment of the second charter of Massachusetts. Reprinted from the original editions and manuscripts. With notes and a memoir of Sir Edmund Andros, by W. H. Whitmore, editor. Boston, 1868–1874.

Small 4to. Three vols. Portraits.

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Vol. II. Increase Mather; Introduction; narrative of the miseries of New England [prepared by Increase Mather], 1688; the present state of New-English affairs [letters from Increase Mather], 1689; a vindication of New England (prepared chiefly by I. Mather), 1689; Petition of the inhabitants of Charlestown, 1689; The people's right to election, by G. Bulkeley, 1689; New England vindicated [by I. Mather], 1689; answer of the Massachusetts agents to Randolph, 1690; Short discourse against restoring the charters, 1689; Brief relation of the state of New England [by I. Mather], 1689; Report of the proceedings against Andros, before the privy council, 1690; An account of the revolution in New England, by A. B., 1689; New England's faction discovered, by C. D., 1690; Reasons for the confirmation of the charters [by I. Mather], 1690; Humble address of the publicans of New England, 1691; Account of the agents of New England, 1691; I. Mather's address to the inhabitants, prefixed to his sermon before the General Court, 1693; Letter of the London ministers, 1691; I. Mather's reply to Calef, 1701; Cotton Mather's political fables; List of members of Prince Society.

Vol. III. Introduction; Considerations against the charter; Abstract of laws of New England, 1689; Report by Andros of his administration, 1690; Original documents; Papers relating to Andros's administration; Reprint of a part of Cotton Mather's memoirs of Increase Mather; An appeal to the men of New England, 1689; Papers relating to Edward Randolph; The Prince Society.

PRINCE SOCIETY. Increase Mather, the agent of Massachusetts colony in England for the concession of a charter. By W. H. Whitmore. Reprinted from the "Andros tracts." Boston, 1869.

Small, 4to, pp. 24.

PRINCE SOCIETY. Sir William Alexander and American colonization, including the royal charters; a tract on colonization: a patent of the county of Canada and of Long Island; and the roll of the knights baronets of New Scotland; with annotations and a memoir. By the Rev. Edmund F. Slafter, A. M. Boston, 1873.

Small 4to, pp. vii, 283. Portrait and folded map.

PRINCE SOCIETY. Genealogy of the families of Payne and Gore. Compiled by W. H. Whitmore. Boston, 1875.

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PRINCE SOCIETY. John Wheelwright. His writings, including his fast-day sermon, 1637, and his Mercurius Americanus, 1645: With a paper upon the genuineness of the Indian deed of 1629, and a memoir, by Charles H. Bell. Boston, 1876.

Small 4to, pp. viii, 253. Facsimiles.

PRINCE SOCIETY. Voyages of the Northmen to America. Including extracts from Icelandic sagas, relating to western voyages by Northmen in the tenth and eleventh centuries, in an English translation, by North Ludlow Beamish. With a synopsis of the historical evidence and the opinion of Professor Rafn as to the places visited by the Scandinavians on the coast of America. Edited, with an introduction, by Edmund F. Slafter. Boston, 1877.

Small 4to, pp. 162. Maps. Pages 127-140 contain a bibliography.

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PRINCE SOCIETY. Voyages of Samuel de Champlain. Translated by Charles Pomeroy Otis. With historical illustrations and memoir by Edmund F. Slafter. Vols. I–III. Heliotype copies of 20 maps. Boston, 1878–1882.

Small 4to, 3 vols. Portrait, 150 copies. Small paper, printed.

Contents: (I) 1567–1635. (II) 1604–1610. (III) 1611–1618.

Vol. I contains a translation of Champlain's voyage, published at Paris, 1604. Vol. II consists of translation of the Paris (1613) edition of the voyages. Vol. III contains translations of the third and fourth voyages and of the Paris (1619) edition of the voyages from 1615–1618.

PRINCE SOCIETY. The New English Canaan of Thomas Morton. With introductory matter and notes, by Charles Francis Adams, jr. Boston, 1883.

Small 4to, pp. vi, 381.

PRINCE SOCIETY. The Prince Society, its purpose and work. By Edmund F. Slafter. Boston, 1884.

8vo, pp. 8.

PRINCE SOCIETY. Sir Walter Raleigh and his colony in America. Including the charter of Queen Elizabeth in his favor, March 25, 1584, with letters, discourses, and narratives of the voyages made to America at his charges, and descriptions of the country, commodities, and inhabitants. With historical illustrations, and a memoir by Increase N. Tarbox. Boston, 1884.

Small 4to, pp. (7), 329. Two portraits.

PRINCE SOCIETY. Voyages of Peter Esprit Radisson; being an account of his travels and experiences among the North American Indians, from 1652 to 1684. Transcribed from original manuscripts in the Bodleian Library and the British Museum. With historical illustrations and an introduction, by Gideon D. Scull. Boston, 1885.

Small 4to, pp. vi, (1), 385.

PRINCE SOCIETY. Capt. John Mason, the founder of New Hampshire. Including his tract on Newfoundland, 1620; the American charters in which he was a grantee; with letters and other historical documents. Together with a memoir, by Charles Wesley Tuttle. Edited, with historical illustrations, by John Ward Dean. Boston, 1887.

Small 4to, pp. xii (1), 492. Woodcut. Folded map. Folded sheet. Facsimiles.

Contents: Preface; Memoir of Capt. John Mason; The family of Capt. John Mason; Mason's patent of Mariana, by Charles Levi Woodbury; Mason's plantations on the Piscataqua; Introduction to Mason's "Briefe discourse;" A briefe discourse of the Nevv-found-land, by J. Mason; The charters of Mason; Early English works on Newfoundland; Letters and documents; The royal charter to Mason and other documents; Will of Mason; Memorial to Mason, at Portsmouth, England; The Prince Society; Officers; Members of the Society; Index.

PRINCE SOCIETY. Antinomianism in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, 1636–1638. Including the Short Story and other documents. Edited by Charles Francis Adams. Boston: Published by the Prince Society. 1894.

Small 4to, pp. 415.

Contents: The Antinomian controversy, by Charles Francis Adams, jr.; A Short Story of the rise, reign, and ruine of the Antimomians, Familists, Libertines that infected the churches of New England, [by Thomas Welde]; The examination of Mrs. Ann Hutchinson at the court at Newtown, 1637; A report of the

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trial of Mrs. Ann Hutchinson before the church in Boston, March, 1638; The way of Congregational churches cleared, by John Cotton; Robert Keayne, of Boston, in New England, his Book, 1639; Index.

Appended is the Wheelwright deed of 1629, by Charles H. Bell, pp. 3; Prince Society act of incorporation; Constitution; Officers; Members.

106. *QUABOAG HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Brookfield, Mass.

QUABOAG HISTORICAL SOCIETY. An address on the early history of old Brookfield, Mass., his native town, by the Rev. T. L. Chamberlain, D. D., of New York, at the invitation and under the auspices of the West Brookfield Branch of the Quaboag Historical Society, and remarks by his brother, the Hon. D. H. Chamberlain, of New York, at the after-dinner exercises. Brooklyn, 1895.

8vo, pp. 36.

107. *REHOBOTH ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.*

Rehoboth, Mass.

REHOBOTH ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Historic Rehoboth; record of the dedication of Goff Memorial Hall, May 10, 1886. Fully illustrated. [Printed at Attleboro, Mass., 1886.]

8vo, pp. 130. Portraits.

108. *RUMFORD HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.*

Woburn, Mass.

RUMFORD HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. Rumford Historical Association, Woburn, Mass., incorporated, 1877. Boston, 1881.

8vo, pp. 12. Contains constitution, by-laws, and list of members.

109. *WATERTOWN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Watertown, Mass.

WATERTOWN HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Watertown. The wears, the south side, Morse field. By Charles S. Ensign. [A paper read before the Historical Society of Watertown, April, 1890.]

Newspaper cuttings.

110. *WEBSTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Boston, Mass.

WEBSTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Webster Centennial. Proceedings of the Webster Historical Society, at Marshfield, Mass., October 12, 1882. With an account of other celebrations on the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Daniel Webster. Edited by Thomas Harrison Cummings. Boston, 1883.

8vo, pp. (2) ii, (3), 272. Portrait. Illustrated.

WEBSTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY. John Adams, the statesman of the American Revolution. Address before the Webster Historical Society, at its annual meeting in Boston, January 18, 1884. By Mellen Chamberlain. Boston, 1884.

8vo, pp. 85.

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111. *WESTBOROUGH HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Westborough, Mass.

WESTBOROUGH HISTORICAL SOCIETY. By-laws. Incorporated 1889. [Westborough ? 1889.]

16mo, pp. 3.

112. *WEYMOUTH HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Weymouth, Mass.

WEYMOUTH HISTORICAL SOCIETY. [Publications.]

No. 1. The original journal of Gen. Solomon Lovell, kept during the Penobscot expedition, 1779, with a sketch of his life, by Gilbert Nash. With the proceedings of the Society for 1879–80. [Weymouth, 1881.]

8vo, pp. 27. Illustrated.

No. 2. Historical sketch of the town of Weymouth, Mass., from 1622 to 1884. Compiled by Gilbert Nash. Weymouth, 1885.

8vo, pp. x, 346.

WEYMOUTH HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Weymouth in its first twenty years. With some facts and queries concerning its first church and ministers. By Gilbert Nash. [Read at November (1883) meeting of the Society.] *Weymouth Gazette* supplement, February 23, 1883.

Broadside.

113. *WINCHESTER HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.*

Winchester, Mass.

WINCHESTER HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY. The Winchester Record, Vols. I, II, III, No. 1, January, 1885–January, 1887. Winchester, 1885–1887.

Nothing published after Vol. III, No. 1, January, 1887.

114. *WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY.*

Worcester, Mass.

WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY. Normal schools and their origin. A paper read at a regular meeting of the Society, June 5, 1877. By Samuel E. Staples. Worcester, 1877.

8vo, pp. 8. Woodcut. Fifty copies printed.

WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY. Bennington. The battles of 1777. Centennial celebration, 1877. Paper read before the Society, December 4, 1877, by Albert Tyler. With copious notes. Worcester, 1878.

8vo, pp. 46.

WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY. Collections. Vols. I–X. Worcester, 1881–1891.

8vo, 10 vols.

Vol. I. Proceedings from January 24, 1875, to March 6, 1877, pp. (6) 71; Constitution, pp. 7; Proceedings for 1877, pp. 39; Inscriptions from the old burial grounds in Worcester, Mass., from 1727–1859, pp. iv, 126; Proceedings for 1878, pp. 160.

Vol. II. Early records of Worcester, books 1, 2. 1722–1753, pp. 142, 145; Proceedings for 1879–80, pp. 154, 88.

Vol. III. Records of the proprietors of Worcester, Mass. Edited by Franklin P. Rice. 1881. pp. 336.

Vol. IV. Worcester town records from 1753 to 1783. Edited by Franklin P. Rice. 1882. pp. 472.

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Vol. v. Proceedings for 1881–82, pp. 164; Records of the court of general sessions of the peace for the county of Worcester, from 1721 to 1737. Edited by Franklin P. Rice. 1883. pp. 197; Proceedings for 1882, pp. 167. Portraits.

Vol. vi. Proceedings for 1883: Address, E. B. Crane; Rev. George Allen, by F. P. Rice; Charles W. Rice, by Henry M. Smith; Nelson Ryan Scott, by H. L. Shumway; Geography and history of Maine, by A. P. Marble; Joseph Nye Bates, by C. Otis Goodwin; Holmes Ammidown, by Clark Jillson; Excursion to Lancaster; Biographical sketch and extracts from the journal of Rev. Timothy Dickinson, by T. A. Dickinson; Hon. John Denison Baldwin, by S. E. Staples; Reports; Return of the state of Capt. Ebenezer Newell's Co., Brookfield, 1777. 1884, pp. 136. Proceedings for 1884: Clarendon Harris, by Clark Jillson; The Worcester County Musical Association, by Samuel E. Staples; The manufacture of lumber, by E. B. Crane; An episode of Worcester history, by Nathaniel Paine; * * * Incidents of the first and second settlements of Worcester, by F. E. Blake; Random recollections of Worcester, 1839–1843, by Nathaniel Paine; Excursion to the Brookfields; F. G. Sanborn, by T. A. Dickinson; John Brown, by Alfred S. Roe; Jeremiah Stiles, jr., by F. G. Stiles; Hon. Francis Thaxter Blackmer, by Charles R. Johnson; Reports, 1885, pp. 243; Proceedings at the tenth anniversary of the Society, January 27, 1885; Address by Rev. Carlton A. Staples; Banquet; Record of members. 1885. pp. 100.

Vol. vii. Proceedings for 1885: Some Worcester matters, 1689–1743, by F. E. Blake; Rutland and the Indian troubles, 1723–1730, by Francis E. Blake; Seventh annual field day to Mendon, June 17, 1885; Visit to Millbury; Manning Leonard, by Clark Jillson; Worcester Main street sixty-three years ago, by H. H. Chamberlin; David Oliver Woodman, by Thomas A. Dickinson; The ruined city of Labua. 1886. pp. 160. Woodcut. Proceedings, 1886: The New England Emigrant Aid Company, by Eli Thayer; The Amistad captives, by J. A. Howland; Asa Waters, 2d, and the Sutton and Millbury armory, by John C. Crane; Records of the Worcester County anti-slavery society, by J. A. Howland; Field day in Rutland; Memoir of the Putnam family, by Rufus Putnam; Early paper mills in Massachusetts, especially Worcester County, by E. B. Crane; The late Hon. Charles Adams, jr., by H. M. Smith. 1887. pp. 168. Portrait. Woodcut. The Abolitionists vindicated in a review of Eli Thayer's paper on the New England Emigrant Aid Company, by Oliver Johnson. 1887. pp. 29. Proceedings, 1887: The Rawson family, by E. B. Crane; Indians and Europeans, by U. W. Cutler; Rev. John Nelson, D. D., by A. H. Coolidge; Asa Holman Waters, by J. C. Crane; The Puritans of Massachusetts Bay, by A. P. Marvin; Some Meriams, and their connection with other families, by Rufus N. Meriam; The Anglican church in the colonies, by Henry L. Parker; Isaac Newton Metcalf, by S. E. Staples. 1888. pp. 238.

Vol. viii. Worcester town records, 1784–1800. Edited by Franklin P. Rice. 1890. pp. 411. Comprises Nos. 28–30 of the *Publications*.

Vol. ix. Proceedings, 1888: Reminiscences of Cambridge and Harvard College, by S. D. Hosmer; Peter Whitney, and his history of Worcester County, by J. C. Crane; The beginnings of Methodism in Worcester, by Alfred S. Roe; Field day at Lexington, by George Maynard; The early history of schools and school books, by Rufus N. Meriam; The early militia system of Massachusetts, by Ellery B. Crane; Dorothea Lynde Dix, by Alfred S. Roe. pp. 173. Proceedings, 1889: Military operations at Castine, Me., by George F. Clark; The burning of the Ursuline convent, by Ephraim Tucker; Reminiscences [Worcester], by Elbridge Boyden; The Worcester district in Congress, from 1789 to 1857, by Franklin P. Rice; How we got to the front [civil war, 1861–1865], by F. G. Stiles; Necrology for 1889. pp. 160. Proceedings, 1890: Rev. A. P. Marvin, by A. E. P. Perkins; Old Worcester, by N. Paine; The Dudley or Pegan Indians, by J. E. Lynch; The naming of city streets, by S. D. Hosmer; Visit to Concord; Guillermo Rawson, by E. B. Crane; Record publication, by F. P. Rice; Adin Ballou, by C. A. Staples. Necrology. pp. 98. Portraits.

Vol. x. Worcester town records, 1801–1816. Edited by Franklin P. Rice. 1890. pp. 383.

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WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY. Collections. Vol. XI, part 1, 2. Worcester, 1893.

8vo, pp. 1-272.

Contents: Worcester town records, 1817-18. Edited by Franklin P. Rice.

WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY. Collections. Vol. XII, part 1. Worcester births, marriages, and deaths, compiled by Franklin P. Rice. Part 1. Births. Worcester, 1894.

8 vo, pp. 288.

WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY. Collections. Vol. XIII. Worcester, 1894.

8vo, pp. (2), 506.

Contents: Proceedings for 1891: President's annual address; The rival chiefs of Acadia [d'Aulney and La Tour], by G. F. Clark; Lucy Keys, the lost child, by A. P. Marble; John and Thomas Totman (and their descendants), by Rufus N. Meriam; Field day in Medfield, address by A. A. Lovell; A few of the homes of Medfield, and what their [Indian] names signify, by James Hewins; [Early ministers of Medfield], by W. W. Hayward,; Remarks on record publication, by F. P. Rice; Opening of Salisbury Hall, with addresses; Department reports; Antiquities of Costa Rica, by George Maynard; Obituaries for 1891; Benson John Lossing, by Nathaniel Paine; Worcester, 1892; Proceedings for 1892; President's annual address; Universal language, by Fred L. Hutchins; The early ministry of Mendon, Mass., by G. F. Clark; John Jack, the slave, and Daniel Bliss, the Tory, by George Tolman; Some account of the Harding Bible, by Levi B. Chase; My academic recollections of the Rev. Thomas Hill, by Rufus N. Meriam; The days of the New England primer, by Anson Titus; George William Curtis and his antecedents, by Henry A. Chamberlin; Sketch of the six volumes entitled "Archivos do Museu nacional," presented to the society, by George Maynard; Obituaries for 1892; Proceedings for 1893; President's inaugural address; An ancient road and reminiscences of some Worcester families, by C. C. Denny; Farm life in colonial New England, by Arthur P. Rugg; The territory and boundaries of Massachusetts, by Thomas G. Kent; Two Indian chiefs [of Westborough], by H. M. Forbes; Samuel Elbridge Hildreth, by Alfred S. Roe; Department reports; Jonathan Holman, a Revolutionary colonel, by John C. Crane.

WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY. Charles Hudson. In memoriam. Paper read at meeting of the Society, May 17, 1881. By H. M. Smith. Worcester, 1881.

8vo, pp. 43.

WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY. A sketch of the life of Maj. Ezra Beaman, together with documents of public interest. By Albert A. Lovell. Worcester, 1882.

8vo, pp. (3), 20.

WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY. Reminiscences of George Allen, of Worcester. With a biographical sketch and notes by Franklin P. Rice. Worcester, 1883.

16vo, pp. 127. Portrait. Large paper.

Two hundred and fifty copies printed.

Reprinted in part from the *Collections*.

WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY. An episode of Worcester history. Read before the society, April 1, 1884. By Nathaniel Paine. Worcester, 1884.

8vo, pp. 9.

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WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY. Incidents of the first and second settlements of Worcester. [Paper read before the Society, May 6, 1884.] By Francis E. Blake. Worcester, 1884.

8vo, pp. 33.

Title on cover is "Worcester's Bicentennial: 1684–1884. The early settlements of Worcester."

WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY. Memorial of Holmes Ammidown. By Clark Jillson. Reprinted from the Proceedings of the Society for 1883. Worcester, 1884.

8vo, pp. 8. Portrait.

WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY. Memorial of John Denison Baldwin, minister, legislator, and journalist. By Samuel E. Staples. Worcester, 1884.

8vo, pp. 14. Portrait.

Cover has seal of the Society.

WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY. Random recollections of Worcester, Mass., 1839–1843. Being remarks at a meeting of the Society, June 3, 1884. By Nathaniel Paine. Worcester, 1885.

8vo, pp. 46, (1). Illustrated.

From *Proceedings* for 1884.

WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY. Medals: Report of the department of relics, coins, and curiosities, presented at a meeting of the Society, October 6, 1885. By J. Chauncey Lyford. Worcester, 1886.

8vo, pp. 12.

WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY. Rutland and the Indian troubles of 1723–1730. By Francis E. Blake. Worcester, 1886.

8vo, pp. 53. Plate. Map.

Read before the Society, April 7, 1885.

WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY. Worcester Main street sixty-three years ago. By Henry H. Chamberlin. Worcester, 1886.

8vo, pp. 24.

Reprinted from *Proceedings*.

WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY. The New England Emigrant Aid Company and its influence, through the Kansas contest, upon national history. By Eli Thayer. Worcester, 1887.

8vo, pp. 48.

Abstract of two lectures given before the Society in March, 1886.

WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY. The Abolitionists vindicated in a review of Eli Thayer's paper on the New England Emigrant Aid Company. By Oliver Johnson. Worcester, 1887.

8vo, pp. 28.

Read before the Society, May 10, 1887.

WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY. Some Meriams and their connection with other families. By Rufus N. Meriam. Reprinted from the Proceedings of the Worcester Society of Antiquity for 1887. Worcester, 1888.

8vo, pp. 5–52.

WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY. Peter Whitney and his history of Worcester County. Worcester, 1889.

8vo, pp. 25. Portrait of Peter Whitney.

Reprinted from *Proceedings* of the Worcester Society of Antiquity, 1888.

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WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY. Reminiscences of Cambridge and Harvard College. By Rev. S. D. Hosmer. Worcester, 1889.

8vo, pp. 12.

WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY. Jonathan Holman, a Revolutionary Colonel. A paper read before the Society December 5, 1893. By John C. Crane. Worcester, 1894.

8vo, pp. 19. Portrait.

MICHIGAN.

115. *CASS COUNTY PIONEER ASSOCIATION.*

Detroit, Mich.

CASS COUNTY PIONEER ASSOCIATION. Old times. Reminiscences of the early days of Michigan. Address before the Association, June 21, 1876. By J. W. Bagley. Detroit, 1876.

8vo.

116. *HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MICHIGAN.*

Detroit, Mich.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MICHIGAN. Constitution and by-laws of the Historical Society of Michigan, incorporated June 23, 1828. Detroit, 1829.

8vo, pp. 32.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MICHIGAN. A discourse delivered at the first meeting of the Historical Society of Michigan. September 18, 1829. Published at their request. By Lewis Cass. Detroit, 1830.

8vo, pp. 52.
On early settlements in Michigan.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MICHIGAN. Discourse on the anniversary of the Historical Society of Michigan, June 4, 1830. By H. R. Schoolcraft. Detroit, 1830.

8vo, pp. 44.
On the Indian tribes of the Upper Lakes.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MICHIGAN. Historical and scientific sketches of Michigan, comprising a series of discourses delivered before the Society, and other interesting Papers relative to the Territory. Detroit, 1834.

12mo, pp. 215.
Discourses by Lewis Cass, Henry R. Schoolcraft, Henry Whiting, and John Biddle. Also, Natural History. Extracts from a lecture delivered before the Detroit Lyceum by Henry R. Schoolcraft. Remarks on the supposed tides and periodical rise and fall of the North American lakes, by Henry Whiting.

117. *HOUGHTON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY AND MINING INSTITUTE.*

HOUGHTON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY AND MINING INSTITUTE. Articles of association; and address by the Rev. Father Jacker; also, inaugural address of J. H. Foster, May 11, 1866. N. P. [1866?].

8vo.

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118. *OLD RESIDENTS' ASSOCIATION OF THE GRAND RIVER VALLEY.*

Grand Rapids, Mich.

OLD RESIDENTS' ASSOCIATION OF THE GRAND RIVER VALLEY. **Memorials of the Grand River Valley. By Franklin Everett. Chicago, 1878.**

8vo, x, pp. 545, 74. Portrait.

"This work was prosecuted under the auspices of the Old Residents' Association of the Grand River Valley."—*Prefatory note.*

119. *PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MICHIGAN.*

Detroit, Mich.

PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MICHIGAN. **Circular, act, constitution, by-laws, and list of officers, organized April 22, 1874. Lansing, 1874.**

16mo, pp. 14.

PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MICHIGAN. **General circular. February 28, 1876. [Lansing, 1876.]**

8vo, pp. 3. No title-page.

PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MICHIGAN. **Farewell address of the president, Jonathan Shearer. January 30, 1877.**

Broadside.

PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MICHIGAN. **Pioneer collections, etc. Report of the Pioneer Society of the State of Michigan. Vols. I–XIV. Detroit, etc. 1877–1890.**

8vo, 14 vols.

Vol. I. Detroit, 1877, pp. viii, 554.

Vol. II. Detroit, 1880, pp. vii, 680.

Vol. III. Lansing, 1881, pp. ix, (3), 712.

Vol. IV. Lansing, 1883, pp. viii, (1), 593. Portrait.

Vol. V. Lansing, 1884, pp. vii, 614.

Vol. VI. Lansing, 1884, pp. vii, 571.

Vol. VII. Lansing, 1886, pp. x, 709. Portrait.

Vol. VIII. Pioneer collections. Report of the Pioneer and Historical Society of the State of Michigan, 1886, pp. xiv. 714.

Vol. IX. 1886, pp. xii, 695.

Vol. X. Historical collections. Collections and researches made by the Pioneer and Historical Society of the State of Michigan, 1888, pp. vi, (2), 700. Portrait.

Vol. XI, 1888, pp. viii, 687.

Vol. XII, 1888, pp. vii, (1), 711.

Vol. XIII, 1889, pp. vii, 655. Portrait.

Vol. XIV, 1890, pp. viii, 720.

Portions of Vols. IX and X are composed of the Haldimand papers.

PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MICHIGAN. **Historical collections. Collections and researches made by the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society. Vol. XV. Lansing, 1889.**

8vo, pp. iv, 751.

Contains "Copies on file in the Dominion archives at Ottawa, Canada, pertaining to the relations of the British Government with the United States during the period of the war of 1812."

Now for the first time are brought together in print the official reports and correspondence of the British officers in command on the Canadian frontier and in Michigan; and * * * that portion of the British official story of the first two years of the war, which forms a page in the annals of Michigan, together with such parts thereof relating to Upper Canada as were found inseparable therefrom.

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PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MICHIGAN. Vol. XVI. Lansing, 1890.

8vo, pp. iv, 746.

Contains "Copies of papers on file in the Dominion archives at Ottawa, Canada, pertaining to the relations of the British Government with the United States during and subsequent to the period of the war of 1812; Treaty of peace and subsequent relations, 1815–1819." The documents are selected, as they concern Michigan and the surrounding territory, including Indian treaties, restitution of the military posts, trade matters, etc.

PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MICHIGAN. Vol. XVII. Lansing, 1892.

8vo, pp. ix, 732.

Pages 565–671 contain "Expedition to Detroit; 1793; the Quakers, the United States Commissioners, and the proposed treaty of peace with the Northwestern Indian tribes. Contemporary accounts of the tour to Detroit, the sojourn in that vicinity, and the return to Philadelphia, by Jacob Lindley, Joseph Moore, and Oliver Paxson."

PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MICHIGAN. Vol. XVIII. Lansing, 1892.

8vo, pp. ix, 733. Portrait. Contains the usual reports, with papers.

PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MICHIGAN. Vol. XIX. Lansing, 1892.

8vo, pp. iv, (1), 697.

This volume is devoted to copies from the Canadian archives relating to the upper country and upper posts, and especially to Detroit, Michilinackinac, and St. Joseph, and covers a period from 1721 to near the close of the Revolutionary war. They are arranged as follows: Reports on American colonies, 1721–1762, giving the official account of the French and British contention in the Indian country, with the treatment of the Indians; The military dispatches, 1760–1764; The Bouquet papers, 1759–1765; The Haldimand papers, 1773–1781.

PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MICHIGAN. Vol. XX. Lansing, 1892.

8vo, pp. (6), 698.

"Devoted to copies of original documents from the Canadian archives of Ottawa, relating to Michigan and its environs."

Contents: The Haldimand papers, 1782–1789, "covering the period of the closing of the Revolutionary war, and the establishing of peace, and the evacuation of some of the military posts;" Papers relating to Indian affairs, 1761–1800, containing correspondence relative to the Indian war, etc.

PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MICHIGAN. Vol. XXI. Lansing, 1894.

8vo, pp. viii, 736.

"This volume contains the proceedings of the annual meeting of 1892 and the papers contributed for that meeting, among which is a reprint of Marquette's journal of his first visit to the Mississippi. * * * A valuable contribution to the history of Detroit and vicinity will be found in the article upon the Patriot War and the Siege of Detroit."

PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MICHIGAN. Vol. XXII. Lansing, 1894.

8vo, pp. viii, 719, (1).

"This volume contains the proceedings of the annual meeting of 1893 and the papers read at that meeting, together with other historical papers."

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PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MICHIGAN. Collections and researches made by the Society. Vol. XXIII. Lansing, 1895.

8vo, pp. (6) 706.

Contains copies on file in the Dominion archives at Ottawa, Canada, pertaining to Michigan.

PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MICHIGAN. Vol. XXIV. Lansing, 1895.

8vo, pp. (6) 718.

Continues the contents of the above.

PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MICHIGAN. Tenth annual meeting, June 13 and 14, 1883.

8vo, pp. 4, 1883. No title-page.

PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MICHIGAN. Tenth anniversary of the Society, June 4 and 5, 1884.

Sheet.

PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MICHIGAN. 1874–1885. Eleventh annual meeting, June 17 and 18, 1885.

Sheet.

PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MICHIGAN. The Diocese of Detroit; what it was; what it is. By Rev. Frank A. O'Brien. A paper read at the annual meeting of the Society, June 8, 1886. Detroit, 1886.

PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MICHIGAN. Manual. History, act of incorporation, constitution, by-laws, and list of officers and members. Lansing, 1893.

16mo, pp. 37.

MINNESOTA.

120. *MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

St. Paul, Minn.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Vols. I–VI. St. Paul, Minn. Published by the Society. 1860–1891.

8vo, 6 vols.

CONTENTS.

Vol. I. Republication of the original parts issued in 1850, 1851, 1852, 1853, 1856; Preface; Sketch of the Society; Charter; Officers; French voyageurs to Minnesota during the seventeenth century, address by E. D. Neill, January 1, 1850; Description of Minnesota, by H. H. Sibley, 1850; Our field of historical research; Address of A. Ramsey, January 13, 1851; Organization of Minnesota Territory, speech of H. H. Sibley before the Committee on Elections of the [U. S.] House of Representatives, December 22, 1848; Early courts of Minnesota, by A. Goodrich; Early schools of Minnesota, by D. A. J. Baker; Religious movements in Minnesota, by C. Hobart; The Dakota language, by S. R. Riggs; Memoir on the history and physical geography of Minnesota, by H. R. Schoolcraft; Letter from W. W. Mather, 1851; Letter of Mesnard, written on the eve of embarkation for Lake Superior, 1654; St. Louis River, by T. M. Fullerton; Ancient mounds and monuments, Iowa Indians, and mounds, by G. H. Pond; Stone heaps at Red Wing, by J. F. Aiton; Mounds of Minnesota Valley, by S. R. Riggs; Schoolcraft's exploring tour of 1832, by W. T. Boutwell; Battle of Lake Pokeguma, by E. D. Neill; Memoir of Jean N. Nicollet, by H. H. Sibley; A sketch of Joseph Renville, by E. D. Neill; Department of Hudson's Bay, by G. A. Belcourt; Obituary of James M. Goodhue, by E. D. Neill; Dakota land and Dakota life, by E. D. Neill; Who were the first men? by T. S. Williamson; Louis Hennepin, the Franciscan, first explorer of the Upper Mississippi River; Sieur Du Luth, explorer between Mille Lacs and Lake Superior; Le Sueur, the explorer of the Minnesota River; D'Iber-

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ville, an abstract of his memorial on the country of the Mississippi; The Fox and Ojibway war; Capt. Jonathan Carver, and his explorations; Z. M. Pike's explorations in Minnesota, 1805–1806; Who discovered Itasca Lake? letter of W. Morrison; Early days at Fort Snelling; Running the gantlet, a thrilling incident of early days at Fort Snelling; Reminiscences, historical and personal—annual address, by H. H. Sibley, February 1, 1856; Chronological index; General index. 1872. pp. 519. Portrait.

Vol. II [part 1]. Collections, 1860; Voyage in a six-oared skiff to the Falls of St. Anthony in 1817, by S. H. Long, with introductory note by E. D. Neill. Philadelphia, 1860. pp. 87 (1).

Vol. II [part 2]. Collections, 1864; Officers; Introductory; Early French forts and footprints of the valley of the Upper Mississippi, by E. D. Neill; Occurrences in and around Fort Snelling from 1819 to 1840, by E. D. Neill; History of the Dakotas, J. W. Lynd's manuscripts. St. Paul, 1865. pp. 62.

Vol. II [part 3]. Collections, 1867; Officers; Report of committee on publication; Annual report of the secretary, January 21, 1867; Mineral regions of Lake Superior, as known from their first discovery to 1865, by H. M. Rice; Constantine Beltrami, by A. J. Hill; Historical notes of the United States land office, by H. M. Rice; The geography of Perrot, so far as it relates to Minnesota, by A. J. Hill; Dakota superstitions, by G. H. Pond. St. Paul, 1867. pp. 62.

Vol. II [part 4]. The Carver centenary; an account of the celebration by the Society of the one hundredth anniversary of the council and treaty of Capt. J. Carver with the Nandowessies on May 1, 1767; held May 1, 1867. St. Paul, 1867. pp. 23. Portrait.

Vol. II [part 5]. Charter, constitution, and by-laws. St. Paul, 1868. pp. 11.

Vol. III. Preface; Organization of the Society; Relation of M. Penicaut; Introductory note, by E. D. Neill, translated by A. J. Hill; Bibliography of Minnesota, by J. F. Williams; A reminiscence of Fort Snelling, by C. O. Van Cleve; Narrative of Paul Mazakootemane; translated by S. R. Riggs; Memoir of H. A. Swift, by J. F. Williams; Sketch of John Other Day, by H. H. Sibley: A coincidence, by C. O. Van Cleve; Memoir of J. W. Lynd, by S. R. Riggs; The Dakota mission, by S. R. Riggs; Indian warfare in Minnesota, by S. W. Pond; Fort Snelling, Colonel Leavenworth's expedition to establish it in 1819, by T. Forsyth; Memoir of J. B. Faribault, by H. H. Sibley; Memoir of M. Scott, by J. F. Williams; Napehshneedoota, the first male convert to Christianity, by T. S. Williamson; Memoir of H. L. Dousman, by H. H. Sibley; Memoir of Joseph R. Brown; Memoir of Cyrus Aldrich, by J. F. Williams; Memoir of Lucian Galtier, by J. Ireland; Memoir of D. Olmstead, by J. F. Williams; Reminiscences of the early days of Minnesota, by H. H. Sibley; The Sioux or Dakotas, by T. S. Williamson; Memoir of S. Y. McMasters, by E. S. Goodrich; Tributes to the memory of John Mattocks, by several of his associates; Life and public services of W. A. Gorman; Lake Superior, its history, etc.; Annual address, January 24, 1879, by J. H. Baker; Memorial notices of G. H. Pond; In memory of T. S. Williamson, by S. R. Riggs; The Ink-pa-du-ta massacre of 1857, a paper read December 8, 1879, by C. E. Flandrau; Index. St. Paul, 1880. pp. viii, 423. Portrait.

Vol. IV. History of the city of St. Paul and of the county of Ramsey, Minnesota, by J. F. Williams. St. Paul, 1876. pp. 475. Portraits. Woodcut.

Vol. V. Memoir of W. W. Warren, by J. F. Williams; History of the Ojibways, based upon traditions and oral statements, by W. W. Warren; History of the Ojibways and their connection with fur traders, based upon official and other records, by E. D. Neill; Officers of the society; Members; Index. St. Paul, 1885. pp. 535. Portraits.

Vol. VI [part 1]. The sources of the Mississippi, their discoverers, real and pretended; A report by Hon. James H. Baker, read before the Society February 8, 1887. pp. 1–28.

Vol. VI [part 2]. The Hennepin bicentenary celebration by the Society of the two hundredth anniversary of the discovery of the Falls of St. Anthony in 1680, by Father Louis Hennepin; Early Days at Red River settlement and Fort Snelling;

NOTE.—Vol. II was reprinted in 1889 in a volume of 294 pages.

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Reminiscences of Mrs. Ann Adams, 1821–1829; Protestant missions in the Northwest, by Stephen R. Riggs; Autobiography of Maj. Lawrence Taliaferro; Henry Hastings Sibley, a memoir, by J. Fletcher Williams; Mounds in Dakota, Minnesota, and Wisconsin, by A. J. Hill. St. Paul, 1887–1891. pp. 29–319.

Vol. I is a reprint of the annuals published in 1850, 1851, 1852, 1853, and 1856.

Vol. VI [part 3]. Columbian address, by H. W. Childs, October 21, 1892; Reminiscences of Fort Snelling, by J. A. Bliss (335); Mrs. J. E. De Camp's narrative of her captivity in the Sioux outbreak of 1862 (354); A Sioux story of the war (382); Incidents of the threatened outbreak of Hole-in-the-Day and other Ojibways at the time of the Sioux massacre of 1862, by G. W. Sweet (401); Dakota scalp dances, by T. S. Williamson; Earliest schools in Minnesota Valley, by T. S. Williamson (410); Traditions of Sioux Indians, by W. H. Forbes (413); Death of Gabriel Franchère, by B. P. Avery; First settlement on Red River of the North, 1812, by E. T. Ayers (421); Frederick Ayer, teacher and missionary to the Ojibway Indians, 1829 to 1850; captivity among the Sioux; Story of Nancy McClure; Story of Mary Schwandt; Autobiography and reminiscences of Philander Prescott; Recollections of James M. Goodhue, by J. H. Stevens; An interesting historical document; Complete list of the names of all the soldiers and sailors on the pension rolls of the United States in 1813.

8 vo, pp. iv, 321–556.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Vol. VII. The Mississippi River and its source. A narrative and critical history of the discovery of the river and its head waters, accompanied by the results of detailed hydrographic and topographic surveys. By J. V. Brower. With an appendix by Alfred J. Hill. Illustrated. Minneapolis, 1893.

8vo, pp. xv, 360. Folded maps.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Charter, constitution, and by-laws. St. Paul, 1868.

8vo, pp. 11.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Annual report[s] for 1867–1878. St. Paul, 1868–1879.

8vo, 12 pamphlets.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Biennial report to the legislature, sessions of 1881, 1883, 1885, 1887, 1889, 1891, 1893. St. Paul, 1881–1893.

8vo, 7 pamphlets.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Bibliography of Minnesota. From the Minnesota historical collections, Vol. III, part 1. By J. Fletcher Williams. St. Paul, 1870.

8vo, pp. 65. Fifty copies separately printed.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Circular, January 20, 1878. [St. Paul], 1878.

Sheet.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Proceedings of the Society from its organization, November 15, 1849, to the admission of the State, May 11, 1858. St. Paul, 1878.

8vo, pp. 21.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Charter, by-laws, roll of officers and members. St. Paul, 1879.

8vo, pp. 16.

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MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Transactions of the department of American history, April, May, 1879. Minneapolis, 1879.

8vo, pp, 34.

Contents: Life among the Sioux at Lake Calhoun, by Gideon H. Pond; Battle of Lake Pokeguma, by Edmund F. Ely; Memoir of Cecil Calvert, baron of Baltimore, proprietor of Maryland; Cartology of Lake Superior; Stone implements of the aborigines, by E. S. Stebbins; Missionaries of the American Board of Foreign Missions among the Indians of Minnesota, 1831–1840.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Transactions of the department of American history for October, 1879. Minneapolis, 1879.

8vo, pp. (4) 77–115.

Pages 81–115 contain reminiscences of the campaign against Vicksburg, by J. P. Sanborn.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Transactions of the department of American history. April–December, 1879. Minneapolis, 1879.

8vo, pp. 148.

Embraces the two preceding pamphlets.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Ancient quartz workers and their quarries in Minnesota. By Frances E. Babbitt. Read at the meeting of the Society in February, 1880.

American Antiquarian, Vol. III, pp. 18–23.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The Hennepin Bicentenary. Account of the celebration by the Society of the two hundredth anniversary of the discovery of the Falls of St. Anthony by Louis Hennepin. St. Paul, 1880.

8vo, pp. (6).

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Circular letter from J. Fletcher Williams, St. Paul, March 16, 1881.

Sheet.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Department of American history. Light thrown by the Jesuits upon hitherto obscure points of early American history. Read by E. D. Neill. [St. Paul, n. d.]

8vo, pp. (9).

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Department of American history. The writings of Louis Hennepin. By E. D. Neill. Prepared for the monthly meeting of the department of American history, September 6, 1880. St. Paul, 1880.

8vo, pp. 10.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The sources of the Mississippi, their discoveries, real and pretended. A report by Hon. James H. Baker. Read before the Society, February 8, 1887. St. Paul, 1887.

8vo, pp. 28.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Catalogue of the library of the Minnesota Historical Society. St. Paul, 1888.

8vo, 2 vols.

121. *OLD SETTLERS' ASSOCIATION OF HENNEPIN COUNTY.*

Minneapolis, Minn.

OLD SETTLERS' ASSOCIATION OF HENNEPIN COUNTY. Address at the annual meeting, by E. D. Neill, February 22, 1872 [on the history of Hennepin County]. Published by *Evening News*, Minneapolis. [1872.]

8vo, pp. 12. Contains also proceedings.

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OLD SETTLERS' ASSOCIATION OF HENNEPIN COUNTY. Sketch of the organization, objects, and membership of the Old Settlers' Association; with an account of its excursion to the Red River of the North, October 25 and 26, 1871. St. Paul, 1872.

12vo, pp. 29.

122. *RAMSEY COUNTY PIONEER ASSOCIATION.*

St. Paul, Minn.

RAMSEY COUNTY PIONEER ASSOCIATION. Address delivered before the Ramsey County Pioneer Association, May 11, 1886, by Charles E. Flandrau. The twenty-eighth anniversary of the admission of the State of Minnesota into the Union. St. Paul, 1886.

8vo, pp. 39.

RAMSEY COUNTY PIONEER ASSOCIATION. Constitution, officers, list of residents in Ramsey County in 1857, etc. St. Paul, 1886.

8vo, pp. 14.

MISSOURI.

123. *FRANKLIN SOCIETY OF ST. LOUIS.*

FRANKLIN SOCIETY OF ST. LOUIS. Address delivered before the Society, on its first anniversary, January 7, 1836. By W. G. Eliot. St. Louis, [1836].

8vo, pp. 27.

124. *MISSOURI HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.*

St. Louis, Mo.

MISSOURI HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY. Annals of the Missouri Historical and Philosophical Society. No. 1. Metropolitan print, Jefferson City, 1848.

8vo, pp. 29.

Title 1 l.—Introduction [History of the Society, etc.], pp. 3–6; Act of incorporation, etc., pp. 7–8; Constitution [December 18, 1844], pp. 9–11; First annual meeting [January 20, 1845], pp. 11–13; Second annual meeting [January 10, 1846], pp. 13–17; Third annual meeting [January 19, 1847], pp. 18–21; Fourth annual meeting [January 17, 1848; with secretary's report], pp. 21–25; Names and residences of members, pp. 27–29.

The matter concerning the annual meetings relates mostly to election of officers, notices of donations and of letters sent. No "papers."

MISSOURI HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY. Japan and the expedition thereto of the United States. Discourse before the Society, December 22, 1852. By Thomas Allen. St. Louis, 1853.

8vo, pp. 34.

125. *MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

St. Louis, Mo.

MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Kaskaskia, the ancient. Read before the Society by D. J. Doherty, February 15, 1872. (Cut from *St. Louis Republican*, February 19, 1872.)

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MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Constitution and by-laws. St. Louis, 1875.

8vo, pp. 40.

MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Letter from committee on publication, September 1, 1880. [With list of members.] [St. Louis, 1880.]

8vo, pp. 2.

MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Memorandum of O. W. Collet, keeper of museum. July, 1880. [St. Louis, 1880.]

8vo, pp. 2. With list of members.

MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Publications. Nos. 1–8. [St. Louis, 1880–1885.]

8vo. 8 pamphlets.

No. 1. The campaign in Missouri and the battle of Wilson's Creek. 1861. By Col. William M. Wherry, pp. 18. Nos. 2, 3. Recollections of a septuagenarian. Paper. By William Waldo. Archæological explorations in Cole County, Mo. By Dr. N. De Wyl. Prehistoric remains in Missouri. Paper. By G. C. Broadhead. pp. 22. No. 4. Amended charter and by-laws. pp. 27. No. 5. Address of Hon. John F. Darby, April 21, 1881, on Samuel Gaty. pp. 20. Portrait. No. 6. Notes on the archæology of Missouri. By F. F. Hilder. pp. 17. No. 7. Annual address of the president, George E. Leighton, January 16, 1883. pp. 23. No. 8. Attempts to separate the West from the American Union. By C. F. Robertson, D. D., LL. D. 1885. pp. 60. Map.

MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Historical societies in their relation to local historical interest. Address before the Society, September 19, 1883. By C. F. Robertson. St. Louis, 1883.

8vo, pp. 16.

MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY. President's annual address. By G. E. Leighton. St. Louis, 1883.

8vo, pp. 23.

MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The American Revolution and the acquisition of the valley of the Mississippi. Paper read before the Society April 15, 1884. By C. F. Robertson, D. D., LL. D. St. Louis, 1884.

8vo, pp. 27.

MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The attempts made to separate the West from the American Union. Paper read before the Society February 4, 1885. By C. F. Robertson, D. D., LL. D. St. Louis, 1885.

8vo, pp. 60.

126. *ST. LOUIS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

St. Louis, Mo.

ST. LOUIS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. An address delivered before the St. Louis Historical Society December 10, 1868, and repeated by request before the Mercantile Library Association January 21, 1869, upon the thermometric gateways to the pole, surface currents of the ocean, and the influence of the latter upon the climate of the world. By Silas Bent. St. Louis, 1869.

8vo, pp. (2), 29. Folded map.

ST. LOUIS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Constitution and by-laws of the Historical Society of St. Louis. St. Louis, 1875.

8vo.

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127. *SOUTHERN HISTORICAL AND BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATION OF ST. LOUIS.*

SOUTHERN HISTORICAL AND BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATION OF ST. LOUIS. The war in Missouri. From Springfield to Neosho. [By Richard H. Musser.]

(In *Southern Bivouac.* New series, Vol. I, pp. 678–685, 745–752.) Paper read before the Association.

MONTANA.

128. *HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MONTANA.*

Helena, Mont.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MONTANA. [Circular relative to objects and wants of the Society, with list of officers, 1874.] [Helena, 1874.]

8vo, pp. (1). No title-page.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MONTANA. Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana; with its transactions, act of incorporation, constitution and ordinances, officers and members. Vol. I. Helena, Mont., 1876.

8vo, pp. 357. Portrait.

Contents: Officers; Members; Incorporation; Transactions, 1865–1875: A memoir of James Stuart, a pioneer of Montana, by Granville Stuart; Adventure on the Upper Missouri, 1872–73, by James Stuart; Early life of Malcolm Clarke, by C. O. Van Cleve; Lewis and Clarke's expedition; A trip up the South Snake River in 1863, by W. W. De Lacy; Sir George Gore's expedition (1854–1856), by F. G. Heldt; The Yellowstone expedition of 1863, by J. Stuart, with notes by S. T. Hauser; Geological notes on northern and central Montana, by O. C. Mortson; Earliest discovery of the Rocky Mountains, via the Missouri River, by Sieur de La Verendeye and his sons; Steamboat arrivals at Fort Benton, Mont., and vicinity, 1859–1874; List of officers of the Territory of Montana to 1876, by W. W. Johnson; List of all persons who were in what is now Montana during the winter of 1862–63; List of citizens at Fort Benton, 1862–63; List of persons in Missoula County, 1862–63; Mountains of the United States.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MONTANA. [Circular giving an account of the Society and its purposes.] [Helena, Mont., 1878.]

8vo, pp. 7.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MONTANA. Catalogue of the library; also report of the librarian for 1891–92. Helena, 1892.

8vo, pp. 128.

NEBRASKA.

129. *NEBRASKA STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Lincoln, Nebr.

NEBRASKA STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The discovery of Nebraska. Read before the Society April 16, 1880. By James W. Savage. Omaha, 1880.

8vo, pp. 42.

NEBRASKA STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Transactions and reports. Vols. I–III. Lincoln, 1885–1892.

8vo, 3 vols.

CONTENTS.

Vol. I. Organization and proceedings, 1878–1883; List of county histories; Pioneer reminiscences; Historical recollections in and about Otoe County; Historical letters of De Smet; First white child born in Nebraska; W. Hamilton on traditional origin of Omahas and other tribes; R. W. Furnas on the same; Historical data

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about Washington County; Relics in possession of the Society; First female suffragist movement in Nebraska; Autobiography of W. Hamilton; Hamilton on derivation of Indian names; H. Fontenelle on derivation of Indian names; History of Omaha Indians, by H. Fontenelle; Anecdotes relating to the "White cow" or "White buffalo," by R. W. Furnas; Biographical. Appendix: Annual address of R. W. Furnas, 1880; The philosophy of emigration, by J. M. Woolworth; Admission of Nebraska into the Union, by C. H. Gere; Gold at Pike's Peak, by A. L. Child; The discovery of Nebraska, by J. W. Savage; The place of history in modern education, by G. E. Howard; The organic act to aid the society; Constitution and by-laws; Officers, 1885; List of active members. 1885. pp. 233, (1).

Vol. II. The relation of history to the study and practice of law, by H. H. Wilson; Sketches from Territorial history, by A. G. Warner; The capital question in Nebraska, and the location of the seat of government at Lincoln, by C. H. Gere; How the Kansas-Nebraska boundary line was established, by H. D. Johnson; Slavery in Nebraska, by E. P. Rich; John Brown in Richardson County, by A. R. Keim; A visit to Nebraska in 1662, by J. W. Savage; Forty years among the Indians and on the eastern borders of Nebraska, by S. Allis; Notes on the early military history of Nebraska, by E. S. Dudley; History of the Powder River Indian expedition of 1865, by H. E. Palmer; History of Cass County, by A. L. Child; History of Dodge County, by L. J. Abbott; History of Washington County, by Perry Selden; History of Sarpy County, by S. D. Bangs; Sketch of the First Congregational church of Fremont, by I. E. Heaton; Early Fremont, by E. H. Barnard; Historical and Political Science Association of the University of Nebraska, by S. D. Cox: The discovery of gold in Colorado, by J. S. Morton; On the establishment of an arboreal bureau, by J. S. Morton; Biographical notices: E. H. Rogers, by S. Maxwell [etc.]; Proceedings; Index. 1887. pp. viii, 383.

Vol. III. American State legislatures, by Albert Watkins; Political science in American State universities, by A. G. Warner; History and art, by S. W. Moore; Salem witchcraft, by J. S. Kingsley; History of education in Omaha, by M. B. Newton; The christening of the Platte, by J. W. Savage; Development of the free soil idea in the United States, by W. H. Eller; The beginning of Lincoln and Lancaster County, by W. W. Cox; Early times and pioneers, by J. S. Morton; The Fort Pierre expedition, by G. L. Miller; The military camps on the Big Sioux River in 1855, by G. L. Miller; Reminiscences of a teacher among the Nebraska Indians, 1843–1855, by L. W. Colby; Early settlers en route, by Clark Irwin; An introduction to the history of higher education in Nebraska, and a brief account of the University of Nebraska, by H. W. Caldwell; Associational sermons, by Willard Scott; Congregational college history in Nebraska, Doane College, by Willard Scott; Fontenelle College, by Mrs. R. Gaylord; Thirty-three years ago—through Nebraska in 1853, by J. A. Murphy; The Pawnee Indian war, 1859, by R. W. Hazen; Early days in Nebraska; Reminiscences of early days in Nebraska, by D. C. Beam; Correspondence; Proceedings. Fremont, Nebr., 1892. pp. vi, 342.

NEBRASKA STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Transactions and reports. Vol. IV. Lincoln, 1892.

Contents: From Nebraska to Salt Creek in 1855, by J. S. Morton; Old Fort Atkinson, by W. H. Eller; The Indian troubles and the battle of Wounded Knee, by W. F. Kelly; O. P. Mason, by J. H. Broady; Judge James W. Savage, by C. A. Baldwin; Byron Reed, by W. D. Beckett; Thomas B. Cuming, by J. M. Woolworth; Reminiscences of early days in Nebraska, by M. F. Platt; The romantic history of a man well known to Nebraskians [Lucien Fontenelle]; Old Fort Calhoun; Arbor day: Progress of the tree-planting movement; What causes Indian mounds, by A. D. Jones; The first postmaster of Omaha, by A. D. Jones; Supreme judges of Nebraska, by W. M. Smith.

NEBRASKA STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Transactions and reports. Vol. V. Lincoln, 1893.

8vo, pp. 295.

Contents: Records and their conservation, by J. Sterling Morton; The Lincoln Public Library, 1875–1892, by Mrs. S. B. Pound; The Arickari conquest of 1823, by W. H. Eller; Some Frenchmen of early days on the Missouri River, by J. A. Mac-

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Murphy; Reminiscences of early days in Nebraska, by W. W. Cox; Admission of Nebraska as a State, by James M. Woolworth; Nebraska silver anniversary: The admission of Nebraska into the Union, by T. M. Marquette; * * * Early life in Nebraska, by S. P. Merrill; The political and constitutional development of Nebraska, by V. Rosewater; The settlement of Kearney County, by Joel Hull; Proceedings of the Society; Reports; List of members.

NEBRASKA STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Proceedings and collections. Published quarterly. Vol. I, No. 1. Second series. July, 1894. Lincoln, 1894.

8vo, pp. 64.

Contents: Part of the making of a great State, by John A. MacMurphy; The life of Governor Burt, by Clyde B. Aitchison; Reminiscences of early days, by B. J. Johnson.

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Contents: Early Nebraska currency, by Henry W. Yates; Municipal government in Nebraska, by V. Rosewater; The "Soldiers' free homestead colony," by S. C. Bassett; The effect of early legislation upon the courts of Nebraska, by T. M. Marquette.

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8vo, pp. (2), 131-192. Photograph.

Contents: Wanagi olowan kin (the ghost songs of the Dakotas), by L. W. Colby; Reminiscences of the third judicial district, 1857-1861, by E. Wakeley; Freighting across the plains in 1856, by M. H. Sydenham; Necrology; John Miller Taggart, by Mrs. Jeannette M. White.

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193-264 pp.

NEBRASKA STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. A visit to Nebraska in 1662. Communicated to the Society by J. W. Savage. Boston, 1885.

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Treats of Peñalosa's supposititious journey of 1662.

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NEW HAMPSHIRE.

130. *DOVER HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Dover, N. H.

DOVER HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Vol. I. Dover, 1894.

8vo, pp. (6), 305.

Contents: Births and marriages, 1693-1838, Dover records; Early records of New Hampshire families; Marriages by Rev. John Pike, 1686-1709; Baptisms of Rev. Jonathan Cushing, 1717-1766; Records of First church; Baptisms by Rev. Dr. Jeremy Belknap, 1767-1786; Marriages by Rev. Dr. Jeremy Belknap, 1767-1776; Marriages by Rev. Joseph W. Clary, 1812-1829; Marriages by Rev. Hubbard Winslow, 1829-1831; Deaths, 1773-1791, records of Nathaniel Cooper; Deaths, 1792-1802, records of Deacon Benjamin Pierce; Members of First church, 1718-1850; Baptisms by Rev. Robert Gray, 1787-1800; Marriages, 1835-1850, records of St. John's Methodist Episcopal church; Marriages, 1839-1850; Records of St. Thomas's Episcopal church; Marriages, 1839-1850, records of First Unitarian Society; Marriages, 1843-1850, records of St. Mary's Catholic church; Index.

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131. *NASHUA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Nashua, N. H.

NASHUA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Bicentennial of Dunstable, 1873. Address of S. T. Worcester before the Society, October 27, 1873. Nashua [1873].
8vo, pp. 38.

NASHUA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The old and new; or the public schools of New Hampshire and Ohio. An address before the Society, February 13, 1871. By S. T. Worcester. Nashua, 1871.
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132. *NEW HAMPSHIRE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.*

(First called New Hampshire Philomathic and Antiquarian Society.)

Contoocook, N. H.

NEW HAMPSHIRE PHILOMATHIC AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Constitution adopted November 19, 1873, with a list of active and honorary members. Bristol [N. H.], 1874.
8vo, pp. 16.

NEW HAMPSHIRE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Circular No. 15. Contoocook, N. H.
8vo. No title-page.

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8vo, pp. (2), 40.

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8vo.

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No. 1. Who invented the American steamboat? A statement of the evidence that the first American steamboat, propelled by means of paddle wheels, was invented, constructed, and successfully operated on the Connecticut River about 1792 by Capt. Samuel Morey, of Orford, N. H., and that Robert Fulton saw the boat in operation. By William A. Mowry. Read before the Society October 22, 1874. Contoocook, 1874. pp. 28. A blank leaf for pp. 5, 6.

No. 2. The Shurtleff manuscript, No. 153, being a narrative of certain events which transpired in Canada during the invasion of that province by the American Army in 1775. Written by a Mrs. Walker, whose husband was imprisoned for raising men to assist Ethan Allen in his disastrous attack on Montreal on the 25th of September. Printed from the original, with notes and an introduction, by Rev. Silas Ketchum. List of members. Contoocook, 1876. pp. (29)–60.

Title on cover: "A diary of the invasion of Canada, 1775."

No. 3. A list of the centenarians of New Hampshire who have deceased since 1705, with sketches of many of them. Compiled from various sources. By Daniel F. Secomb. Contoocook, 1877. pp. (61)–89, (1).

No. 4. Address at the annual meeting, July 15, 1879. By Rev. Silas Ketchum, president. Officers, 1878–79. Contoocook, 1879. 8vo, pp. (91)–105.

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Same. Contoocook, 1880. 8vo, pp. 16.

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NEW HAMPSHIRE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Annual address and eulogy upon Rev. Silas Ketchum before the Society July 20, 1880. By L. W. Cogswell. Contoocook, 1881.
8vo, pp. 16, (1).

133. *NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Concord, N. H.

NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Act of incorporation, constitution, and by-laws. Concord, 1823.
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8vo. Ten vols.

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Vol. I. Sketch of the formation of the Society; Memoir of the Hon. Samuel Penhallow, by Nathaniel Adams; History of the wars of New England with the Eastern Indians, by Samuel Penhallow; Original letter: S. Penhallow to Cotton Mather, February 27, 1698–99; N. Weare to Maj. Robert Pike, 1689–90; Address to Queen Anne, 1707; Lieutenant-Governor Wentworth's commission, 1717; Papers relating to Fort Dummer; Indian deeds to Wheelright and others, 1638; List of the Congregational ministers in Hillsborough County, 1685–1823; Historical sketch of Concord, N. H., by Jacob B. Moore; Note on the Penacook Indians, by John Farmer; Answers to the queries sent from the Lords of trade and plantation [concerning the Province of New Hampshire]; Census of New Hampshire, 1775; Topographical description of Enfield, N. H.; Account of the great whirlwind in New Hampshire, September 9, 1821; Newspaper extraordinary, 1689; The present state of the New English affairs, extract from a letter from I. Mather; Witchcraft in New Hampshire, 1656; Letter from Oliver Cromwell to Rev. John Cotton, 1651; The last will and testament of Myles Standish, 1655; Powers delegated to Lieutenant-Governor Cranfield May 9, 1682; Deposition of John Foullsam, 1684; Order respecting currency in New Hampshire, 1683; R. Mason's deposition, 1684; Order in council relative to William Vaughan and N. Weare, 1685; Articles of complaint against Cranfield, 1685; Affidavits respecting Sir Edmond Androsse, 1690; Table to bring old tenor into lawful money, 1750; Lieutenant-Governor Dunbar's queries to his council, 1733; Deposition of Elizabeth Miles, 1754; Register of New Hampshire for 1768; Bill of mortality for Rochester, N. H., 1776–1822; Original letters relating to Dr. Belknap's History of New Hampshire, 1791; Topographical and historical sketch of Bedford, N. H., by A. Foster and P. P. Woodbury; Documents relating to the history of New Hampshire: Indian deed to Wheelwright, 1629, with remarks on its authenticity, by Governor Plumer; Grant of New Hampshire to John Mason; Grant from council of Plymouth to John Mason; Grant of New Hampshire and Massonia to John Mason; Extract from will of J. Mason; Agreement of the settlers at Exeter, N. H., 1639; Agreement of the inhabitants upon Piscataqua River for government; Vote of the British Parliament—duties on imports and exports to and from New England, 1642; * * * Resolve concerning Quakers, 1665; Petition of Robert Mason and others—lands in New Hampshire and Maine; Reports upon Mason's title to New Hampshire, 1660; Petition of Robert Mason, 1660; Option of Chief Justice Jones upon Mason's claim, 1679.

Concord, 1824. pp. 336.

Vol. II. Wheeler's narrative of an expedition into the Nipmuck country and to Quaboag, 1675; Instances of longevity in New Hampshire; Instances of longevity in Pelham, 1798–1824; Committee of safety in New Hampshire, 1776–1784; Biographical sketch of Maj. Richard Waldron; Notice of Rev. Lemuel Wadsworth, by E. Hill; Attack of the Indians at Walpole in 1755; Journal of convention at Dracut, November, 1776; Letter from President Weare to Messrs. Langdon and

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Peabody, Delegates to Congress, 1779; Same to Colonel Peabody; Annals of Keene, 1734–179C, by Salma Hale; Communication on the Wheelwright deed; Original letters relating to the War of Independence; Unpublished letters of Washington [to New Hampshire authorities]; Deposition of Barefoote, Mason, etc, 1683; Employment of Mohawk and Seneca Indians, 1684; Orders of Governor Cranfield, 1684; Letter of Rev. Seaborn Cotton to council of New Hampshire, 1685; List of the civil government of Massachusetts from 1630 to 1641, and of Massachusetts, Maine, and New Hampshire to 1680, by J. Farmer; Extract from the records of the house of deputies of Massachusetts, 1654; Memoir of Nathaniel A. Haven, jr.; Indian treaties: Fort William Henry, 1693; Portsmouth, 1702 and 1703; Letter from Governor Dudley, 1713; Treaty at Piscataqua, 1713; at Georgetown, 1717; at Boston, 1725; at Casco, 1727; Indian articles of peace, July 25, 1727; Governor Wentworth's message, 1747; Treaty at Falmouth, 1749; Submission of, 1698; An historical sketch of the northern boundary of New Hampshire; Memoir of James Freeman Dana.

Concord, 1827, pp. (4), 300.

Vol. III. Constitution; Members; Memoir of Samuel Dana, by C. H. Atherton; Memoir of Wyseman Clagett, by C. H. Atherton; Settlers of Somersworth, 1650–1700; Journal of Rev. John Pike, of Dover, N. H., 1678–1709; Recollections in the history of Northwood, N. H.; Original papers: Return of commissioners about the beaver trade, 1657; * * * Account of people distressed by the war in Massachusetts colony, taken January 22, 1676–77; Sketches of the graduates of Dartmouth College from the foundation of that institution in 1769, by John Farmer; An account of the insurrection in New Hampshire in 1786; Letter from Cotton Mather [relative to Bridget and Jane Moulton]; Address before the Society June 11, 1828, by Salma Hale; Uring's notice of New England, 1709; Instances of longevity in Canterbury, N. H.; Provincial taxes in New Hampshire, 1753–1766; An address before the Society, June 8, 1831, by Charles H. Atherton [on probate law in New Hampshire]; Historical sketches of Warner, N. H., by M. Long; Memorial of Rev. Federal Burt, by Jonathan French; Penacook papers, 1659–1668; Account of the storm and avalanches at the White Mountains in 1826, by J. B. Moore; A plan for providing materials for history; Sketches of the graduates of Dartmouth College from the foundation in 1769, by John Farmer; Memoir of the Hon. Abel Parker, by Jacob B. Moore; Reflections on the destruction of the Willey family in the White Mountains, by T. C. Upham; Letter of Rev. Joshua Moodey to John Cotton, 1776; * * * Sketch of Capt. John Pickering, of Portsmouth; Life and character of Oliver Peabody.

Concord, 1832. pp. 304. This volume was reprinted at Manchester in 1870.

Vol. IV. Anniversary discourse, June 12, 1833 [History of education in New Hampshire], by Rev. Nathaniel Bouton; Memorials of the graduates of Harvard University, 1642–1646, by John Farmer; Oaths taken by the civil, military, and ecclesiastical officers in New Hampshire on the accession of George II, 1727; Directions for the study of English history, by Richard Farmer; Great earthquake of 1727, giving some account as it was at Hampton, by N. Gorkin; Letters from Governor Belcher to Secretary Waldron, 1742; Annals of Charlestown, N. H., by Rev. J. Crosby; Extracts from the records of the convention of Congregational ministers in New Hampshire; Constitutions of New Hampshire, 1776, 1779, 1781, 1783, 1792; Sketches of the history of Canterbury, N. H., by Rev. W. Patrick; Account of an inscription on a rock at Weare, by P. Carrigain; Abner Clough's journal of the march of Capt. D. Ladd to protect the inhabitants of Rumford and the adjacent towns against the Indians, 1746; Capt. J. Goffe's letter to Governor Wentworth, 1746; Brief notices of Antrim, N. H., by Rev. J. M. Whiton; Governor Thomas Dudley's letter to the Countess of Lincoln, 1631; Journey of Governor Shute from Boston to Portsmouth, 1716; Speech of the Earl of Bellomont, August 7, 1699; Petition of persons of Rumford, Canterbury, and Contoocook, 1748; Memoir of Rev. Dr. Nathan Parker, by Samuel E. Coues; Sketches of the graduates of Dartmouth College, by John Farmer, continued; Letter from Rev. T. Fessenden [giving sketch of Walpole, N. H.], 1790; Memoir of Hon. David Barker, by Rev. Isaac Willey; Constitution; Members, etc.

Concord, 1834. pp. 302.

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Vol. v. Remarks and documents relating to the preservation and keeping of the public archives, by Richard Bartlett; Cold Friday, 1st of January, 1810; Historical sketch of Amherst, N. H., by John Farmer; Sketches of the civil and ecclesiastical history of Durham, by Rev. Federal Burt; A sketch of New Ipswich, N. H., civil, literary, and ecclesiastical, by Rev. Charles Walker; Memoir of Hanserd Knollys, by Rev. J. Newton Brown; Historical sketch of Hampstead, N. H., by John Kelly; Journal of Capt. Phineas Stevens to and from Canada, 1749; Petition of the inhabitants of Nutfield, afterwards Londonderry, 1719; Journal of Capt. Eleazer Melvin in the wilderness toward Crown Point, 1748; Biographical notice of Dr. William Cogswell; Memoir of Nathaniel Folsom, by C. P. Bradley; Samuel Livermore, by C. P. Bradley; Manners and customs of olden time; An account of the several provinces in North America, 1755; List of counsellors of New Hampshire from 1680 to 1837, by John Farmer; Genealogical notice of the Wentworths of New Hampshire; Sketch of John Wentworth, jr.; Sketch of Meshech Weare, by Paine Wingate; Attempt to establish a playhouse in New Hampshire at Portsmouth, 1762; Mortality in Kingston, N. H., 1725 to 1832, by Rev. Ora Pearson; Petition of the inhabitants of Souhegan-West, now Amherst, 1747; Letter of Colonel Hinsdale to Governor Wentworth, 1755; Letters relating to Mrs. Jemima How; Rate of silver per ounce in New Hampshire, 1700–1750; Letter of Governor Wentworth, 1777; Meteorological tables for Concord, 1828–1836, by John Farmer; Address, June 9, 1836, by Daniel Oliver, M. D.; Alphabetical list of the resident members of the Society.

Concord, 1837. pp. 307, (1).

Vol. vi. Death of Rev. W. Cogswell; An account of the Society, by Nathaniel Bouton; Memoir of John Farmer, by Jacob B. Moore; Letters of Dr. Franklin to his sister, 1770–1788; History of Atkinson, N. H., by Rev. William Cogswell; Colonel Badger's muster roll in 1776; Governor Wentworth's order for raising men in 1759; Governor Dunbar's commission, 1731; Address of Rev. Charles Burroughs, D. D., on the preservation of documents as the materials of history; Bradley monument, erected [at Concord, N. H.] August 22, 1827; Memoir of Hon. Joseph Badger, by Joseph Badger; Governor Pownall's letter to Sir William Pepperell; Address of Hon. Levi Woodbury before the Society, June, 1845; Dartmouth College statistics, 1801–1850; Instructions to commanders of privateers in 1776; * * * An address of Hon. Jeremiah Smith, delivered at the celebration of the second centennial of the settlement of Exeter, July 4, 1838; Memoir of Samuel Abbot, of Wilton, N. H., by C. H. Atherton; Instructions of Governor Wentworth, 1724; Historical sketch of Corydon, by L. P. Cooper; Currency in New Hampshire, 1683; Mortality in Concord, 1825–1849; Mortality in Gilmanton, 1825–1850; Two hundredth anniversary of the settlement of New Hampshire [at Portsmouth], 1823; Poem by O. W. B. Peabody; * * * New Hampshire State Society of the Society of the Cincinnati; Rev. James Macgregor; Journal of the march of General Poor's brigade, from Soldier's Fortune, on the western expedition, May 17, 1779, by Daniel Livermore [Sullivan's expedition]; Vote of council and assembly appointing a committee to repair to Grafton County, January, 1777; Portrait of John Farmer.

Concord, 1850. pp. 336.

Vol. vii. Edited by Nathaniel Bouton: Records of the New Hampshire committee of safety, 1775–1784; Facts relating to the early history of Chester, N. H., 1720–1784, collected by Charles Bell; The valley of the Merrimack, by J. B. Walker; Report on the alterations in the channel of Merrimack River, by William Prescott.

Concord, 1863. pp. xxviii, 442.

Vol. viii. Province records and court papers from 1680 to 1692; Notices of provincial councilors and other articles relative to the early history of the State, edited by Nathaniel Bouton: Brief notices of some of the early councilors, by Samuel D. Bell: John Cutt, William Vaughan, John Gilman, Richard Waldron, Samuel Dalton, Richard Waldron, jr., Nathaniel Fryer, John Hinckes, Robert Wadleigh, Peter Coffin, Richard Martyn, Thomas Daniel, Christopher Hussey, Elias Stileman, Job Clements, Anthony Nutter, Robert Elliot, Francis Champernoon, Henry Green, Nathaniel Weare; Unsettled state of the province of New Hampshire, 1689–1692; Massacre at Dover, 1689, by Mrs. Christina Baker; Character of the Penacooks, by Rev. Edward Ballard; Indian mode of applying names; Indian names connected with the valley of the Merrimack, by Rev. E. Ballard;

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Ancient deed, 1659; * * * Present state of New English affairs [by I. Mather]; Index; Members.

Concord, 1866. pp. xvi, 484.

Vol. IX. Proceedings, 1872–1888. Concord, 1888. pp. (2), 477.

Vol. IX, part 1. Proceedings of the Society, 1872–73, including the semicentennial exercises, May 22, 1873; By-laws; Members; Proceedings; Semicentennial dedicatory address, by Joseph B. Walker; Prayer by Rev. Nathaniel Bouton, D. D.; Ode, by George Kent; * * * Address of Charles H. Bell, May 22, 1873, being the semicentennial anniversary of the foundation of the Society, and the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of New Hampshire; New Hampshire, a poem, by Edna Dean Proctor. 1874. pp. 84.

Vol. IX, part 2. Proceedings, 1874–75, together with the report of the committee in defense of Gen. John Sullivan. 1875. pp. (2), 85-104.

Vol. IX, part 3. Proceedings, 1876–1884: Gen. James Reed, sketch of his life, by Amos J. Blake [Lorenzo Sabine, by C. H. Bell]; Hon. Nahum Parker; Report of the majority of the committee on the name "Kearsarge," by John M. Shirley; Annual address, June 12, 1878, by John T. Perry; Annual address, June 13, 1883, by John M. Shirley, on the early jurisprudence of New Hampshire. 1885. pp. (2), 105–338.

Vol. IX, part 4. Proceedings, 1884–1888: Address of Charles W. Tuttle on the two hundredth anniversary of the establishment of the royal provincial government of New Hampshire; New Hampshire soldiers at the battle of Bunker Hill, by S. T. Worcester; Name-changing, by E. Aiken; Address, October 27, 1887, by President Sargent; Penacook House and the old-time taverns of the State, by J. B. Walker; Mills and manufacturing on the Contoocook and neighboring streams, by John Kimball; The old methods of transportation, by Lyman D. Stevens; Memoir of Timothy Upham, by President Sargent; Review of the early records of New Castle, N. H., by John Albee; Index to the genealogical and biographical sketches, prepared by the late Governor William Plumer; Officers; Index.

Concord, 1888. pp. (2), 339–477.

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Watertown, N. Y.

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Contents: Officers; Constitution; The Celebration at Sackets Harbor; On some of the circumstances which led to the war of 1812, by R. Fisk; Sackets Harbor

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and the war of 1812, by O. B. Willcox; Present peace and some of its responsibilities, by A. D. Shaw; Presentation of old battle ground, by W. B. Camp; Inaugural address, by B. Brockway; Joseph Mullin; Mounds at Perch Lake, by D. S. Marvin; Paper on "Early Rutland," by M. Eames; Champion (N. Y.) historical reminiscences, by P. F. Hubbard; Historical reminiscences, by W. Fayel; The aborigines, by W. M. Beauchamp; Moses Eames; Local and economical geology, by D. Minthorn; Reminiscences of Adams, by E. J. Clark; Early history of Adams, by W. W. Wright; Jason Fairbanks; Rainfall for forty-one years, by M. Eames; Members; Incorporation.

157. *JUNIOR PIONEER ASSOCIATION OF THE CITY OF ROCHESTER AND MONROE COUNTY.*

Rochester, N. Y.

JUNIOR PIONEER ASSOCIATION OF THE CITY OF ROCHESTER AND MONROE COUNTY. No. 1. Historical collections of the Association. An address delivered by Ferdinand De W. Ward before the Association at its annual gathering and festival, October 26, 1859, and redelivered, by request, before the Association and citizens of Rochester, December 12, 1859. Rochester, 1860.

8vo, pp. 48.

Giving historical sketch of the first half century of Rochester.

158. *KINGS COUNTY GENEALOGICAL CLUB.*

Brooklyn, N. Y.

KINGS COUNTY GENEALOGICAL CLUB. Collections. Vol. I, Nos. 1–6. Brooklyn, 1882–1894.

8vo, pp. 60.

CONTENTS.

1. Inscriptions on tombstones in cemetery of Reformed Dutch Church, New Utrecht, Long Island. pp. 15.

2. Inscriptions on tombstones in cemetery of Reformed Dutch Church, Flat lands, Long Island, and private cemeteries adjacent. pp. 17–29.

3. Inscriptions on tombstones in cemetery of Reformed Dutch Church, Gravesend, Long Island, and private cemeteries adjacent. pp. 31–44.

4. Inscriptions on tombstones in old Bushwick graveyard. Brooklyn baptismal records from 1660. New York, 1888. 8vo, pp. 45–60.

Contents: Tombstone inscriptions in the burial ground of the old Bushwick church (Brooklyn, N. Y.), copied August, 1880, by George Sparrow. Baptisms in the Reformed Dutch Church of Brooklyn, as translated by the late T. G. Bergen.

5 and 6. Brooklyn baptismal records, from 1679 to end of 1719. Marriages from October, 1660, to June, 1696. New York, 1894. 8vo, pp. 61–96.

159. *LIVINGSTON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Dansville, N. Y.

LIVINGSTON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Constitution, by-laws, and certificate of incorporation. Mount Morris, N. Y., 1877.

12mo, pp. 14.

LIVINGSTON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Second annual meeting, January 8, 1878. Annual address, by B. F. Angel. * * * Also history of organization, constitution, by-laws, and certificate of corporation. Dansville, 1878.

8vo, pp. 36.

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LIVINGSTON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Third annual meeting, January 14, 1879. Annual address: The judges and lawyers of Livingston County. By L. B. Proctor. Dansville, 1879.
pp. 26.

LIVINGSTON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Fourth annual meeting, January 13, 1880. [Annual address: The recent discoveries in history By W. M. White.] Dansville, 1880.
8vo, pp. 25.

LIVINGSTON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Fifth annual meeting, January 11, 1881. [Annual address: The nature and kinds of historic evidence. By Rev. Lloyd Windsor, D. D.] Dansville, 1881.
8vo, pp. 15.

LIVINGSTON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Sixth annual meeting, January 10, 1882. Dansville, 1882.
pp. 28.

LIVINGSTON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Seventh annual meeting, January 9, 1883. Dansville, 1883.
pp. 20.

LIVINGSTON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Eighth annual meeting, January 8, 1884. Dansville, 1884.
8vo, pp. 39.

LIVINGSTON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Ninth annual meeting, January 13, 1885. Dansville, 1885.
8vo, pp. 30.

LIVINGSTON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Tenth annual meeting, January 12, 1886. Dansville, 1886.
pp. 36.

LIVINGSTON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Eleventh annual meeting, January 11, 1887.
8vo, pp. 40.

LIVINGSTON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. President's address, by B. F. Angel. Secretary's report, by N. Seymour. Historical paper, by F. De W. Ward. Geneseo, N. Y., 1882.
8vo, pp. 45.
Pages 10–45 are occupied with The ecclesiastical history of Livingston County N. Y., from the earliest reliable date to January 1, 1882, by F. De W. Ward. This article has a separate title-page.
The president's address and the secretary's report have been published separately, forming one of the regular publications of the Society.

160. *LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Brooklyn, N. Y.

LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Long Island. By W. Alfred Jones, A. M., librarian of Columbia College. Read before the Long Island Historical Society, November 5, 1863. New York, 1863.
8vo, pp. 23.

LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. By-laws and certificate of incorporation. Brooklyn, 1863.
8vo, pp. 36.

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LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The certificate of incorporation and by-laws. Brooklyn, 1863.
8vo, pp. 21.

LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. First to sixth annual reports, 1864–1869. Brooklyn, 1864–1869.
8vo. Six pamphlets.

LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Fourteenth annual report, presented May, 1877. With a list of members, January, 1878. Brooklyn, 1878.
8vo, pp. 39.
There were no reports presented between 1869 and 1877.

LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Fifteenth annual report, presented May, 1878. Brooklyn, 1878.
8vo, pp. 19.

LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Report for the years 1878–1881. Presented May 10, 1881. Brooklyn, 1881.
8vo, pp. 55.

LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Proceedings at the nineteenth and twentieth annual meetings, May 9, 1882, and May 15, 1883, with the [nineteenth and twentieth annual] reports of the directors and a list of members. Brooklyn, 1882–83.
8vo. Two pamphlets.

LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Journal of a voyage to New York and a tour to several of the American colonies in 1679–80, by Jasper Dankers and Peter Sluyter, of Wieverd, in Friesland. Translated and edited by Henry C. Murphy. Brooklyn, 1867.
8vo, pp. xlvii, 440, viii. Plates.
Reprint of Vol. I of the memoirs.

LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Memoirs. Vols. I–IV. Brooklyn, 1867–1889.
8vo. Four vols.

CONTENTS.

Vol. I. Journal of a voyage to New York and a tour in several of the American colonies in 1679–80, by Jasper Dankers and Peter Sluyter, of Wieverd, in Friesland. Translated and edited by H. C. Murphy. 1867. pp. xlvii, 440, viii. 12 plates.

Vol. II. The battle of Long Island, with connected preceding events, and subsequent American retreat. Introductory narrative by T. W. Field. With authentic documents. 1869. pp. xiii, ix, 549. Folded maps.

Vol. III. The campaign of 1776 around New York and Brooklyn. Including a new and circumstantial account of the battle of Long Island and the loss of New York, with a review of events to the close of the year. Maps, portraits, and original documents. By Henry P. Johnston. 1878. pp. viii, 300, 209.

Vol. IV. George Washington and Mount Vernon. Brooklyn, 1889. 8vo, pp. xcii, 352. Portrait. Contains: George Washington and Mount Vernon. A collection of Washington's unpublished agricultural and personal letters. Edited, with historical and genealogical introduction, by Moncure Daniel Conway.

There is inserted in the beginning of each of the volumes a list of officers of the Society, with statements relative to the publications of the Society.

LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. History and its sources. Address read before the Society at the annual meeting, May 7, 1868, by J. C. Brevoort. Brooklyn, 1868.
8vo, pp. 23. Facsimile.

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LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. List of the principal illustrated books in the library of the Society. Brooklyn, 1868.
8vo.

LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Louis XVII. and Eleazar Williams. Were they the same person? By Francis Vinton. Read before the Society October 23, 1863. Reprinted from *Putnam's Magazine* for the Society, 1868. [Brooklyn], 1868.
8vo, pp. 331–340.

LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Explorations in Jerusalem, July 1869.
Circular sheet.

LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Medical department of the Society. An account of its formation, with a catalogue of the books. Brooklyn, 1870.
8vo, pp. 32.

LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Military lessons taught by the war. Address before the Society, February 23, 1869. By H. W. Slocum. New York, 1869.
8vo, pp. 20.

LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Circular, February 17, 1874. By George Hannah, librarian.
Broadside.

LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Early history of Suffolk County, Long Island. Paper read before the Society November 16, 1865. Brooklyn, 1866. By H. Nicoll.
12mo, pp. 18.

LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. List of members, with the by-laws and a sketch of the institution. Brooklyn, 1875.
8vo, pp. 27.

LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. List of members, with a sketch of the institution. Brooklyn, 1876.
8vo, pp. (1) 24.

LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. List of recent additions to the library of the Society, being an appendix to the report of the directors, presented May 10, 1881. Brooklyn, 1881.
8vo, pp. 132.

LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The Dutch and the Iroquois. Suggestions as to the importance of their friendship in the great struggle of the eighteenth century for the possession of the continent. Being a paper read before the Society, February 21, 1882. By Charles H. Hall. New York, 1882.
8vo, pp. 55.

LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Officers, 1884–85. Long Island Historical Society. Its objects and work, with history of members. [Brooklyn, 1884.]
8vo, pp. 24. No title-page.

LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Proceedings of the Long Island Historical Society. In memory of Hon. James Carson Brevoort. Brooklyn, 1888.
8vo, pp. (2) 5.

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LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Proceedings of the Society in memory of Hon. James Carson Brevoort, Mrs. Urania Battell Humphrey, Hon. John Greenwood, and Alfred Smith Barnes. Brooklyn, N. Y., 1888.

8vo, pp. 15.

LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. [History, by-laws, and list of members.] Brooklyn, [1891].

Small 4to, pp. 44. Woodcut.

LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. [Sketch of its history, by-laws, officers, and members.] Brooklyn, [1891].

12mo, pp. 44.

LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Catalogue of the library of the Society. 1863–1893. Brooklyn, 1893.

8vo, pp. (6), 801.

161. *MINISINK VALLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Port Jervis, N. Y.

MINISINK VALLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. John Hathorn. By Rev. A. A. Haines. An address delivered before the Society. In *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, Vol. XX, October, 1889, pp. 169–171. New York, 1889.

MINISINK VALLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. A history of Deerpark, in Orange County, N. Y. By Peter E. Gumaer. With portrait of the author and cut of house in which he lived. Published by the Minisink Valley Historical Society, 1890.

12mo, pp. 204 (2).

MINISINK VALLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. 1690–1890. Bi-centennial celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of the settlement of the Minisink Valley, held under the auspices of the Society at Candebec Park, Cuddebackville, Orange County, N. Y., July 22, 1890. Port Jervis, N. Y., [1890].

Small 4to, pp. 28 (1).

162. *MONUMENT ASSOCIATION OF THE CAPTURE OF ANDRÉ.*

Tarrytown, N. Y.

MONUMENT ASSOCIATION OF THE CAPTURE OF ANDRÉ. Centennial souvenir of the Association, Tarrytown, September 23, 1880. Prepared under the auspices of the Association by N. C. Husted. [New York, 1880.]

8vo, pp. 167. Illustrated. Portraits.

163. *NEW CONFEDERACY OF THE IROQUOIS.*

Rochester, N. Y.

NEW CONFEDERACY OF THE IROQUOIS. An address delivered before the Was-ah Ho-de-no-son-ne; or, the New Confederacy of the Iroquois, by Henry R. Schoolcraft, at its third annual council, August 14, 1846. Also, Genundewah, a poem, by W. H. C. Hosmer, a member, pronounced on the same occasion. Published by the Confederacy. Rochester, 1846.

8vo, pp. 48.

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NEW CONFEDERACY OF THE IROQUOIS. Letters on the Iroquois. By Skenandoah. (*In the Olden Time*, edited by N. B. Craig, Vol. II, pp 68–87, 117–139, 288–307. Pittsburg, 1848. Reprinted 1876.)

Many parts of the following letters were read in 1844–45 and 1846 before the "Councils of the New Confederacy of the Iroquois," and to the establishment of that historical institution the research, by which the facts were accumulated, is chiefly to be attributed. The institution referred to is founded upon the ancient confederacy of the Five Nations, and its symbolic council fires are kindled upon the ancient territories of the Mohawks, the Onondagas, the Cayugas, and the Senecas. The design is "to gather the fragments of the history, the institutions, and the government of our Indian predecessors." Introduction.

164. *NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY IN THE CITY OF BROOKLYN.*

NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY IN THE CITY OF BROOKLYN. By-laws, officers, and members. Proceedings at the first annual meeting, December 7, and at the first annual festival, December 21, 1880. Brooklyn, [1881].

8vo, pp. 74 (1).

NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY IN THE CITY OF BROOKLYN. Proceedings at the second annual meeting and second annual festival. Officers, directors, members [etc.], and by-laws. Brooklyn, 1882.

8vo, pp. 72, (1).

NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY IN THE CITY OF BROOKLYN. Proceedings at the third annual meeting and third annual festival. Officers [etc.]. Brooklyn, 1883.

8vo, pp. 68, (1).

NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY IN THE CITY OF BROOKLYN. Proceedings at the fourth annual meeting and fourth annual festival, including a paper read before the Society, November 4, 1882, by Noah Porter, on "The New England meetinghouse," and a paper read November 13, 1883, by C. E. Pratt, on "The old district schoolhouse." Officers [etc.]. Brooklyn, 1884.

8vo, pp. 108 (1).

NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY IN THE CITY OF BROOKLYN. Proceedings at the fifth annual meeting and fifth annual festival, including a paper read November 19, 1884, by J. W. Chadwick, on "Witches in Salem and elsewhere," and a lecture delivered at the Friends' Institute, London, on the 18th of January, 1866, by Benjamin Scott, on "The Pilgrim Fathers neither Puritans nor persecutors;" Officers [etc.]. Brooklyn, 1885.

8vo, pp. 114 (1).

165. *NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.*

NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK. Address before the Society, on Forefathers' Day, December 22, 1838. By Leonard Bacon. New York, 1839.

8vo, pp. 47.

NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK. The fathers of New England. Oration before the Society December 21, 1849, and published at their request. By Horace Bushnell. New York, 1850.

8vo, pp. 44.

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NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK. Heritage of the Pilgrims. Oration before the Society, * * * the two hundred and thirty-fourth anniversary of the landing at Plymouth. By W. M. Evarts. New York, 1853.

8vo, pp. 44.

166. *NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.*

New York City.

NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY. Bulletin. Vol. I, No. 1. New York, 1869.

8vo, pp. 8.

Succeeded by the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record.*

NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY. By-laws, certificate of incorporation, and officers. New York, 1869.

8vo, pp. 16.

NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY. A form for genealogical records. [New York, 1870.]

4to. Two leaves.

NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY. New York Genealogical and Biographical Record. Devoted to the interests of American genealogy and biography. Issued quarterly. Vols. I-XXVI, 1870-1895. Published for the Society. New York, [1870]-1895.

8vo. Twenty-six volumes.

NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY. The olden time in New York. By a member of the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society. I. New York society in olden time. II. Traces of American lineage. New York, 1872.

8vo, pp. 64. Illustrated.

The second article first appeared in the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record.*

NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY. Bradford family. Genealogical memorials of William Bradford, the printer. By Samuel S. Purple. New York, 1873.

4to, pp. 8. Plate.

Fifty copies. From *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record.*

NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY. Genealogical notes of the Colden family in America. By Edwin R. Purple. New York, 1873.

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Fifty copies. From *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record.*

NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY. Reminiscences. By David Parsons Holton. Read before the Society May 27, 1874. New York, 1874.

8vo, pp. 29 (3). No title-page.

Last three pages are devoted to "Genealogical notation."

NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY. Schuyler family. By Joel Munsell. [New York], 1874.

8vo, pp. 11. Illustrated.

Edition, thirty copies.

Reprinted from the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record.*

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NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY. Genealogica notes on the Provoost family, of New York. By Edwin R. Purple New York, 1875.

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NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY. Genealogica notes relating to Lieutenant-Governor Jacob Leisler, and his family connections in New York. By Edwin R. Purple. New York, 1877.

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NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY. Life and its record in this generation. An anniversary address before the Society, April 11, 1878. By Samuel Osgood. New York, 1878.

8vo, pp. (2) 17.

NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY. A short biographical sketch of J. V. L. Pruyn. Reprinted from *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, Vol. XIV, No. 2. New York, 1883.

8vo, pp. 15.

NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY. Col. John Bayard (1738–1807) and the Bayard family of America. Anniversary address before the Society, February 27, 1885. By J. G. Wilson. New York, 1885.

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NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY. The life of Admiral Sir Isaac Coffin, baronet, his English and American ancestors. By Thomas C. Amory. Boston, 1886.

8vo, pp. 141. Portrait.

Reprinted from *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record.*

NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY. The Rutgers family of New York. By Ernest S. Crosby. Reprinted from the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, April, 1886. With portrait of Colonel Rutgers. New York, 1886.

8vo, pp. 14.

NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY. Samuel Provoost, first bishop of New York. An address delivered before the Society. By J. G. Wilson. New York, 1887.

Large 8vo, pp. 15. One hundred copies printed.

NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY. Some records of the Beekman family. By James R. Gibson, jr. [New York], 1888.

8vo, pp. 12.

Reprinted from *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, April, 1888.

NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY. Address delivered before the Genealogical and Biographical Society of the city of New York, April 12, 1895. Edward Hawes, the emigrant, and some of his descendants. By Gilbert Ray Hawes, esq. [New York, 1895.]

4to, pp. 28. Portrait.

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NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY. 1869–1894. Twenty-fifth anniversary of the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, February 27, 1894. With by-laws and roll of members. Printed for the Society. New York, 1895.

Large 8vo, pp. xi, 81. Portraits. Woodcuts.

167. *NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

New York City.

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Constitution and by-laws. Instituted the 10th of December, 1804. New York, 1805.

8vo, pp. 15.

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY. First celebration of the festival of St. Nicholas by the Society, December 6, 1810.

Broadside.

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Anniversary discourse before the Society, December 6, 1811. By De Witt Clinton. New York, 1812.

8vo, pp. 81 (1).

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY. A discourse designed to commemorate the discovery of New York by Henry Hudson; delivered before the Society, September 4, 1809, being the completion of the second century since that event. By Samuel Miller, D. D. New York, 1810.

8vo, pp. 28.

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Vols. I–V; second series, Vols. I–IV. New York, 1811–1859.

8vo.

CONTENTS.

Vol. I. Collections for 1809: Constitution; Discourse, designed to commemorate the discovery of New York by Henry Hudson, September 4, 1809, by Samuel Miller; Divers voyages and northerne discoueries of Henry Hvdson, 1607; A second voyage of Henry Hudson, 1608; The third voyage of Henry Hudson, 1609; An abstract of the journal of Henry Hudson, 1610; Documents concerning the early history of New York, from Hazard's "Historical Collections;" Laws established by James, Duke of York, for the government of New York in 1664. New York, 1811. pp. vi, 428.

Vol. II. Collections for 1814: Preface; Memorial to the legislature; Members; Officers; A discourse on the benefits of civil history, before the Society, December 6, 1810, by Hugh Williamson; A discourse before the Society at their anniversary meeting, December 6, 1811, by De Witt Clinton [on the Indians of New York]; A discourse before the Society, December 6, 1812, by Gouverneur Morris ["on some prominent historical facts and circumstances which distinguish our State"]; A discourse before the Society, December 6, 1813, embracing a concise and comprehensive account of the writings which illustrate the botanical history of North and South America, by Samuel L. Mitchill; An account of De La Salle's last expedition and discoveries in North America [on the Mississippi], by H. Tonti; An extract of a translation of the history of New Sweed Land in America, by Thomas Companius Holm, 1703; Catalogue of the books, tracts, newspapers, maps, charts, views, portraits, and manuscripts in the library of the Society. New York, December 22, 1813. New York, 1814. pp. (4), xxii, (2), 23–358; (4), 139.

Vol. III. Collections for 1821: Members; Officers; Inaugural discourse by Gouverneur Morris, September 4, 1816; Anniversary discourse before the Society, December 7 1818, by Gulian C. Verplanck; A biographical memoir of Hugh Williamson, November 1, 1819, by David Hosack; A discourse on the religion of the Indian tribes of North America, December 20, 1819, by Samuel Farmar Jarvis; an inaugural address, second Tuesday of February, 1820, by David Hosack; An anniversary discourse, December 28, 1820, by Henry Wheaton [on the history of the

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science of public or international law]; Notes on a pamphlet entitled "A discourse before the New York Historical Society, December 6, 1811," by Samuel Jones; An extract from the records in the Council Chamber, relative to the dispute between the government of New Netherlands and the Lord Proprietary of Maryland, concerning the title of the Dutch to the territories on the Delaware, 1656–1668; Description of some of the medals struck in relation to important events in North America, before and since the Declaration of Independence, by James Mease. 1821. pp. 404. Portrait.

Vol. IV. (1826.) Continuation of Smith's History of New York. 1826. pp. (8), 308. Reprinted in 1829 as Vol. V of the *Collections*.

Vol. IV. (1829.) History of the late province of New York from its discovery to the appointment of Governor Colden, in 1762. By the late Hon. William Smith. 1829. pp. xvi, 320. Pages ix–xvi contains memoir of William Smith, by his son. This is a revised edition of Smith's History as published at London, 1757.

Vol. V. The history of the province of New York, from its discovery to the appointment of Governor Colden. 1829. pp. (6), 308.

This is a reprint of Vol. IV (1826) of the *Collections*. The object of the reprinting of this continuation was to supply a complete edition of Smith's History, which was done by reprinting the original work as Vol. I and the continuation as Vol. II (IV and V of the *Collections*).

Second series, Vol. I. Anniversary discourse, by James Kent, December 6, 1828, [on the domestic history of the State (New York)]; Voyage of Verazzano along the coast of North America, 1524, translated by J. G. Cogswell; Indian tradition of the first arrival of the Dutch at Manhattan Island; A history of the New Netherlands, by Sir N. C. Lambrechtsen; translated by F. A. Van der Kemp; Description of the New Netherlands, by A. Van der Donck, translated by J. Johnson; Extracts from the voyages of David Pieterzen de Vries, translated by G. Troost; Extracts from the New World, or a description of the West Indies, by John de Laet, translated by G. Folsom; Extract from the journal of the *Half-Moon*, Henry Hudson, master, to the coast of America in 1609, by Robert Juet; Expedition of Capt. Samuel Argall to the French settlements in Acadia and Manhattan Island, 1613, by George Folsom; Letter of Thomas Dermer, describing his passage from Maine to Virginia, 1619; Correspondence between the colonies of New Netherlands and New Plymouth, 1627; The charter of liberties, 1629; A catalogue of the members of the Dutch church, with the names of the streets of New York, 1686; New Sweden, or the Swedish settlements on the Delaware, by I. Acrelius; Report of Andreas Hudde [on the Swedes on the Delaware], 1645; Governor Rising's official report concerning the invasion of the Swedish colony in Nova Svecia, by the Dutch, 1655; The directors-general or governors of New Netherlands, by G. Folsom; Historical sketch of the New York Historical Society, by G. Folsom; Officers of the Society, 1805–1841; Members; Index. New York, 1841. pp. 486 (1). Folded map. Portrait. Plate.

Second series, Vol. II. Officers; Outline of the constitutional history of New York, an anniversary discourse, November 19, 1847, by Benjamin Franklin Butler; Memoir read December 31, 1816 [on names of places in Dutch New York], by E. Benson; Narrative of the expedition of the Marquis De Norville against the Senecas, in 1687, translated from the French, with notes, by O. H. Marshall; Correspondence between Lieutenant-Governor Cadwallader Colden and William Smith, jr., the historian, respecting certain alleged errors in the history of New York; Letter from Edmund Burke, respecting the effect of the Quebec bill upon the boundary of New York; Remarks upon the British expedition to Danbury, Conn., in 1777, by E. D. Whittlesey; New York in 1692; Letter from Charles Lodwick; The representation of New Netherlands, concerning its location, productiveness, and poor condition, translated from the Dutch [of A. Van der Donck]; New Netherlands in 1627; Letter from I. de Rasieres, translated by J. Romeyn Brodhead; Memoir of the early colonization of New Netherland, by John Romeyn Brodhead; Hudson's voyage in 1609, Extract from "Verhael von de eerste Schip-vaert der Hollandische * * * door 't Way-Gat by Norden, * * * na Cathay ende China, voor Joost Hartgers," translated by J. R. Brodhead; Extract from De Laet and Aitzema, relating to New Netherland; History of the New York Chamber of

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Forms No. 7 of *Publications* of the Society.

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ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Col. John Brown. His services in the Revolutionary war. Battle of Stone Arabia. Address before the Society, April 28, 1884. By Garret L. Roof. Utica, [1884].

8vo, pp. 26.

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ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. History of the Cayuga County National Bank. Delivered before the Society, April 14, 1885. By D. W. Adams. Auburn, N. Y., 1885.

8vo, pp. 28.

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8vo, pp. 24. Portrait.

ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Transactions, 1881–1884, containing the Whitestown centennial, Whitesboro's golden age, Wagner reinterment, Old Fort Schuyler celebration, and dedication of the Oriskany monument. Utica, 1885.

8vo, pp. 228.

Constitutes No. 10 of the *Publications*.

ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Early Protestant missions among the Iroquois. Address of Prof. A. G. Hopkins [at the] annual meeting of the Society, January 12, 1886.

Utica Morning Herald and *Daily Gazette*, January 13, 1886.

ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The Utica water-works. A paper read before the Society, January, 1886, by Thomas Hopper. [Utica, 1886.]

8vo, pp. 20.

ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Constitution and by-laws, with articles of incorporation, list of officers, etc., and a catalogue of the papers read and the publications of the Society. Utica, 1887.

pp. 29 (1).

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ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The genius of Anglo-Saxon law and history compared with the civilization of Latin imperialism. An address before the Society, by the editor of the *Church Eclectic* [Rev. J. H. Dubbs, D. D.]. Published by request of the Society. Utica, 1888.

8vo, pp. 19.

ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The insurrection and conquest of the Tuskeroras. By Edward Cantwell. Read before the Society, December 18, 1888.

In *Magazine of Western History*, Vol. x, pp. 152–163.

ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The Utica high school. Read before the Society. By M. M. Bagg. Utica, 1888.

8vo, pp. 16.

ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Transactions of the Society at Utica. New Hartford centennial, and addresses before the society. 1887–1889. Utica, N. Y., 1889.

8vo, pp. 200. Portraits.

Forms No. 14 of *Publications* of the Society.

Contents: Officers; Standing committees; The New Hartford centennial; Historical sketch, by C. D. Prescott; Early history of Freemasonry in this locality, by Rees G. Williams; Gen. Oliver Collins, by Charles D. Adams; President Dwight in New Hartford, 1799, by J. F. Seymour; Doubleday family; Lyon and Shays

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families; The Dakin family; New Hartford's manufactures, by James Harris; Early history and reminiscences, by H. Hurlbut; The old Presbyterian Church, by E. H. Payson; Family of Jedediah Sanger; Inhabitants of New Hartford in 1790; Is local history worth studying? by Prof. Francis M. Burdick; The geology of Oneida County, by Rev. A. P. Brigham; The origin and early life of the New York Iroquois, by Rev. W. M. Beauchamp; The Bleecker-Street Church, Utica, by Thomas W. Seward; Ancient Utica, by Prof. George C. Sawyer; Botany and botanists in this vicinity, by Dr. J. V. Haberer; Amendments to the constitution; Publications of the Society; Addresses before the Society since January 1, 1887; Members, 1889.

ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Publications, No. 17. Transactions, 1890–92, No. 5. Utica, 1892.

8vo, pp. 00.

Contents: Geographical names as monuments of history, John A. Dix; Iroquois and the colony of New York; Early Welsh settlers of Oneida County; Fairfield Medical College; Chapter in glacial history, Silas Wright; Prehistoric remains in Sweden, Sangerfield; Laying of historical stone of Utica Y. M. C. Association; John Seymour.

ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Publications, No. 18. Transactions, 1892–1894, No. 6. Utica, 1894.

8vo, pp. 207 (2).

Contents: Officers; Committees; List of publications of the society; The Dutch our allies in the Revolution, by William Elliot Griffis, D. D.; The unresponsive roll call at tattoo, by Luther R. Marsh; [Reminiscences of deceased residents of Utica]; Wataaga and Franklin, by Rev. Oliver Addison Kingsbury; The city in the Roman constitution, by Benjamin S. Terry; The Madog tradition, by Benjamin F. Lewis; The mystery of the Muller mansion, by R. J. Hubbard; Reminiscences of the Utica Literary Club, and its earliest members, by A. G. Vermilye; The New York Indians, by Elliot Danforth.

ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The Indians of New York. By Hon. Elliot Danforth. Delivered before the Society May 8, 1894. [Utica, N. Y., 1894.]

8vo, pp. 52.

ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Catalogue of the library of the Society. Utica, 1890.

8vo, pp. (2) 127.

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8vo, pp. 3. No title-page.

ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Marinus Willett. Conclusion of Judge Wager's history. Read before the Society [December 28, 1890]. [Utica, 1890.]

8vo, pp. (3).

From *Utica Herald*, December 29, 1890.

ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Oneida's historians. A valuable address by Hon. D. E. Wager. Reprint from *Utica Daily Herald*, November 25, 1891. [Utica, 1891.]

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ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Benjamin Fletcher, Colonial Governor of the Province of New York, 30th August, 1692, to 13th April, 1698: A biographical sketch or address to be read before the Oneida County (N. Y.) Historical Society, by J. Watts De Peyster. Charles H. Ludwig, printer, New York.

The address proper equals 12 pages octavo small pica, not leaded; notes explanatory or justificatory equal to 106 pages octavo pica, not leaded.

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Thirty copies printed for private circulation.

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ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. General Herkimer. The proposal to remove his remains to Oriskany. [Utica, 1891.]

8vo, sheet.

From *Utica Herald*, April 8, 1891.

ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The twelfth and last lecture. Close of the series before the Society. [Tennyson, by A. S. Hoyt.] [Utica, 1891.]

8vo, sheet.

Slip from the *Utica Observer*, March 21, 1891.

ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. A chapter in glacial history; with illustrative notes from central New York. By A. P. Brigham. [Utica, 1892.]

8vo, pp. 13.

Reprinted from the Transactions of the Society.

174. *ONONDAGA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.*

Syracuse, N. Y.

ONONDAGA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. [Its officers, history, charter, by-laws, members, donations, and relics.] Syracuse, 1865.

12mo, pp. 24.

ONONDAGA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Eulogy on Edward Everett before the Society, by T. T. Davis. Syracuse, 1865.

8vo.

175. *PILGRIM RECORD SOCIETY.*

New York City.

PILGRIM RECORD SOCIETY. Extracts from the by-laws. Fourth anniversary. Officers and members, etc. [New York, 1880.]

8vo, pp. 4.

PILGRIM RECORD SOCIETY. Forefathers' day. [By D. P. Holton. New York, 1876.]

8vo, pp. 4.

176. *PIONEERS' ASSOCIATION OF CENTRAL NEW YORK.*

Syracuse, N. Y.

PIONEERS' ASSOCIATION OF CENTRAL NEW YORK. Organization September 7, 1869. Address of Thomas G. Alvord, etc. Syracuse.

8vo, pp. 13. Newspaper slips.

PIONEERS' ASSOCIATION OF CENTRAL NEW YORK. Address before the Central New York Pioneer Association at its fifth annual meeting, September 17, 1873. By L. R. Marsh. [Syracuse, 1873?]

12mo, pp. 22.

PIONEERS' ASSOCIATION OF CENTRAL NEW YORK. Seventh annual address before the Association, by William Barnes, September 16, 1875. Albany, 1875.

8vo, pp. 37.

Account of the early history of central New York. An appendix contains statistical tables showing the population, according to the official censuses of the six counties embraced in the Pioneers' Association. The counties are Cayuga Cortland, Oneida, Onondaga, Oswego, and Madison.

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177. *PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

New York City.

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY. "The Protestant Episcopal Historical Society." [Proceedings at a meeting called to consider the propriety of forming the Society, June 19, 1850. Hartford, 1850.]
8vo, pp. 7.

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Report of the executive committee of the Society. Trenton, 1850.
8vo, pp. 12.

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8vo, pp. (2) 29.

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections, Vols. I, II. New York, 1851–53.
8vo. Two volumes.

CONTENTS.

Vol. I. Officers of the Society; Keith and Talbot; Journal of travels from New Hampshire to Caratuck, by George Keith, London, 1706; History of the church at Burlington, N. J., by J. Bass; Nonjuring episcopate in the United States, by Rev. B. Franklin; State of the church, 1730–1740, by Dr. Bray; List of persons licensed to the plantations by the bishops of London, from 1745; List of parishes in South and North Carolina, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, and New England, where divine service was performed according to the rules of the Church of England in 1724; Mr. Whitfield's letter against the missionaries, 1740; Efforts to obtain the episcopate before the Revolution; Thoughts upon the present state of the Church of England in America, 1764; Letter from the archbishop of Canterbury to Dr. W. Smith, of Pennsylvania, 1766; Virginia memorial touching the glebes; Address on the sale of the glebes, 1795; Letter to the bishop of London, 1703; Account of Mr. Blair's mission to North Carolina, 1703. New York, 1851. Pp. xlii, 187.

Vol. II. The frontier missionary; A memoir of the life of the Rev. Jacob Bailey, A. M., missionary at Pownalborough, Me., Cornwallis and Annapolis, Nova Scotia; with illustrations, notes, and an appendix. By William S. Bartlett, D. D. With a preface by George Burgess. New York, 1853. 8vo, pp. xvii, 365. Portrait.

178. *ROCHESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Rochester, N. Y.

ROCHESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The title of the Phelps and Gorham purchase. By H. L. Osgood. Rochester, 1891.
8vo, pp. 33. Maps.
Read before the Society April 5, 1889.

ROCHESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Publications. Vol. I. Rochester, 1892.
8vo, pp. 126 (1).
Contents: Notes on the aboriginal terminology of the Genesee country, by G. H. Harris; History of the title of the Phelps and Gorham purchase; Three episodes in the history of the Genesee valley, by G. Moss; The opening of the Genesee country, by J. M. Parker; the Genesee River and western New York, by H. E. Rochester; History of the public schools of Rochester, by S. A. Ellis; Music in Rochester, by H. D. Wilkins; Memorial sketches; H. E. Peck, H. H. O'Reilly, C. Dewey, A. W. Riley, H. H. Sibley, J. L. Angle; Officers, members, etc.

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ROCHESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The struggle for Monroe County. By Howard L. Osgood. Read before the Society May 13, 1892. [Rochester, 1892.]

8vo. pp. (4). No title-page.

ROCHESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Rochester; its founders and its founding. By Howard L. Osgood. Read before the Society April 13, 1894. [Rochester, 1894.]

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ROCHESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Some earlier public amusements of Rochester. Read before the Society by G. M. Elwood, 1894. Rochester, 1894.

8vo, pp. 2–62.

179. *ROCKLAND COUNTY HISTORICAL AND FORESTRY SOCIETY.*

Nyack, N. Y.

ROCKLAND COUNTY HISTORICAL AND FORESTRY SOCIETY. Arnold, the American traitor; André, the British spy; Washington, the defender of constitutional liberty, the Father of his Country, the commander-in-chief of the American Army. Address before the Society, February 22, 1881, by Erastus Brooks. Redelivered in New Haven, by request of the New Haven Colony Historical Society, March 18, 1881. New York, 1881.

8vo. pp. 34. Woodcut.

ROCKLAND COUNTY HISTORICAL AND FORESTRY SOCIETY. Constitution and by-laws. Revised and amended March 26, 1884. Nyack, N. Y., 1884.

8vo, pp. 13.

180. *SAINT NICHOLAS SOCIETY OF NEW YORK.*

New York City.

SAINT NICHOLAS SOCIETY OF NEW YORK. New York as it was during the latter part of the last century. Anniversary address before the Society, December 1, 1848. By W. A. Duer. New York, 1849.

8vo, pp. 48.

181. *SOCIETY OF OLD BROOKLYNITES.*

Brooklyn, N. Y.

SOCIETY OF OLD BROOKLYNITES. Proceedings in relation to the Bartholdi statue of "Liberty Enlightening the World;" address to the French delegation, and report of the committee. Brooklyn, 1886.

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SOCIETY OF OLD BROOKLYNITES. By-laws adopted October 6, 1887. Brooklyn, 1888.

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Contains a brief history, together with the laws that govern the Society. List of officers; certificate of incorporation; by-laws; members.

SOCIETY OF OLD BROOKLYNITES. 1888. A Christmas reminder. Being the names of about 8,000 persons, a small portion of the number confined on board the British prison ships during the war of the Revolution. With the compliments of the Society. Brooklyn, 1888.

8vo, pp. 61.

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182. *SUFFOLK COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Sag Harbor, N. Y.

SUFFOLK COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. An address delivered before the Suffolk County Historical Society, October 1, 1889, by Hon. P. H. Hedges. Sag Harbor, 1889.

8vo, pp. 14.

On the claim of Southold to priority of settlement over Southampton.

183. *TARRYTOWN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Tarrytown, N. Y.

TARRYTOWN HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Washington at Tarrytown. A paper read before the Tarrytown Historical Society, December 16, 1890. By Marcus D. Raymond. Tarrytown, 1893.

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184. *ULSTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Kingston, N. Y.

ULSTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Vol. I, Nos. 1-3 Kingston, 1860.

8vo, pp. 260.

Contents: Constitution; Proceedings; Address of A. Bruyn Hasbrouck, LL. D.; An account of the settlement of New Paltz by the Huguenots, by E. Eltinge; Notes and documents relating to the early history of Kingston, Hurley, and Marbletown, by J. R. Brodhead; Letters; Petition of Rochester for protection against the Indians, 1778; Treaty between Col. Richard Nicolls, governor of New York, and the Esopus Indians, 1665; Proclamation of George Clinton's election, 1777; Bill of sale of a negro boy in 1707; Inscription in the First Dutch churchyard at Kingston; Historical sketch of Hurley, by J. W. Hasbrouck; Notes upon the Esopus Indians and their language, by N. W. Jones; Esopus treaty, 1665; Ulster County sheriffs; Colonial statutes referring to Ulster; Clinton papers; An account of the British expedition above the Highlands of the Hudson, and of the events connected with the burning of Kingston in 1777, by G. W. Pratt; History of the Huguenot Church and settlement at New Paltz, by C. H. Stitt; The Ulster regiment in the "Great Rebellion," by W. Lounsbury; Origin and meaning of the word Shawangunk, by C. Scott; The Indian forts of 1663, by C. Scott; Proceedings in memory of Col. G. W. Pratt.

185. *WATERLOO LIBRARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Waterloo, N. Y.

WATERLOO LIBRARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The centennial celebration of General Sullivan's campaign against the Iroquois, in 1779. Held at Waterloo, September 3, 1779. Prepared by Diedrich Willers, jr. Prefixed a sketch of the Society, by S. H. Gridley. [Waterloo, N. Y.], 1880.

8vo, pp. (6) 356. Illustrations.

Running title reads: "Seneca County centennial of Sullivan's expedition."

WATERLOO LIBRARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The birthplace of Sa-go-ye-wat-ha, or the Indian Red Jacket. The great orator of the Senecas, with a few incidents of his life. By George S. Conover. Published by the Society. Waterloo, N. Y., 1884.

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WESTCHESTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Proceedings of May 1, 1880.
8vo, pp. 9.
The Sunnyside Press newspaper slips, 1880.

WESTCHESTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Adriaen van der Donck [an early settler in Westchester County and magistrate of New Amsterdam, 1641-1653]. An address delivered before the Westchester County Historical Society at White Plains, N. Y., November 22, 1888. By Thomas Astley Atkins. Yonkers, 1888.
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WESTCHESTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The relation of Presbyterianism to the Revolutionary sentiment in the province of New York. An address delivered before the Westchester County Historical Society, October 28, 1890. By A. R. Macoubrey. [n. p.], 1891.
Large 8vo, pp. 46.

187. *YATES COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Penn Yan, N. Y.

YATES COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Certificate of incorporation of Yates County Historical Society, together with an address by John L. Lewis, jr. Published at Penn Yan, N. Y., in 1860.
12 mo, pp. about 24.

188. *YONKERS HISTORICAL AND LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.*

Yonkers, N. Y.

YONKERS HISTORICAL AND LIBRARY ASSOCIATION. Indian wars and the uprising of 1655. Yonkers depopulated. A paper read before the Association, March 18, 1892. By T. Astley Atkins. Yonkers, 1892.
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YONKERS HISTORICAL AND LIBRARY ASSOCIATION. Bulletin. Vol. I, No. 1, April, 1895. Yonkers, 1895.
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NORTH CAROLINA.

189. *ALBEMARLE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

ALBEMARLE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Men and times of early Albemarle. By J. H. Wheeler. [Elizabeth City, N. C., 1877.]
8vo, pp. 17.
A lecture before the Albemarle Historical Society, with introduction by George W. Brooks.
Reprinted in his reminiscences. Columbus, Ohio, 1884.

190. *HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA.*

Raleigh, N. C.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA. Introductory address, June 5, 1844, by L. Silliman Ives. Raleigh, 1844.
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In *Revolutionary History of North Carolina.* Compiled by W. D. Cooke. 99–145. Raleigh, 1853.

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12mo, pp. 236.

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HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA. North Carolina: her past, present, and future. Address, June 8, 1870. B J. H. Wheeler. Raleigh, 1870.

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Published at the request of the Society.

191. *HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WILMINGTON.*

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HISTORICAL AND SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY OF WILMINGTON. Lecture No. 2 An essay on the nebular hypothesis. Read April 5, 1882. By S. Mar tin. Published by order of the society. Wilmington, 1882.

8vo, pp. 11.

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192. *MECKLENBURG CENTENNIAL AND MONUMENTAL ASSOCIATION.*

Mecklenburg, N. C.

MECKLENBURG MONUMENTAL ASSOCIATION. Memorial to the general assembly of the State of North Carolina [for an act of incorporation]. n. p., [1842].

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Written by J. H. Wheeler, the historian of the State of North Carolina. Pages 6 and 7 contain account of the meeting held August 24, 1842, for purpose of organization.

MECKLENBURG CENTENNIAL AND MONUMENTAL ASSOCIATION. The address of the Honorable Wm. A. Graham on the Mecklenburg declaration of independence of the 20th of May, 1775. Delivered at Charlotte on the 4th day of February, 1875, by request of the citizens of Mecklenburg County. With accompanying documents, including those published by order of the legislature of North Carolina in 1831. Published by order of the central committee of the Centennial and Monumental Association. New York, 1875.

16mo, pp. 167.

193. *MECKLENBURG HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Mecklenburg, N. C.

MECKLENBURG HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The lives and characters of the signers of the Mecklenburg declaration of independence of the 20th of May, 1775. By J. H. Wheeler. Charlotte, 1875.

8vo, pp. 16.

"Delivered May 24, 1875, at the request of the Society, and published by its order from the type set up for newspaper report."

MECKLENBURG HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Address before the Society. By D. H. Hill. In *Southern Historical Society Papers*, Vol. I, pp. 389–398. Richmond, 1876.

On the soldiers and statesmen furnished by the South.

MECKLENBURG HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Address before the Society, 1876, on the South in war and politics. From Charlotte, N. C., *Home*. April 17, 1876.

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NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Address before the Society [on early settlements in North Carolina]. By J. M. Atkinson.

1. In *North Carolina University Magazine*, 1856. pp. 385–403.

195. *SOUTHERN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, NORTH CAROLINA BRANCH.*

SOUTHERN HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Our living and our dead, devoted to North Carolina—her past, present, and her future. Official organ North Carolina Branch Southern Historical Society. Vols. I–III; IV. No. 1. September, 1874–March, 1876. Raleigh, N. C., [1875–76].

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BATTLE OF LAKE ERIE MONUMENT ASSOCIATION. Account of the organization and proceedings of the Association, and the celebration of the forty-fifth anniversary of the battle of Lake Erie, September 10, 1858. Sandusky, 1858.

8vo, pp. 49.

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Cincinnati, Ohio.

CINCINNATI HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Annals (part 1) published by order of the Society. Cincinnati, 1845.

8vo, pp. 20.

Contains constitution and by-laws, and an address by D. K. Este at first meeting, January 15, 1845.

198. *CINCINNATI PIONEER ASSOCIATION.*

Cincinnati, Ohio.

CINCINNATI PIONEER ASSOCIATION. Cincinnati Pioneer. Nos. 1–5, September, 1873–July, 1875. Edited and published by J. D. Caldwell, secretary of the Association. Cincinnati, 1873–1875.

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CUYAHOGA COUNTY PIONEER ASSOCIATION. Address before the Association at North Solon, September 5, 1877, by W. W. Andrews. Cleveland, 1877.

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DEUTSCHER PIONIER-VEREIN. Der deutsche Pionier. Erinnerungen aus dem Pionier-Leben der Deutschen in Amerika. 1er–15er Jahrg. Cincinnati, [1869–1884].

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DEUTSCHER PIONIER-VEREIN. The German soldier in the wars of the United States. An address read before the Pionier-Verein, by J. G. Rosengarten. [Reprinted from the *United Service Magazine.*] Philadelphia, 1886.
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201. *DISTRICT HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF THE COUNTIES OF MEDINA, SUMMIT, AND WAYNE.*

Wadsworth, Ohio.

DISTRICT HISTORICAL SOCIETY. [Publications.] [Nos. 1–3.] Wadsworth, 1877–78.
No. 1. First report, containing constitution and an account of the organization of the Society. With "Man, his origin in geological times," by E. Brown, and other papers. 1877. pp. 16.
No. 2. Second report, containing account of the meeting in Akron, March 14, 1878, "The modern evidence of prehistoric man in the copper region of Lake Superior," by H. Reed (etc.). 1878. pp. 32.
No. 3. Curious stones from the stone age, by P. P. Cherry. 1878. pp. 8.

202. *EARLY SETTLERS' ASSOCIATION OF CLEVELAND.*

Cleveland, Ohio.

EARLY SETTLERS' ASSOCIATION OF CLEVELAND. The corporate birth and growth of the city of Cleveland. An address to the Early Settlers' Association of Cleveland, delivered July 22, 1884. By T. O. Griswold. Cleveland [1884].
8vo, pp. 287–318.
Forms Tract No. 62 of the Western Reserve and Northern Ohio Historical Society.

203. *EARLY SETTLERS' ASSOCIATION OF CUYAHOGA COUNTY.*

Cleveland, Ohio.

EARLY SETTLERS' ASSOCIATION OF CUYAHOGA COUNTY. Annals, No. 1. Cleveland, 1880.
12mo, pp. 148.

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EARLY SETTLERS' ASSOCIATION OF CUYAHOGA COUNTY. Annals, No. Cleveland, 1887.

12mo, pp. 196.

204. *FIRE LANDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Norwalk, Ohio.

FIRE LANDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Fire Lands Pioneer, June, 1858–July 1878. Vols. I–XIII. New series, Vol. I, June 28, 1882–June, 188 Sandusky, 1858–84.

8vo, pp. 13. Portrait.
Nothing was published between July, 1878, and June, 1882.

FIRE LANDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Abstract of verbal discourse upon th mounds and mound-builders of Ohio. Delivered before the Society at Monroeville, Ohio, March 15, 1865. By C. Whittlesey. Norwal [1865].

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205. *FRANKLIN COUNTY PIONEER ASSOCIATION.*

Columbus, Ohio.

FRANKLIN COUNTY PIONEER ASSOCIATION. Historical sketch relating t the original boundaries and early times of Franklin County. Pre pared for the Association and delivered by J. Sullivant, June 3, 1871 Columbus, 1871.

8vo, pp. 10.

206. *GEAUGA COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

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GEAUGA COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Discovery and ownership of th Northwestern Territory. Address before the Historical Society o Geauga County, September 16, 1873. By James A. Garfield. Cleve land, 1874.

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HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF OHIO. Discourse on the aborigines of the valley of the Ohio. By W. H. Harrison. Cincinnati, 1839.

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Same, Boston, 1840. 8vo, pp. 47.

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Vol. I, part 1. Journal of the Society: Act of incorporation, etc.; Address by Benjamin Tappan; Address by J. H. James; A brief history of the floods in the Ohio River, 1772–1832, by S. P. Hildreth; Settlement of Dayton, by J. W. Van Cleve; Description of Washington County; Topography, statistics, and history of Oxford and the Miami University, by J. McBride; Ancient fortifications in Butler County, by J. McBride. 1838. Reprinted 1872. 12mo, pp. viii, 131.

Vol. I, part 2. Letters relative to early settlement of the Northwestern Territory, by J. Burnet; Annual discourse, by Timothy Walker; A discourse on the aborigines of the valley of the Ohio, by W. H. Harrison; discourse, by J. H. Perkins; Essay on the origin and progress of political communities, by J. T. Worthington; Fragment of the early history of Ohio, by Arius Nye. 1839. Reprinted 1872. 12mo, pp. 339.

HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF OHIO. Annual address before the Society, December 25, 1835, on education, by J. H. James. Columbus, 1838.

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HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF OHIO. Discourse relating to the expedition of Lord Dunmore against the Indian towns upon the Scioto in 1774. Before the Society, January, 1840, by C. Whittlesey. Cleveland, 1842.

8vo, pp. 33.

HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF OHIO. Notes on the early settlement of the Northwestern Territory. By Jacob Burnet. Cincinnati, 1847.

8vo, pp. 501.

Published under the auspices of the Society.

HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF OHIO. Pioneer history; being an account of the first examinations of the Ohio Valley and the early settlement of the Northwest Territory. By S. P. Hildreth. Cincinnati, 1848.

8vo, pp. 525, xiii. Map.

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HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF OHIO. Facts and conditions of progress in the Northwest. Being the annual discourse for 1850 before the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, delivered April 8, the sixty-third anniversary of the first settlement of the State. By William D. Gallagher. With an appendix, containing a sketch of the history of the Society and other matter. Cincinnati, 1850.

8vo, pp. 85.

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HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF OHIO. Biographical and historical memoirs of the early pioneer settlers of Ohio, with narratives of incident and occurrences in 1775. By S. P. Hildreth. Cincinnati, 1852.

8vo, pp. 539. Illustrated.

"This is the second volume of the early history of Ohio, prepared by Dr. Hildreth and published under the auspices of the Ohio Historical Society." Preface by E. D. Mansfield, president of the Society.

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HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF OHIO. Journal and lette of Col. John May, of Boston, relative to two journeys to the Ohio cou try in 1788 and 1789. With a biographical sketch, by R. S. Edes, an illustrative notes, by W. M. Darlington. Published for the Societ Cincinnati, 1873.

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12mo, pp. 8.

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208. *HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF TALLMADGE.*

Tallmadge, Ohio.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF TALLMADGE. Asaph Whittlesey, late of Tallmadge; Vesta Hart Whittlesey, and Susan Whittlesey, née Fitch. [Address before the Society, October 6, 1868, by L. V. Bierce.] Cleveland, 1872.
8vo, pp. 14.

209. *LICKING COUNTY PIONEER ASSOCIATION.*

Newark, Ohio.

LICKING COUNTY PIONEER ASSOCIATION. Pioneer pamphlets, Nos. 1–9. Newark, 1869–1874.
8vo. Eight pamphlets.

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No. 4. Historical sketches of the Disciple churches in Licking County. By Jacob Winter. 1869. pp. 7.

Nos. 5 and 6. Notes of the early history of Union Township. By Samuel Park. American antiquities; read before a joint meeting of the pioneer associations of the counties of Franklin, Muskingum, and Licking, at Pataskala, July 4, 1870. By Samuel Park. Terre Haute, 1870. pp. 56.

No. 7. Our pioneers. Being biographical sketches of Capt. Elias Hughes [etc.]; with brief notices of the pioneers of 1801 and 1802, by I. Smucker. Also a paper on the pioneer women of the West, by Mrs. C. Springer. 1872. pp. 33.

No. 8. Our early times. Historical sketch of St. Albans Township. By J. M. Scott. 1873. pp. 11.

No. 9. Licking County's gallant soldiers, who died in defense of our glorious Union. 1874. pp. 29.

LICKING COUNTY PIONEER ASSOCIATION. An account of the celebration of American independence, at Clay Lick, by the Licking County pioneers; with an address, by Dr. Coulter, on early times in the Clay Lick settlement. Also historical sketches of the townships of Licking, Bowling Green, Franklin, and Hopewell, etc.; being pioneer papers Nos. 47, 48, 49, 50, and 51. By I. Smucker. Newark, Ohio, 1869.
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LICKING COUNTY PIONEER ASSOCIATION. History of the Disciples Churc in Licking County, Ohio. By J. Winter. Newark, Ohio, 1869.

12mo, pp. 7.

Pioneer paper No. 53 of the Licking County Pioneer Association.

LICKING COUNTY PIONEER ASSOCIATION. History of the Welsh settle ments in Licking County, Ohio; the characteristics of our Welsh pioneers; their church history, with biographical sketches of ou leading Welshmen. Read at pioneer meeting, April 7, 1869. By I Smucker. Newark, Ohio, [1869].

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LICKING COUNTY PIONEER ASSOCIATION. American antiquities. Rea before a joint meeting of the pioneer associations of the counties o Franklin, Muskingum, and Licking, at their celebration of the nationa anniversary, at Pataskala, Ohio, July 4, 1870. By Samuel Park. Terr Haute, 1870.

8vo, pp. 22.

Also forms one of the series of *Pioneer* pamphlets.

210. *LOGAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

LOGAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The American Pioneer. A monthly period ical, devoted to the objects of the Logan Historical Society. Edited and published by John S. Williams. Vols. I and II. January, 1842-October, 1843. Vol. I, Chillicothe, 1842; Vol. II, Cincinnati, 1843.

8vo. Two volumes.

Vol. I twice reprinted at Cincinnati, 1842 and 1844, respectively.

The Logan Historical Society was first organized on July 28, 1841, at Westfall, Pickaway County, Ohio, and flourished two or three years, and then was suffered to fall into oblivion.—Thomson, Bibliography of Ohio.

211. *MAD RIVER VALLEY PIONEER AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.*

MAD RIVER VALLEY PIONEER AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. Inaugural address of the Association, delivered at its organization, May 2, 1870, by A. H. Bassett.

In *Firelands Pioneer*, Vol. X, pp. 80-98. Sandusky, 1870.

MAD RIVER VALLEY PIONEER AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. Mad River Valley Pioneer, Vol. I, No. 1, May, 1870. Springfield, Ohio, 1870.

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Contains inaugural address, May 2, 1870, by A. H. Bassett. No more was published.

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Cleveland, Ohio.

MAHONING VALLEY PIONEER SOCIETY. Geographical history of Ohio. Address at the annual reunion of the pioneers of the Mahoning Valley, September 10, 1880, by C. C. Baldwin. [Cleveland], 1880.

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MAHONING VALLEY PIONEER SOCIETY. The geographical history of Ohio. An address delivered at the annual reunion of the pioneers of the Mahoning Valley, at Youngstown, September 10, 1880, by C. C. Baldwin. Reprinted from the *Magazine of Western History*. Cleveland, Ohio [1884].

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Forms *Western Reserve and Northern Ohio Historical Society Tract*, No. 63.

MAHONING VALLEY PIONEER ASSOCIATION. The underground railway. Address delivered before the Association by John Hutchins.

In *Western Magazine of History*. Vol. v, pp. 672–682.

MAHONING VALLEY PIONEER ASSOCIATION. The geographical history of Ohio. An address delivered at the annual reunion of the pioneers of the Mahoning Valley at Youngstown, September 10, 1880, by C. C. Baldwin. Reprinted from the *Magazine of Western History*. Cleveland [1884].

8vo. pp. (2), 321–332.

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213. *MAHONING VALLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

MAHONING VALLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Historical collections of the Mahoning Valley, containing an account of the pioneer reunions; with a selection of facts, traditions, biographical sketches, anecdotes, etc., relating to the sale and settlement of the lands belonging to the Connecticut Land Company, and history and reminiscences, both general and local. Vol. I. Youngstown, 1876.

pp. 524.

Contains: Outline history of Mahoning Valley, by H. B. Eldred; Indian tribes, by the same; Indian titles to the Connecticut Western Reserve extinguished, by J. Perkins; History of Connecticut Land Company, by J. Perkins; Sketch of the early days of Warren, Ohio, by L. M. Iddings; Bloomfield Township, Trumbull County, by G. A. Robertson; History of Kinsman, Trumbull County, by H. B. Eldred; Historical sketches of townships of Bazetta, Mesopotamia, Howland, Newton, Brookfield, Vienna, Gustavus, Poland, Milton, Jackson, Lordstown, Boardman, Champion, Green, Coitsville, Greene.

214. *MAUMEE VALLEY PIONEER AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.*

Toledo, Ohio.

MAUMEE VALLEY PIONEER AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. Transactions at annual meeting, February 22, 1877. Toledo, 1877.

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215. *MAUMEE VALLEY HISTORICAL AND MONUMENTAL ASSOCIATION.*

Toledo, Ohio.

MAUMEE VALLEY HISTORICAL AND MONUMENTAL ASSOCIATION. Oration of Cassius Marcellus Clay, at Put-in-Bay, Lake Erie, on the 10th of September, 1891, the anniversary of the capture of the British fleet by Oliver Hazard Perry. Philadelphia, 1891.

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216. *NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY OF CINCINNATI.*

Cincinnati, Ohio.

NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY OF CINCINNATI. **Oration before the Society o the anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims, December 22, 184 Cincinnati, 1848.**

8vo, pp. 32.

217. *OHIO CHURCH HISTORY SOCIETY.*

Oberlin, Ohio.

OHIO CHURCH HISTORY SOCIETY. **Papers. Vols. I–IV. Oberlin, 1890–189**

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Vol. I. Reports and papers of the first annual meeting, held at Ashtabula Ma 6, 1890; edited by Frank Hugh Foster; The field and work of a local church his tory society, by F. H. Foster; Early ecclesiastical history of the Western Reserve by W. E. Barton; The Mormon sojourn in Ohio, by D. L. Leonard; The Bibl Christian Church and its relations to Congregationalism, particularly in Ohio, by F. M. Whitlock; The history of the first religious society of Marietta, by C. E Dickinson. 1890. pp. x, (2), 103.

Vol. II. Reports and papers of the second annual meeting, May 19, 1891; The Oberlin Ojibway mission, by F. H. Foster; The history of the First Congrega tional Church of Cleveland, by H. M. Tenney; Moravian missions upon Ohio soil by D. L. Leonard. 1892. pp. vii (2), 58.

Vol. III. Third annual meeting, May 10, 1892; Ohio Sunday-school history, by C. N. Ford; History of the First Congregational Church of Wellington, Ohio, by W. E. Barton; The origin of the "Disciples of Christ," by E. R. Atwater; His tory of the American Young Men's Christian Association, by L. L. Doggett.

Vol. IV. Edited by Daniel L. Leonard; May 9, 1893; The exodus of students from Lane Seminary to Oberlin in 1834, by Sidney Strong; History of the First Con gregational Church of Toledo, by W. W. Williams; History of Plymouth Rock Conference, by E. O. Mead; History of the Euclid Avenue Congregational Church of Cleveland; List of members. 1893. pp. v, 61.

218. *OHIO HISTORICAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.*

Columbus, Ohio.

OHIO HISTORICAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY. **[Circular addressed to the teachers of Ohio, August, 1887.] [Columbus, 1887.]**

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OHIO HISTORICAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY. **The ordinance of July 13, 1787, for the government of the territory northwest of the river Ohio. A paper read before the Society February 23, 1887, by Hon. William P. Cutler. With an appendix, containing valuable his torical facts. Marietta, Ohio [1887].**

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OHIO HISTORICAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY. **The identification of the Society of the Cincinnati with the first authorized settlement of the Northwest Territory at Marietta, Ohio, April 7, 1788. By Mrs. L. A. Alderman. A paper read for the occasion of the celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the settlement of Marietta and the founding of the State of Ohio. Marietta, Ohio. [1888.]**

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Vol I. The beginnings of the colonial system of the United States, by I. W. Andrews; The ordinance of July 13, 1787, by W. P. Cutler; Origin of the Ohio Company; Henry B. Curtis, by A. R. McIntyre; Importance of the study of archæology in Ohio; The proper method of exploring an earthwork; Aboriginal history of Butler County, by J. P. McLean; Bibliography of the earthworks of Ohio, by Mrs. C. Thomas; The Society and the Quarterly, by A. A. Graham; Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society. Organization, etc.; Salmon P. Chase, by N. S. Townshend; Blennerhasset, by E. O. Randall; First circumnavigation of the earth, by B. A. Hinsdale; The archæological exhibit for the Ohio centennial, by M. C. Read; Archæological directory of Ohio, by A. A. Graham; The relation of the glacial period to archæology in Ohio, by G. F. Wright; The serpent mound saved, by F. W. Putnam; Bibliography of the earthworks of Ohio, continued; Literary periodicals of the Ohio Valley, by W. H. Venable; The Western land policy of the British Government from 1763 to 1775, by B. A. Hinsdale; Some early travelers and annalists of the Ohio Valley, by W. H. Venable; Pioneer days in central Ohio, by H. B. Curtis; Letter from J. McDonald to W. D. Gallagher; Preglacial man in Ohio, by G. F. Wright; Fort Hill, Ohio, by H. W. Overman; Ancient work near Oxford, Ohio, by R. W. McFarland; Services of the Ohio Company in defending the United States frontier, 1788, by W. P. Cutler; Legislation in the Northwest Territory, by A. A. Graham; Pyramids and buried cities in the land of the Montezumas, by F. B. Ward; The history and prospects of the Society, by F. C. Sessions; Report on the present condition of mounds and earthworks of Ohio, by G. F. Wright; Earthworks of Franklin County, Ohio; William D. Gallagher, by W. H. Venable; Proceedings of the Society; Reports; Members. 1888. pp. 403, (1).

Vol. II. The centennial celebration at Marietta, April 7, 1888; Oration by George F. Hoar; The German Pioneers, by Bernard Peters; Oration of John Randolph Tucker; Addresses of George B. Loring, E. E. Hale, H. M. Storrs, etc.; Address of Joseph Cox; The building of the State; Why is Ohio called the Buckeye State? by W. M. Farrar; Commodore Abraham Whipple, by David Fisher; A familiar talk about Monarchists and Federalists, by W. H. Smith; The triumph of liberty, poem, by R. K. Shaw; John Gray, Washington's last soldier, poem, by Private Dalzell; The memorial structure at Marietta; Israel Ward Andrews, by W. P. Cutler; Three important documents relating to Western land cessions; Maryland declaration of 1778; Virginia remonstrance, 1779; The Connecticut cession, 1780, by B. A. Hinsdale; The first church organization in the oldest settlement [Marietta] in the Northwest Territory, by C. E. Dickinson; William D. Gallagher, by W. H. Venable; Early history of the Republican party in Ohio, by H. B. Carrington; Proceedings; The Ohio boundary, or the Erie war, by L. G. Addison; The right of discovery, by B. A. Hinsdale; Some popular errors in regard to mound builders and Indians, by G. Fowke; The preservation of documents, by A. A. Graham; Nullification in Ohio, by D. J. Ryan; A documentary history of Ohio, by A. A. Graham; Some recollections of historic travel over New York, New Jersey, Virginia, and Ohio, 1840-1847, by H. Howe; The sale of the Western Reserve, by B. A. Hinsdale; Down South before the war, a ramble in New Orleans in 1858, by W. H. Venable; The manufacture and use of aboriginal stone implements, by G. Fowke; A detailed account of mound opening, by W. K. Moorehead and C. Cowen; The department of history and archæology in the Ohio centennial; Annual address of F. C. Sessions; Proceedings; Reports, etc. Columbus, [1889]. pp. (4), 582. Portrait.

Vol. III. Proceedings; Maj. John Burnham, by E. C. Davis; Proceedings of centennial anniversary at Gallipolis; The century and its lessons, by N. J. Morrison; Sermon, by Rev. J. Moncure; Educational lessons of the hour, by H. A. Thompson; Description of Fort Ancient, by W. K. Moorehead; The French settlement at Gallipolis, by J. L. Vance; Early judiciary laws and bar of Ohio, by D. K. Watson; The philosophy of Methodist success, by D. H. Moore; Migrations and their

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OHIO ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Oration delivered b Hon. George F. Hoar, of Massachusetts, April 7, 1888, at the celebr tion of the centennial of the founding of the Northwest at Mariett Ohio. Columbus, Ohio. Ohio Archæological and Historical Societ 1888.

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OHIO STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Seventh annu report, for the year 1891. Norwalk, Ohio, 1892.

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219. *OHIO STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL CONVENTION.*

OHIO STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL CONVENTION. Minutes of the Conventi held in Mansfield September 1, 2, 1875. Columbus, 1875.

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220. *OTTERBEIN UNIVERSITY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Waterville, Ohio.

OTTERBEIN UNIVERSITY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. First annual meetin January 12, 1886. Publication No. 1. Waterville, 1886.

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Contains an address by L. H. McFadden on Museums.

221. *PIONEER ASSOCIATION OF ATHENS COUNTY.*

PIONEER ASSOCIATION OF ATHENS COUNTY. Memorial and history of t Western Library Association of Ames Township, Athens County, Ohi Published by the Association. 1882.

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222. *PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PICKAWAY COUNTY.*

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Dayton, Ohio.

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Cleveland, Ohio.

PIONEERS' ASSOCIATION OF THE WESTERN RESERVE. The pioneers of Ohio. An address delivered before the Pioneers' Association of the Western Reserve, at Burgess's Grove, Cuyahoga County, Ohio, August 27, 1879. By John Hay. Cleveland, 1879.
16mo, pp. 20.

225. *RICHLAND COUNTY HISTORICAL AND PIONEER SOCIETY.*

Mansfield, Ohio.

RICHLAND COUNTY HISTORICAL AND PIONEER SOCIETY. Pioneer days in central Ohio. An address delivered at Mansfield, Ohio, September 15, 1885, before the Society. By Henry B. Curtis.
In *Ohio Archæological and Historical Quarterly*. Vol. I, December, 1887. pp. 243-254.

226. *SENECA COUNTY PIONEER ASSOCIATION.*

SENECA COUNTY PIONEER ASSOCIATION. Address of A. Rawson before the Society, November 6, 1869. Tiffin, Ohio.
8vo, pp. 12.

227. *STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF OHIO.*

(Sometimes called State Archæological Association.)

STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF OHIO. The sources of information as to the prehistoric condition of America. By Stephen D. Peet. Read before the Society at Newark, Ohio, September, 1876.
In *American Antiquarian*. Vol. II, pp. 33-48. Cleveland, 1879.

STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF OHIO. Description of an engraved stone found near Berlin, Jackson County, Ohio. Read before the Archæological Association at Cincinnati, September 5, 1877. By Jno. E. Sylvester.
In *American Antiquarian*. Vol. I, pp. 73-75. Cleveland, 1879.

STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF OHIO. Early Indian migration in Ohio. By C. C. Baldwin. Read before the Society in September, 1878.
In *American Antiquarian*. Vol. I, pp. 227-239. Cleveland, 1879.

STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF OHIO. The Delaware Indians in Ohio. The location of their villages at the time of the Revolutionary war. By Stephen D. Peet. Read before the State Archæological Association of Ohio, September, 1878.
In *American Antiquarian*. Vol. II, pp. 132-144. Cleveland, 1879.

STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF OHIO. Report of M. C. Reid, on the inscribed stone of the Grave Creek mound, read at the meeting of the Society held at Wooster, Ohio, September 25, 1878.
In *American Antiquarian*. Vol. I, pp. 139-149. Cleveland, 1879.

228. *WASHINGTON COUNTY PIONEER ASSOCIATION.*

Marietta, Ohio.

WASHINGTON COUNTY PIONEER ASSOCIATION. The ninety-fifth anniversary of the settlement of Ohio, at Marietta. Historical address by George B. Loring, and other addresses, April 7, 1883. Marietta, 1883.
8vo, pp. 76.

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WASHINGTON COUNTY PIONEER ASSOCIATION. The coming centennial. April 7, 1886. Exercises at Marietta, Ohio, April 7, 1886, connected with the celebration of the ninety-eighth anniversary of the settlement of Ohio and the Northwest Territory. Marietta, Ohio, [1886].
8vo, pp. 20.

WASHINGTON COUNTY PIONEER ASSOCIATION. Centennial circular. [1887.]
8vo, pp. 3. Blank form.

WASHINGTON COUNTY PIONEER ASSOCIATION. Provisional programme recommended for the centennial commemoration of the first authorized settlement in the territory of the Northwest under the Ordinance of 1787. [Marietta, 1887.]
8vo, pp. 4. Circular.

229. *WESTERN METHODIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Cincinnati, Ohio.

WESTERN METHODIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Proceedings of the board of managers, with account of origin of the Society, etc. Cincinnati, 1839.
12mo.

230. *WESTERN OHIO PIONEER ASSOCIATION.*

WESTERN OHIO PIONEER ASSOCIATION. History of Champaign and Logan counties. By Joshua Antrim. Bellefontaine, 1872.
8vo, pp. 460. Photographs.
The author was requested by the Association to prepare this history, and the Society indorsed it when completed, but it is copyrighted by the author.

WESTERN OHIO PIONEER ASSOCIATION. Proceedings at New Carlisle, September 23, 1876, and address by W. Mills. Springfield, Ohio, 1877.
8vo, pp. 18.

231. *WESTERN RESERVE AND NORTHERN OHIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Cleveland, Ohio.

(Now called Western Reserve Historical Society.)

WESTERN RESERVE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Antiquity of the name of Scott, with brief historical notes. Paper read before the Society, by M. B. Scott. Boston, 1869.
8vo, pp. 15.

WESTERN RESERVE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Journal of Capt. William Trent, from Logstown to Pickawillany, 1752; now published for the first time, from a copy in the archives of the Western Reserve Historical Society, together with letters of Governor Robert Dinwiddie, an historical notice of the Miami confederacy of Indians; a sketch of the English post at Pickawillany, with a short biography of Captain Trent. Edited by A. T. Goodman, secretary Western Reserve Historical Society. Cincinnati, 1871.
8vo, pp. 117.

WESTERN RESERVE AND NORTHERN OHIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Tracts. Vols. I–III. Nos. 1–84. Cleveland, 1877–1892.
8vo.
No. 1. Battle at Frenchtown, Mich., January, 1813. By T. P. Dudley. pp. 4.
No. 2. Judges of the supreme court of Ohio under the first constitution, 1803–1852. By A. T. Goodman. 1871. pp. 8.

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No. 3. Papers relating to the war of 1812. By E. T. Whittlesey. 1870. pp. 4.

No. 4. First white child in Ohio. By A. T. Goodman. 1871. pp. 7.

No. 5. Ancient earth forts of the Cuyahoga Valley, Ohio. By Charles Whittlesey. 1871. pp. 40. Nine plates.

No. 6. Papers relating to the first white settlers in Ohio. By A. T. Goodman. 1871. pp. 8.

No. 7. War of 1812. Papers of E. Whittlesey. No. 2. 1871. pp. 5–7.

No. 8. Indian affairs around Detroit in 1706. Papers of General Cass. 1871. pp. 6.

No. 9. Archæological frauds: Inscriptions attributed to the mound builders. By C. Whittlesey. 1872. pp. 4.

No. 10. Annual meeting of the Society, May, 1872. Memorial notice of A. T. Goodman. 1872. pp. 4.

No. 11. Ancient rock inscriptions in Ohio, an ancient burial mound, Hardin County. 1872. pp. 16. Two folded plates.

No. 12. War of 1812. Papers of E. Whittlesey. No. 3. 1872. pp. 3.

No. 13. Papers relating to the expeditions of Colonel Bradstreet and Colonel Bouquet, 1764. No. 1. 1873. pp. 6.

No. 14. Same. No. 2. 1873. pp. 6.

No. 15. Correspondence of Major Tod, war of 1812; History of Northfield. By A. M. Searles. 1873. pp. 8.

No. 16. List of publications of the Society; Annual report, 1873; Origin of the State of Ohio. 1873. pp. 5.

No. 17. Correspondence of Major Tod, war of 1812. No. 2. 1873. pp. 5.

No. 18. War correspondence. Northern frontier. 1812. No. 6. 1873. pp. 4.

No. 19. Same. No. 7. 1873. pp. 4.

No. 20. Discovery and ownership of the Northwestern Territory and settlement of the Western Reserve. Address, by J. A. Garfield. 1874. pp. 12.

No. 21. Sixth annual meeting, May, 1874. pp. 3.

No. 22. Battle of Frenchtown, by T. P. Dudley; Maj. Isaac Craig on Lake Erie, 1782; White men as scalpers; Thomas Hutchins, geographer general of the United States. 1874. pp. 8.

No. 23. Relics of the mound builders, by C. C. Baldwin, 1874; Campaigns of 1813 on the Ohio frontier; Sortie at Fort Meigs, May, 1813, by T. Christian. 1876. pp. 7.

No. 24. Recent donations by W. P. Fogg, with his description and remarks on cuneiform inscriptions. 1874. pp. 4.

No. 25. Early maps of Ohio and the West, by C. C. Baldwin. 1875. pp. 25.

No. 26. Seventh annual meeting, May 11, 1875. pp. 4.

No. 27. Notice of historical and pioneer societies in Ohio, by C. C. Baldwin. 1875. pp. 8.

No. 28. War of 1812. Papers, No. 8. 1875. pp. 4.

No. 29. Tradition of Brady, the Indian hunter. 1875. pp. 6.

No. 30. Early settlement of Warren, Trumbull County, Ohio, by Leonard Case. 1876. pp. 34.

No. 31. Annual meeting, May, 1876. pp. 4.

No. 32. Western Reserve; Origin of title, by Charles Whittlesey. 1876. pp. 6.

No. 33. Archæological frauds, by Charles Whittlesey. 1876. pp. 7.

No. 34. The Margry papers, Vol. I, by C. C. Baldwin. 1876. pp. 7.

No. 35. A centennial lawsuit, by C. C. Baldwin. 1876. pp. 3.

No. 36. Memoranda and notes, by the late Alfred T. Goodman: Bison or buffalo in Ohio; Statement of George Sanderson on war of 1812; Maj. Amos Stoddard. General Harrison at Cleveland, 1812. 1877. pp. 4.

Nos. 1–36, with title-page and index, constitute Vol. I of the Tracts.

Vol. II, Tracts Nos 37–72. Cleveland, 1888. pp. (4), xix (3), 504. Illustrated; Portrait.

No. 37. Ninth annual meeting, May, 1877. pp. 7.

No. 38. Discovery of the Ohio River by Robert Cavelier de la Salle, 1669–70, by Charles Whittlesey. pp. 9–15.

No. 39. Autograph letters. pp. 17–24.

No. 40. The Iroquois in Ohio, by C. C. Baldwin; First United States land surveys, 1786. pp. 25–31.

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No. 41. Ancient earthworks, northern Ohio, by Charles Whittlesey; Indian records. pp. 33–39.

No. 42. Rock inscriptions in the United States; Ancient alphabets of Asia, by C. Whittlesey. 1878. pp. 41–55.

No. 43. Proceedings, 1878. Biographical sketches: J. P. Kirtland; W. G. Lane; R. W. Taylor; H. B. Tuttle. pp. 57–61.

No. 44. The Grave Creek inscribed stone, by Charles Whittlesey. 1879. pp. 65–68.

No. 45. Numismatics. Facts in regard to early American coins, by H. N. Johnson. pp. 69–74.

No. 46. Revolutionary correspondence of 1777: Washington and Putnam letters; Ludington's reports. pp. 75–80.

No. 47. Early Indian migration in Ohio, by C. C. Baldwin. 1878. pp. 81–95.

No. 48. Annual meeting, 1878. pp. 97–100.

No. 49. Report on the girdled road; Major Wilkins's disaster, 1763; Diary of Capt. James Bonner, war of 1812. pp. 101–104.

No. 50. Indian narrative of Judge Hugh Welch, of Green Springs, Seneca, and Sanduskie counties; Wyandot missions in 1806–1807, by Q. F. Atkins. pp. 105–113.

No. 51. General Wadsworth's division, war of 1812, by C. Whittlesey. pp. 115–123.

No. 52. Relics of aboriginal art and their ethnological value. pp. 125–128.

No. 53. Inscribed stones, Licking County, Ohio, by C. Whittlesey. 1881. pp. 129–132.

No. 54. Thirteenth annual meeting, May 10, 1881. pp. 135–150.

No. 55. The State of Ohio: Sources of her strength, by C. Whittlesey. 1881. pp. 151–158.

No. 56. Ancient burial ciste in northeastern Ohio, by Cornelius Baldwin. 1882. pp. 159–165.

No. 57. Fourteenth annual meeting, May 9, 1882. pp. 167–182.

No. 58. Biography of Ephraim Kirby, by T. Garlick. 1883. pp. 183–186.

No. 59. Ohio surveys, by C. Whittlesey. 1883. pp. 187–191.

No. 60. The glacial boundary in Ohio, Indiana, and Kentucky, by G. Frederick. Wright. 1884. pp. 193–278.

No. 61. Surveys of the public lands in Ohio, by C. Whittlesey. 1884. pp. 279–286.

No. 62. The corporate birth and growth of Cleveland, by S. O. Griswold. pp. 287–318.

No. 63. The geographical history of Ohio, by C. C. Baldwin. pp. 319–332.

No. 64. Map and description of northeastern Ohio, by John Heckewelder, 1796. 1884. pp. 333–340.

No. 65. Seventeenth annual meeting, May, 1884. pp. 341–360.

No. 66. Colonel Bradstreet's misfortunes on Lake Erie in 1764. 1886. pp. 361–363.

No. 67. Nineteenth annual meeting. pp. 364–403.

No. 68. Memorial of Col. Charles Whittlesey, by C. C. Baldwin. Bibliography. pp. 404–437.

No. 69. The origin and development of the almanack, by Sam. Broggs. pp. 435–477.

No. 70. The Preglacial course of Rocky River, Ohio, by D. T. Gould. pp. 479–490.

No. 71. First United States land surveys, by C. Whittlesey. pp. 491–495.

No. 72. The battle of the Peninsula, September 29, 1812, by C. Whittlesey. pp. 497–504.

Vol. III. Tracts 73–84. Cleveland, 1892. pp. (8), xi, (1), 379.

No. 73. Archæology of Ohio, by M. C. Read.

No. 74. History of the Western Reserve Historical Society, by D. W. Manchester.

No. 75. Discovery of paleolithic implements at Newcomerstown, Ohio, by W. C. Mills and G. F. Wright.

No. 76. Ancient earthworks of Ohio, by F. W. Putnam.

No. 77. Manuscript of Solomon Spaulding and the Book of Mormon, by J. H. Fairchild.

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No. 78. Twenty-fourth annual meeting of the Society, June 19, 1891: Address of ex-President R. B. Hayes; Report of D. W. Manchester, secretary; Address on "The new methods in history," by C. C. Baldwin.

No. 79. Case School of Applied Science: Biographical sketches of the founder and his kinsmen—Leonard Case, sr., 1786–1864; William Case, 1818–1862; Leonard Case, jr., 1820–1880, by James D. Cleveland.

No. 80. History of man in Ohio, by C. C. Baldwin.

No. 81. The Ohio Railroad—that famous structure on stilts, by C. P. Leland.

No. 82. The development of Cleveland's harbor, by J. H. Sargent.

No. 83. The early history of Lorain County, by W. W. Boynton.

No. 84. Traces of ice age in the flora of Cuyahoga Valley, by E. W. Claypole.

WESTERN RESERVE AND NORTHERN OHIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Journal of Capt. Jonathan Heart on the march with his company from Connecticut to Fort Pitt, in Pittsburg, Pa., from the 7th of September to the 12th of October, 1785, inclusive. To which is added the Dickinson-Harmar correspondence of 1784–85. The whole illustrated with notes and preceded by a biographical sketch of Captain Heart by Consul Willshire Butterfield. Albany, 1885.

Small 4to, pp. xv, 94.

Printed from the original in the possession of the Society.

WESTERN RESERVE AND NORTHERN OHIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Archæology of Ohio. By M. C. Read. [1888.]

8vo, pp. 119. Plates.

232. *WHITEWATER AND MIAMI VALLEY PIONEER ASSOCIATION.*

WHITEWATER AND MIAMI VALLEY PIONEER ASSOCIATION. Pioneer life at North Bend. Address by J. Scott Harrison, delivered before the Whitewater and Miami Valley Pioneer Association at Cleves, Ohio, September 8, 1866. Cincinnati, 1867.

8vo, pp. 16.

233. *WILLIAMS, DEFIANCE, AND PAULDING COUNTIES OLD SETTLERS' ASSOCIATION.*

WILLIAMS, DEFIANCE, AND PAULDING COUNTIES OLD SETTLERS' ASSOCIATION. Address at the annual meeting held at Hicksville September 11, 1878. By A. P. Edgerton. Hicksville, 1878.

8vo, pp. 41.

OREGON.

234. *OREGON PIONEER ASSOCIATION.*

Salem, Oreg.

OREGON PIONEER ASSOCIATION. Constitution and quotations from the register of the Association, with the annual address of S. F. Chadwick, remarks of L. F. Grover, at reunion, June, 1874, and other matters of interest. Salem, 1875.

8vo, pp. 96.

Contains: The pioneer settlers of Oregon; The Oregon question, by L. F. Grover; History of the provisional government of Oregon, by J. Q. Thornton.

OREGON PIONEER ASSOCIATION. Transactions of the third annual reunion, and the annual address by Matthew P. Deady, with the addresses of J. W. Nesmith, G. P. Holman, and G. L. Curry, November 11, 1873, and a biography of Joseph L. Meek. Salem, 1876.

8vo, pp. 88.

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235. *PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF OREGON.*

Astoria, Oreg.

PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF OREGON. Address to the people of Oregon [on the subject of the erection of a monument to the memory of the late Dr. Marcus Whitman]. 1874.
Sheet.

PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF OREGON. Proceedings, fourth, fifth and sixth, tenth, and eleventh annual meetings, 1875, 1876, 1877, 1881, 1882. Astoria, 1875, 1882.
8vo. Five pamphlets.

PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF OREGON. Centennial paper. The American colonist in Oregon. Address before the Society, February, 22, 1876. By G. H. Atkinson. [Astoria, 1876.]
8vo, pp. 8.

PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF OREGON. Proceedings. Fourth annual address, reports of officers, etc. Astoria, 1875.
8vo, pp. 27. One folded sheet.

PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF OREGON. Fifth annual report, proceedings, annual address, narrative of the winter trip of Dr. Marcus Whitman across the Rocky Mountains in 1842, and other documents of the Society. Astoria, 1876.
8vo, pp. 15.

PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF OREGON. Proceedings. Sixth annual address, February 22, 1877. Reports of Whitman monument fund committee, obituaries of pioneers, etc. Astoria, 1877.
8vo, pp. 12, (5).

PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF OREGON. Annual meeting, February 22, 1881. [Astoria, 1881.]
8vo, pp. 5. No title-page.

PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF OREGON. Annual meeting, May 11, 1882. Proceedings. [Astoria, 1882.]
8vo, pp. 12. No title-page.

PENNSYLVANIA.

236. *AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA.*

Philadelphia, Pa.

AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA. Records. Vols. I–V. 1884–1894. Philadelphia, 1887–1894.
8vo. Five volumes.

Vol. I. Charter; By-laws; Reports, etc.; Members; Importance of Catholic historical studies, by Rev. Dr. Middleton; Origin of historical societies, by Robert Seton; The sisters of Jesus and Mary, by F. X. Reuss; William Penn, the friend of Catholics, by M. I. J. Griffin; French refugee Trappists in the United States, by L. F. Flick; Catholicity in the three lower counties, or the planting of the church in Delaware, by C. H. A. Esling; An account of Catholicity in the public institutions of Boston, by J. J. Brie; A memoir of Rev. Michael Hurley, by T. Westcott; The Ursuline nuns in America, by E. M. Vogel; List of baptisms registered at St. Joseph's church, Philadelphia, 1758–1775, by F. X. Reuss; Registers of St. Augustine's church, Philadelphia; St. Peter's church, Wilmington, Del.; Old St. Peter's church, Baltimore; St. Patrick's church, Baltimore. 1887. pp. 387, (1).

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Vol. II. Sketch of the Abenaquis mission, by J. J. Brie; The early registers of the Catholic Church in Pennsylvania, by P. S. P. Connor; Rev. Louis Barth, by J. C. Foin; The centenary of the adoption of the Constitution, by Rev. Dr. Horstmann; Thomas Fitz-Simons, Pennsylvania's Catholic signer of the Constitution, by M. I. J. Griffin; Catholic choirs and choir music in Philadelphia, by M. H. Cross; Catholicity in southeastern (Lee County) Iowa, by J. F. Kempker; Sketches of Catholicity in Texas, by C. Jaillet; Father Louis della Vagna, by H. F. McIntosh; The origin of the Flathead mission, by E. Mallet; History of the church of Our Lady of Perpetual Succor, Boston, by C. W. Currier; List of baptisms of St. Joseph's church, Philadelphia, 1776–1781; Father Fanner's marriage register, 1758–1786, preserved at St. Joseph's church, Philadelphia, 1758-1786; Father Schneider's Goshenhoppen registers, 1761–1764; The Esling genealogy; The Sehner family; Kelly-Hendry families; Reports, etc. 1889. pp. 406.

Vol. III. The American Catholic Historical Society and Catholic Reference Library, by L. F. Flick; The Flathead Indians, by J. O'Conner; The pioneer of religion and the first church in Omaha, by T. J. Fitzmorris; Historical sketch of early Catholicity and the first church in Cleveland, by G. F. Houck; Sportaman's hall, by V. Huber; Biographical sketch of B. Wimmar, D. D.; George Meade, by R. W. Meade; Thomas Lloyd, reporter of the first House of Representatives, by M. I. J. Griffin; The ride of the Royal Wraith, by C. H. A. Esling; Catholic choir music in Philadelphia, by T. C. Middleton; St. Mary's graveyard, Philadelphia; Goshen Noppen registers, 1765–1785, by T. C. Middleton; Paschal confessions and communions at Loretto, Pa., 1810–1813. Index. 1891. pp. 660.

Vol. IV. The Gallitzin memorandum book, edited by T. C. Middleton; Baptisms at St. Joseph's church, Philadelphia; History of the church in Niagara, Canada, by P. J. Harold; St. Peter's church, Columbia, Pa., by F. X. Reuss; Early history of Allegheny County, Pa., by A. A. Lambing; List of Catholic periodicals in the United States, by T. C. Middleton; Minute book of St. Mary's church, Philadelphia, by L. F. Flick. 1893. pp. (4), 510, (1).

Vol. V. Annual address of L. F. Flick; Memoir of Rev. Patrick Reilly; Interments in St. Mary's burying ground, Philadelphia, from 1788 to 1800; Certain churches in the West, by E. J. Nolan; Brief sketch of the life of Eusebio Guiteras; A rough essay at a geographical description of the Province of Sonora; Biographical sketch of James Campbell, by J. M. Campbell; The Catholic church at Lancaster, Pa., by S. M. Sener; Pew registers of St. Mary's church, Philadelphia, 1787–1791, by T. C. Middleton; The Papago Indians and their church, by L. F. Flick; Philadelphia's first nun, by S. T. Smith. 1894. pp. 564.

AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA. Catholicity in the three lower counties, or the planting of the church in Delaware. Read by Charles H. A. Esling before the Society. Newspaper sheet from the Wilmington *Every Evening* of June 23, 24, 25, 1886.

AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA. The French refugee Trappists in the United States. Read before the Society on February 23, 1886. By Lawrence Francis Flick. Philadelphia, 1886.

8vo, pp. 33.

AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA. William Penn, the friend of Catholics. By Martin I. J. Griffin. Read before the Friends' Evening Hour Club, of Germantown, December 7, 1885, and before the American Catholic Historical Society, on February 1, 1886. Philadelphia, 1886.

8vo, pp. 9.

AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA. Catholicity in the three lower counties, or the planting of the church in Delaware. Read before the Society, March 23, 1886, by Charles H. A. Esling. Philadelphia, 1887.

8vo, pp. 117–160.

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AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA. Quarterly Bulletin. Vol. I, Nos. 1–4, January-December, 1892. Philadelphia, 1892.

4to, pp. 7.

AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA. Report of the executive board. December 19, 1893. Philadelphia, 1893.

8vo, pp. 74.

Addition to the library; list of members.

237. *BUCKS COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Doylestown, Pa.

BUCKS COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. History of the Southampton Baptist Church, Bucks County, Pa. Read before the Society, July 22, 1884. By W. W. H. Davis. Doylestown, 1884.

12mo, pp. 14. Edition, 75 copies.

BUCKS COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The Red Lion Inn, Bensalem Township, Bucks County, Pa. Abstract of a paper prepared by William J. Buck, and read at the meeting of the Bucks County Historical Society, July 17, 1888.

In *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*. Vol. XII, pp. 359–361. Philadelphia, 1888.

238. *DAUPHIN COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Harrisburg, Pa.

DAUPHIN COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Read before the Historical Society. Peter Bezaillon, the first settler of Dauphin County. [By A. Boyd Hamilton.] [Harrisburg, 1872.]

8vo, pp. 5.

In *Contributions to the History of Dauphin County*, No. 2.

DAUPHIN COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Fort Hunter, Susquehanna Township, Dauphin County, Pa. [Letter from A. Boyd Hamilton to the Society, May, 1872.] Harrisburg, 1872.

8vo, pp. 14.

In *Contributions to the History of Dauphin County*, No. 1. pp. 1–14.

[NOTE.—The *Contributions to the History of Dauphin County* is a volume made up of various papers; some of them independently paged, apparently reprinted from some serial publication.]

DAUPHIN COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Reminiscences of various members of the bar of Dauphin County. By George W. Harris. Read before the Society, 1873. [Harrisburg, 1873.]

8vo, pp. 34.

In *Contributions to the History of Dauphin County*, No. 2.

DAUPHIN COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Addresses delivered before the Society, in the State capitol, Harrisburg, July 4, 1876. [Harrisburg, 1876.]

8vo, pp. 85.

Contents: Ecclesiastical history of Dauphin County, by Thomas H. Robinson; The Revolutionary soldiers of Dauphin County, by A. Boyd Hamilton; Historical review of Dauphin County, by William H. Egle.

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DAUPHIN COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Ceremonies and historical addresses in commemoration of the centenary of independence. Harrisburg, July 4, 1876. Under the auspices of the Society. [Harrisburg, 1876.]

8vo, pp. 32.

DAUPHIN COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Centennial. The settlement, formation, and progress of Dauphin County, Pa., from 1785 to 1876. Prepared under the direction of the commissioners of said county. By George H. Morgan. Harrisburg, Pa., 1877.

8vo, pp. 239.

A committee of the Society superintended the publication of Centennial statement respecting the settlement and progress of the county, and "carefully examined and read the work," etc.

DAUPHIN COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Dixons, of Dixons Ford; with "The soldier's tale." A story of the people of Derry in 1776. By William Darby. [Edited by W. H. Egle.] Harrisburg, 1878.

4to, pp. 21.

DAUPHIN COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Historical sketch of old Hanover Church. By Thomas H. Robinson. With a notice of the church at Conewago. By A. Boyd Hamilton. [Harrisburg], 1878.

8vo, pp. 59.

Hamilton's article has separate title: "The Conewago congregation of Presbyterians, Londonderry Township, 1730-1796."

DAUPHIN COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. 1785-1885. Centennial memorial of the erection of the county of Dauphin and the founding of the city of Harrisburg. Edited by William Henry Egle. Harrisburg, 1886.

8vo, pp. 397. Illustrated.

Published under the auspices of the Society.

239. *FRANKLIN CLUB.*

Philadelphia, Pa.

FRANKLIN CLUB. A journal of the expedition to Quebec in the year 1775, under the command of Col. Benedict Arnold. By James Melvin, a private in Captain Dearborn's company. New York, 1857.

8vo, pp. 30.

240. *FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF PHILADELPHIA.*

FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF PHILADELPHIA. Sketch of the life and character of John Fenwick, by John Clement. Published by the Association. Philadelphia, 1875.

8vo, pp. 95.

FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF PHILADELPHIA. Some chapters in the history of the Friendly Association, for regaining and preserving peace with the Indians by pacific measures. By Samuel Parrish. Philadelphia, 1877.

8vo, pp. 131.

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241. *GENEALOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF PENNSYLVANIA AND NEW JERSEY.*

Philadelphia, Pa.

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8vo, pp. 95 (1). Portrait.

Contents: Henry Richard Linderman; The Burton family of Bucks County; The old Princeton cemetery; The George Gray family of 1691-92, by Frederick Jones; The descendants of Cornelius Van Horne; Low Dutch Reformed Church at Churchville, by J. D. Van Horne; Marriage records of St. Mary's Church, Burlington, N. J.; The Hollinsheads; The Duché family, by G. Leland; The Van Buskirk family, by H. B. Sinks; Early settlers of Bucks County; William Penn; Old Presbyterian churches of Philadelphia; Six Mile Run Church.

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8vo, pp. 40.

Contents: The sailing of the ship *Submission* in 1682, with a true copy of the vessel's log; Inscriptions on some ancient tombstones formerly in the burial ground of the First Presbyterian Church, on Bank street; John Hart, governor of Maryland from 1714 to 1720; Some data concerning the taking of wolves in New Castle County in 1676, and a reprint of the taxables of that year; Notices of the justices of New Castle and others connected with foregoing list.

242. *HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF BERKS COUNTY.*

Reading, Pa.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF BERKS COUNTY. The place of the Ringgold Light Artillery, of Reading, among the first five companies from Pennsylvania which marched to the defense of Washington, April, 1861. Paper read before the Society, June 14, 1870. [By W. M. Hiester.] Reading, Pa., 1870.

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Athens, Pa.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF BRADFORD COUNTY. Proceedings of the Society, May 4, 1870, with constitution and by-laws. 1870.

Broadside.

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In *Olden Time*. Edited by N. B. Craig. Vol. I, pp. 530–548. Pittsburg, 1846. Reprinted 1876.

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Same. Being a republication. Edited by Edward Armstrong. With editorial notes and appendix. 1864. pp. xx, 13–495.

Contents in addition to the original issue: Advertisement to the first edition; Editorial note; Sketch of the Historical Society, [by B. H. Coates]; Officers for 1864; Constitution, 1864; Biographical sketch of William Rawle; Origin of the name of Cape Henlopen; Extract from the original book of Mason and Dixon's field notes; Copy of an original will of William Penn; Coal tonnage of the Lehigh region, 1820–1863; History of the act of 1780 for the gradual abolishment of slavery in Pennsylvania; Biographical sketch of George Bryan, author of the act of 1780; Notices of the early acts of assembly on the subject of slaves; Notices of Sir William Keith, Dr. Thomas Græme, and Mrs. Fergusson; Appendix; List of pilgrims of the *Welcome*; Biographical sketch of James Dunlop; Biographical sketch of Edward Bettle; Poems, by Robert Proud.

Vol. II, part 1. Anniversary discourse delivered before the Society on January 1, 1827, by Roberts Vaux; Communication from Roberts Vaux on the subject of two medals struck in Philadelphia, 1657; A narrative of an embassy to the Western Indians, from the original manuscript of Hendrick Aupaumut, with prefatory remarks by B. H. Coates; An account of the settlement of the Dunkers at Ephrata, in Lancaster County, Pa., by Redmond Conyngham, added a short history of that

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religious society, by Christian Endress; History of the introduction of an
cite coal into Philadelphia, by Erskine Hazard, and a letter from Jesse Fe
Wilkesbarre, on the discovery and first use of anthracite in the valley of Wyom
Sketches of the history of Bybery, in the county of Philadelphia, with biogra
cal notices of some of the first settlers and other inhabitants of the neighborh
by Isaac Comley; An historical anecdote of John Harris, sr., who was the first
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list of the instructions, letters, etc., from Thomas and Richard Penn, proprietu
and governors of Pennsylvania, to James Hamilton, by Joshua F. Fisher; Le
of William Penn to Charles II and to the Earl of Sunderland, from authentic
copies obtained in London, by John R. Coates. 1827. pp. 247.

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Pennsylvania, with his conduct in it, written in 1726, with some introduc
observations, by Joshua F. Fisher; Report of the committee appointed to ex
ine the minute book of the Society for political inquiries; Some account of
early poets and poetry of Pennsylvania, by Joshua F. Fisher; Sketch of the
of Thomas Mifflin, by William Rawle; An examination of the various cha
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country towns and places in Pennsylvania, as drawn up by J. F. Wats
Speech of William Penn, addressed to the provincial council of Pennsylva
April 1, 1700; Col. Robert Quarry's information against the government of Pe
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William Markham, lieutenant-governor of Pennsylvania, with several Delaw
and Susquehanna Indians, July 6, 1694; Officers for 1830; Members elected si
January, 1827; Honorary members; List of contents. 1830. pp. 221.

Vol. III, part 1. A short description of the province of New Sweden, n
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Du Ponceau; The history of the University of Pennsylvania, from its origin
1827, by George B. Wood; Inedited letters of William Penn, copied in Lond
from the originals in the possession of John Penn, read at various meetings
the Society during 1833, by J. F. Fisher. 1834. pp. (2) vi, 5-292. Maps.

Vol. III, part 2. Annual discourse before the Society on the 28th of April, 183
on the origin of the Indian population of America, by B. H. Coates; A discour
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The Indian treaty for the lands now the site of Philadelphia and the adjace
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Peter S. Du Ponceau and J. Francis Fisher; William Penn's letter to the inha
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Petitions of the Indians to Governor Markham, 1681; Report of the committee o
the Indian portraits; A memoir of part of the life of William Penn, by Mr. La
ton; Fragments of an apology for himself, by William Penn; Officers and mem
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Vol. IV, part 1. Officers; An inaugural discourse, June 3, 1837, by Peter
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Peter S. Du Ponceau, containing his recollections of Mr. Rawle's life and chara
ter; Description of a specimen of engraving by the aboriginal inhabitants
North America, with a notice of some incidents in the history of the early settle
on the west branch of the Susquehanna River, by Walter R. Johnson; Memo
of Roberts Vaux, by Thomas M'Kean Pettit; An examination of Beauchan
Plantagenet's description of the province of New Albion, by John Penington
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Vol. IV, part 2. Discourse delivered February 21, 1842, on the colonial history of the Eastern and some of the Southern States, by Job R. Tyson; Remarks and general observations on Mercer County, Pa., by B. Stokely; A particular geographical description of the lately discovered province of Pennsylvania, by Francis Daniel Pastorius, translated from the original German, by Lewis H. Weiss; The Society's circular, January, 1845; Incidents in the early history of Crawford County, Pa., by Alfred Huidekoper; Letter from J. S. McCalmont, of Franklin, Venango County, Pa.; Letter from Lyman Robinson, of Wattsburg, Erie County, Pa.; Description of Economy, Beaver County, Pa., by R. L. Baker; Notes respecting the Indians of Lancaster County, Pa., by William Parker Foulke; Constitution of the Society; Catalogue of papers relating to Pennsylvania and Delaware, deposited at the state paper office, London; List of the officers and contributing members of the Society. 1850. pp. 391.

Vol. V. The history of an expedition against Fort Du Quesne in 1755, under Maj. Gen. Edward Braddock. Edited from the original manuscripts, by Winthrop Sargent. 1855. pp. 423. Plates. Portraits.

Vol. VI. Contributions to American history, 1858; Some account of the Society of the Cincinnati, by Alexander Johnston; Journal of the general meeting of the Cincinnati in 1784, by Winthrop Sargent; The insurrection of 1794 in the western counties of Pennsylvania, by Townsend Ward; Presentation to the Society of the belt of wampum delivered by the Indians to William Penn at the great treaty under the elm tree in 1682; The Acadian exiles, or French neutrals, in Pennsylvania, by William B. Reed; The case of Major André, with a review of the statement of it in Lord Mahon's History of England, by Charles J. Biddle; Index. 1858. pp. (7), 429. Folded plate.

Vol. VII. The record of the court at Upland, in Pennsylvania, 1676 to 1681, and a military journal kept by Maj. E. Denny, 1781 to 1795. 1860. pp. 498, (8). Plates. Portrait.

Contains also introduction to the record of Upland, by Edward Armstrong; Memoir of Maj. Ebenezer Denny, by William H. Denny; Letters of Josiah Harmar and others, 1784–1797; Vocabulary of words in use with the Delaware and Shawnee Indians; List of subscribers to the publication fund of the Society.

Vol. VIII. Minutes of the committee of defence of Philadelphia, 1814–15. 1867. pp. 428.

Vols. IX and X. Correspondence between William Penn and James Logan, secretary of the province of Pennsylvania, and others, 1700–1750, from the original letters in possession of the Logan family, with notes by Deborah Logan. Edited, with additional notes, by Edward Armstrong. Vols. I, II. 1870–1872. Two volumes. Portrait.

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Vol. XII. History, manners, and customs of the Indian nations who once inhabited Pennsylvania and the neighboring States, by John Heckewelder. New and revised edition, with an introduction and notes, by William C. Reichel. 1876 pp. 465. Portrait.

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The half title is *Proceedings of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.*

CONTENTS.

No. 1. *Proceedings*, February 3, 7, 1845; A brief description of New York, formerly called New Netherlands. By Daniel Denton. pp. iv, 7, 16.

No. 2. *Proceedings*, March 24–May 26, 1845; Colonel McLane's visit to Washington, 1814. pp. 22.

No. 3. *Proceedings*, June 23–August 4, 1845; Remarks upon traditions, etc., of the Indians of North America, by John Ettwein. pp. 25–44.

No. 4. *Proceedings*, September 22–November 24, 1845; Papers read by W. B. Reed [viz, letters from Robert Morris to John Hancock, written in 1776]. pp. 45–63.

No. 5. *Proceedings*, December 22, 1845–February 23, 1846; The journal of Isaac Senter, on a secret expedition against Quebec under the command of Col. Benedict Arnold, in September, 1775. pp. 65–69, 1–40.

No. 6. *Proceedings*, March 23–May 25, 1846; Minutes of the committee of safety of Northumberland County, Pa., February 8, 1776–April 17, 1777. pp. 71–99.

No. 7. *Proceedings*, June 23, 1846; Some account of the British army, under the command of General Howe, and of the battle of Brandywine, September 11, 1777, and of the adventures of that day, which came to the knowledge and observation of Joseph Townsend. pp. 103, 104, ii, 33. Folded plan.

No. 8. *Proceedings*, September 28–November 23, 1846; Papers relative to the battle of Brandywine. pp. 105–111; (1), xxxv–63. Illustrations.

No. 9. *Proceedings*, February 1, 1846; Constitution as amended to February, 1847; Members. pp. 113–123.

No. 10. *Proceedings*, December 28, 1846–February 23, 1847; Letters from John Clark, jr., to General Washington, written during the occupation of Philadelphia by the British army. pp. 113–115, 36.

No. 11. *Proceedings*, March 22–May 19, 1847; Memorandum of the names and significations which the "Lenni Lenape," otherwise called "the Delawares," had given to rivers, streams, places, etc., within Pennsylvania [etc.]. By Maurice C. Jones. pp. 117–135.

No. 12. *Proceedings*, September 27, 1847. [Continuation of article by M. C. Jones.] pp. 137–154.

No. 13. *Proceedings*, October 25–November 1, 1847; A true relation of the flourishing State of Pennsylvania [poem]. By John Holmes. pp. 157–180.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA. Proceedings. Vol. I, No. 1, March, 1845. [Philadelphia, 1845.]

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Dedicated to the Society.

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HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA. An address delivered at Chest before the Society, on the 8th of November, 1851, by Edward Armstron in celebration of the one hundred sixty-ninth anniversary of the lan ing of William Penn at that place. Philadelphia, 1852.
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pp. (2) ii, 426.

Contents: Copy of a family register of Conrad Weiser, translated by H. H. Muhlenberg; Narrative of a journey by Conrad Weiser from Tulpehocken to Onondaga, 1737; Journal of the proceedings of Conrad Weiser in his journey to Ohio, 1748; The first experiments of Fitch and Fulton in steam navigation, by Rembrandt Peale; Letter from James Logan to the Society of Friends, on the subject of their opposition to all means of defense of the colony, 1741; Accounts of the overseers of the poor, Philadelphia, 1758–59; Proclamations by the provincial governors and councils of Pennsylvania, 1703–1760; Early history of Juniata County, by A. Banks; Sermon preached on the battle of Brandywine, 1777, by J. Trout; March of the Paxton boys against Philadelphia, 1764, by H. M. Muhlenberg; Reception of the stamp act in Philadelphia; Derivation of the name of the village of the Trappe; Presentation of the freedom of the city of New York to Andrew Hamilton; An essay upon Indian affairs, by C. Thomson; State of the Indian nations in 1759; Biographical memoir of Charles Thomson, by J. F. Watson; Minutes of the proceedings of the officers of the Pennsylvania Regiment, between 1764 and 1774 in relation to their obtaining a grant of land upon the west branch of the Susquehanna; Letter from Mrs. Deborah Logan to Maj. Alexander Garden; Notices of the papers in Charles Thomson's possession, 1824–25, by J. F. Watson; Robert Morris's application to Friends for pecuniary relief for the Southern war, 1781; An account of Robert Morris's drafts on Benjamin Franklin; Notes on the private character of General Washington; Extracts from letters of John Adams; Muhlenberg's journals of 1776 and 1777, relating to military events; The history of Mooreland, by W. J. Buck; Journal of the campaign to Amboy and other parts of the Jerseys, by B. Loxley; The discovery of America by the Northmen; Indian utensils and implements, by W. J. Buck; Extracts from court records held in Germantown, 1691 to 1707; Letter on slavery, by S. Hart; Selections from the Logan papers; Journal of William Feltman, 1781–82, embracing the siege of Yorktown and the Southern campaign; Observations on the statement of facts [concerning] the trials for the Western [whisky] insurrection, by J. B. Gibson; Chester's mother, by W. Darlington; Obituary notices of Pennsylvanians; Memoranda on a tour through a part of North America, by R. Hare; Local superstitions, by W. J. Buck; Proposals for altering the eastern front of the city of Philadelphia, to prevent a recurrence of malignant disorders; George Whitefield, by S. Breck; An account of Huntingdon County, by J. Adams; Thomas Godfrey, the inventor of the quadrant, by J. F. Watson.

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HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA. The history of Mason and Dixon's line; contained in an address, delivered by John H. B. Latrobe, before the Society, November 8, 1854. [Philadelphia, 1855.]

8vo, pp. 52. Facsimiles. Plate.

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SOUTH CAROLINA.

268. *HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF CHARLESTON.*

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8vo. Four volumes.

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Vol. I. Address pronounced at the inauguration of the South Carolina ical Society, June 28, 1855, by F. A. Porcher; A narrative of the capture of Laurens, of his confinement in the Tower of London, etc., 1780, 1781, 1782; dix, containing documents, letters, etc., relating to Mr. Laurens's imprison the Tower; List and abstract of papers in the state paper office, London, to South Carolina. 1857. pp. vi (1), 307.

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Vol. IV. Report of the committee appointed by the general assembly of Sou olina in 1740, on the St. Augustine expedition under General Oglethorpe, Address before the Society on their twenty-first anniversary, May 19, 1 W. J. Rivers, pp. 28 (1); Address on twenty-second anniversary, May 25, J. J. Pringle Smith, 1879, pp. 35, vii; Memoir of Christopher Gadsden, b Porcher, pp. 11; Education in South Carolina prior to and during the Revo by E. McCrady, jr., 1883, pp. 54.

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Memphis, Tenn.

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RUTLAND COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. An account of the celebration of the Fourth of July, 1881, at Mason's Point, Lake Bomoseen, under the auspices of the citizens of Rutland County and the Rutland County Historical Society, conjointly; including the report of the ceremony of christening the island of Neshobe. Compiled by J. M. Currier. [Castleton, Vt., 1881.]

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An appendix contains: Order of sequestration, 1777; Roll of Captain Robinson's company in Bennington battle; Receipt for plunder money; Report of council of New Hampshire on lands west of Connecticut River, 1771; Petition to Congress of the widow of Seth Warner, and papers in relation to the right of New York to boundary on Connecticut River, etc.

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tions, 1765–1777; Address, July 2, 1863, being the eighty-sixth anniversary of th meeting of the convention that formed the first constitution of Vermont, b P. H. White; Sermon at Windsor, July 2, 1777, at the convention for forming th State of Vermont, by Aaron Hutchinson; The vision of Junius the Bennington ite, 1772: Miscellaneous remarks on the proceedings of the State of New Yorl against the State of Vermont, etc., by Ira Allen, 1777; New York land grants i Vermont, 1765–1776, by H. Hall; Documents in relation to the part taken by Ver mont in resisting the invasion by Burgoyne in 1777; Celebration in 1778 of th Bennington victory of 1777; Speech by N. Smith; Political essay by S. Jacob Petitions to the King, 1766; The Vermont coinage, by E. F. Slafter; The natura and political history of Vermont, by Ira Allen, 1798. 1870. pp. xix, 507.

Vol. II. List of pamphlet publications of the Society; Vol. I vindicated from th attack of the *New York Historical Magazine*; The Haldimand papers; Negotia tions between Vermont and F. Haldimand, governor of Canada and commander o the British forces therein, with contemporaneous documents, 1779–1783; Opinion of the negotiation; Vermont as a sovereign and independent State, 1783–1791; Th early eastern boundary of New York, a 20-mile line from the Hudson; Officia report by the council of New York to Governor Monckton, 25th of June, 1763, o the controverted boundaries of the Province. 1871. pp. xxviii, 530.

VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The Vermont coinage. By E. F. Slafter Montpelier, 1870.

8vo, pp. 30.

Reprinted from the *Collections*. Fifty copies only printed.

VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Memorial address on the life and char acter of Charles Marsh, LL. D. Read before the Society, October 11 1870, by James Barrett. Montpelier, 1871.

8vo, pp. 54.

VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Vindication of Vol. I of the Collection of the Society from the attacks of the *New York Historical Magazine* By H. Hall. Montpelier, 1871.

8vo, pp. 20.

Reprinted from Vol. II of the *Collections*. A defense of the Society's publicatio of documents relative to the New Hampshire grants and the controversy wit New York in relation thereto.

VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY. [Circular on the objects of the Society etc.] November 25, 1875.

Sheet.

VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY. History of the St. Albans raid. Annua address before the Society at Montpelier, October 17, 1876, by E. A Sowles. St. Albans, 1876.

8vo, pp. 48.

VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY. List of works for exchange, March, 1879 [Montpelier, 1879.]

Sheet.

VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Sketch of the early history of banking in Vermont. [By George B. Reed. Boston, 1879.]

8vo, pp. 28.

Read before the Society, October 14, 1862.

VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Address on the life and public services o the Hon. Samuel Prentiss. Read before the Society, October 26, 1882, with the proceedings of the Society, October 17, 1882. Montpelier, 1883.

8vo, pp. xix, 24.

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VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Address on early printing in America. Delivered before the Vermont Historical Society, at Montpelier, October 25, 1894, by Henry O. Houghton. With the address of Justin S. Morrill, on presentation of the Senator's portrait to the Society by Thomas W. Wood; with the Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society, October 16 and 25, 1894. Montpelier: Press of the Watchman Publishing Company, 1894.

8vo, pp. x, 28.

Pages 1-7 contain "The Wood portrait, an address before the Society by Justin S. Morrill;" pages 9-28, Houghton's address.

282. *VERMONT NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.*

Montpelier, Vt.

VERMONT NUMISMATIC SOCIETY. Constitution and by-laws. Adopted July 3, 1877. Montpelier, 1877.

12mo, pp. 12.

VIRGINIA.

283. *GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF RICHMOND COLLEGE.*

Richmond, Va.

GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF RICHMOND COLLEGE. The colonial Virginian. An address before the Geographical and Historical Society of Richmond College, October 13, 1891. By R. A. Brock. Richmond, 1891.

8vo, pp. 22.

GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF RICHMOND COLLEGE. Capt. John Smith and his critics. A lecture before the Society, by C. Poindexter. [Richmond], 1893 [1894].

8vo, pp. 74.

284. *HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT OF THE SOCIETY OF THE ALUMNI OF THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA.*

Richmond, Va.

HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT OF THE SOCIETY OF THE ALUMNI OF THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA. Discourse on the uses and importance of history, illustrated by a comparison of the American and French revolutions. By W. C. Rives. Delivered before the Historical Department of the Society of Alumni of the University of Virginia, 29 June, 1847. Richmond, 1847.

8vo, pp. 57.

285. *JEFFERSONVILLE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Jeffersonville, Va.

JEFFERSONVILLE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. History of the settlement and Indian wars of Tazewell County, Va., with a map, statistical tables, and illustrations. By G. W. L. Bickley. Cincinnati, 1852.

8vo, pp. 267.

Although not published by the Society, it is dedicated to the members, and was written to promote its interests.

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286. *SOUTHERN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Richmond, Va.

SOUTHERN HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Proceedings of the Southern Historical Convention, which assembled at the Montgomery White Sulphur Springs, Va., on August 14, 1873; and of the Southern Historical Society, as reorganized, with the address by Gen. J. A. Early, delivered before the convention on the first day of its session. Baltimore, [1873].

8vo, pp. 44.

SOUTHERN HISTORICAL SOCIETY. From Columbia to Franklin, Tenn. An important historical paper read before the Society, March 29, 1881, by Thomas Speed. Revised and corrected for the *Bivouac*.

In *Southern Bivouac*, Vol. III, pp. 399-411.

SOUTHERN HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Southern Historical Society Papers. Vols. I-XIX, 1876-1891. Richmond, 1876-1891.

8vo. Nineteen volumes.

SOUTHERN HISTORICAL SOCIETY. A roster of general officers, heads of departments, Senators, Representatives, military organizations, etc., in Confederate service during the war between the States. By Charles C. Jones, jr. Richmond, 1876.

8vo, pp. 135.

287. *VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Richmond, Va.

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Bibliography of the Society. By T. H. Wynne.

In *Historical Magazine*, second series, Vol. VII, pp. 340, 341. New York, 1870.

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The amended constitution.

Broadside.

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. A discourse on the progress of philosophy and its influence on the intellectual and moral character of man. Delivered before the Virginia Historical and Philosphical Society, February 5, 1835, by George Tucker.

In *Southern Literary Messenger*, Vol. I, pp. 405-421. Richmond, 1835.

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY. Account of discoveries in the West until 1519, and of voyages to and along the Atlantic Coast of North America from 1520 to 1573. Prepared for the Society. By Conway Robinson. Richmond, 1848.

8vo, pp. xv, 491.

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY. Collections. Vol. I. Richmond, 1833.

8vo, pp. 85 (1).

Contains preface giving account of the origin of the Society, its first meeting in 1831; Constitution; Address before the first annual meeting, by J. P. Cushing; Memoirs of Indian wars, by John Stuart; Record of Grace Sherwood's trial for witchcraft, in Princess Anne County, 1705; List of donations and a list of officers and members.

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Virginia Historical Register, edited by W. Maxwell, 1848-1853. Vols. I-VI. Richmond, 1848-1853.

Gives the proceedings of the annual meetings, etc.

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VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Address on the life, character, and public services of Benjamin W. Leigh, before the Society, at its annual meeting. By Wm. H. Macfarland. Richmond, 1851.

12mo, pp. 12.

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The Virginia constitution of 1776. Discourse at [the] annual meeting, January 17, 1852. By H. A. Washington. Published by the Society. Richmond, 1852.

12mo, pp. 51.

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The Virginia Historical Reporter, conducted by the executive committee of the Society. Vol. I; II, part 1. Richmond, 1854–1860.

CONTENTS.

Vol. I. Seventh annual meeting; Address of W. C. Rives; Letter on Greuze's portrait of Franklin; The Virginia convention of 1829–30, by H. B. Grigsby. Richmond, 1854. pp. 116.

Vol. I. Part 2. Eighth annual meeting; Observations on the history of Virginia, a discourse, December 14, 1854, by R. M. T. Hunter. 1855. pp. 48.

Vol. I. Part 3. Ninth annual meeting; Report of committee on historical documents; Constitution; Sketches of the political issues and controversies of the Revolution, a discourse by James P. Holcombe. 1856. pp. 63.

Vol. II. Part 1. Tenth annual meeting; Report on portraits; Eleventh annual meeting; Report on portraits; Twelfth annual meeting; The Virginia colony, or the relation of the English colonial settlements in America to the general history of the world, an address by George F. Holmes; The marriage of Pocahontas; Notes on the date of Pocahontas's marriage, and some other incidents of her life, by William Robertson. 1860. pp. 87.

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The Virginia convention of 1829–30. discourse delivered before the Society at their annual meeting, December 15, 1853. By Hugh B. Grigsby. Richmond, 1854.

8vo, pp. 104.

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Observations on the history of Virginia. Discourse before the Society, December 14, 1854. By R. M. T. Hunter. Richmond, 1855.

12mo, pp. 48.

Same. 8vo, pp. 16.

Rev. H. E. Hayden possesses a copy of this last edition, the existence of which was unknown to R. A. Brock, the secretary of the Society, until notified of it by Mr. Hayden.

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Sketches of the political issues and controversies of the Revolution. Discourse before the Society at their ninth annual meeting, January 17, 1856. By J. P. Holcombe. Published by the Society. Richmond, 1856

12mo, pp. 63.

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The diary of George Washington, from 1789 to 1791; embracing the opening of the First Congress, and his tours through New England, Long Island, and the Southern States. Together with his journal of a tour to the Ohio in 1753. Edited by B. J. Lossing. Richmond, 1861.

8vo, pp. 248.

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VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Circular from T. H. Wynne, secretary, asking for public aid.

Broadside.

Same. With address of the Society to the people of Virginia. February 19, 1870. pp. 2.

Circular on the objects and purposes of the Society. July 20, 1881.

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Circular to Virginians and friends of Virginia. September 2, 1878.

Relative to erecting a building.

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Publications. New series, No. 1. Richmond, 1874.

4to, pp. 71.

Contains letters of Thomas Nelson, jr., governor of Virginia.

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Organizations; officers and members; with a list of its publications. Richmond, 1881.

8vo, pp. 23 (1).

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections New series, Vols. I–X. Richmond; 1882–1891.

8vo. Illustrated.

CONTENTS.

Vol. I. The official letters of Alexander Spotswood, lieutenant-governor of the colony of Virginia, 1710–1722. With introduction and notes, by R. A. Brock. Vol. I, 1882. pp. xxi, 179.

Vol. II. Same. Vol. II, 1885. pp. vii, 368.

Vol. III. The official letters of Robert Dinwiddie, lieutenant-governor of the colony, 1751–1758. With introduction and notes, by R. A. Brock. Vol. I, 1883.

Vol. IV. Same. Vol. II, 1884. 8vo, pp. xviii, 768. Folded map. Portrait.

Vol. V. Documents, chiefly unpublished, relating to the Huguenot emigration to Virginia and to the settlement at Manakin-town, with an appendix of genealogies, presenting data of the Fontaine, Maury, Dupuy, Trabue, Marye, Chastain, Cocke, and other families. Edited and compiled for the Society by R. A. Brock. Richmond, 1886. 8vo, pp. xx (1), 247. Folded sheet.

Vol. VI. Miscellaneous papers, 1672–1865, now first printed from the manuscripts in the collections of the Virginia Historical Society, comprising charter of the Royal African Company, 1672; Report on the Huguenot settlement, 1700; Papers of George Gilmer, of "Pen Park," 1775–1778; Orderly book of Capt. George Stubblefield, 1776; Career of the ironclad *Virginia*, 1862; Memorial of Johnson's Island, 1862–1865; Beale's Cavalry Brigade parole, 1865, edited by R. A. Brock. Richmond, 1887. 8vo (6), pp. 374. Plate.

Vol. VII. Abstract of the proceedings of the Virginia Company of London, 1619–1624, prepared from the records of the Library of Congress, by Conway Robinson, and edited with an introduction and notes by R. A. Brock. Vol. I. Richmond, 1888. 8vo.

Vol. VIII. Abstract of the proceedings of the Virginia Company of London, 1619–1624, prepared from records in the Library of Congress, by Conway Robinson, and edited with an introduction and notes by R. A. Brock. Vol. II. Richmond, 1889. 8vo, pp. 300.

Vol. IX. The history of the Federal Convention of 1788, with some account of the eminent Virginians of that era who were members of the body, by Hugh Blair Grigsby, LL. D., with a biographical sketch of the author and illustrative notes. Edited by R. A. Brock. Vol. I. Richmond, Va. Published by the Society, 1890. 8vo, pp. xxvii, 372.

Vol. X. The history of the Virginia Federal Convention of 1788, with some account of the eminent Virginians of that era who were members of the body, by Hugh Blair Grigsby, LL. D., with a biographical sketch of the author and illustative notes. Edited by R. A. Brock. Vol. II. 1891. 8vo, pp. 411.

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VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Proceedings at the annual meeting, February 24, 1882, with the address of William Wirt Henry. The settlement at Jamestown, with particular reference to the late attacks upon Capt. John Smith, Pocahontas, and John Rolfe. Richmond, 1882.
8vo, pp. 63.

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Address at the annual meeting of the Historical Society of Virginia in the capitol at Richmond in January, 1850, by P. Slaughter, D. D. Reported and printed for the Society by its secretary, William Maxwell, LL. D. Richmond, 1888.
8vo, pp. 8.

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. A list of the portraits in oil, engravings, etc., in the rooms of the Westmoreland Club, chiefly the property of the Society. By Robert A. Brock. Richmond, 1888.
16mo, pp. 4.

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. A narrative of the leading incidents of the organization of the first popular movement in Virginia in 1865 to reestablish peaceful relations between the Northern and Southern States, and of the subsequent efforts of the "Committee of Nine," in 1869 to secure the restoration of Virginia to the Union. By Alex. H. H. Stuart. 1888. Richmond.
8vo, pp. 72.
Prepared in accordance with a resolution of the Society.

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography. Published quarterly, by the Virginia Historical Society, for the year ending June 30, 1894. Vol. I. Richmond, 1894.
8vo, pp. xxxii, 484.
Contents: Proceedings of the Society for the six months ending July 1, 1893; Diary of Capt. John Davis, of the Pennsylvania line, March 26, 1781, to January 11, 1782; Letters of William Fitzhugh, 1674–1682; Proclamation of Nathaniel Bacon, p. 55; List of officers, sailors, and marines of the Virginia navy in the American Revolution; Speech of Sir William Berkeley and Declaration of the assembly, March, 1651; Abstract of Virginia land patents; Notes and queries; Book reviews; The Illinois regiment and the Northwestern territory; Virginia and the act of navigation; Discourse of the Old Company; Bacon's rebellion; Proceedings of December 14, 1893, with constitution and list of officers and members; Public officers in Virginia, 1680; Virginia troops in French and Indian wars; John Taylor, of Caroline; Free schools and the church in the seventeenth century; Commodore Walter Brooke; Specific taxes, 1780, in Henry County, Va., 1780; Necrology; Public officers in Virginia, 1702–1714; Fitzhugh family in England; The mutiny in Virginia, 1635; Declaration of Sir John Harvey touching the mutinous proceedings of the council in Virginia; Proposals for reducing the rebels in Virginia (Bacon's rebellion); Did George Percy denounce Smith's History of Virginia?

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography. Vol. II. Richmond, [1895].
8vo, pp. (4) ii, 482.
Contents: Public officers in Virginia, 1702-1714; Letters of William Fitzhugh; Virginia troops in French and Indian wars; Affairs in Virginia in 1626; The first legislative assembly in Virginia, at Jamestown, 1619, by W. W. Henry; Abstracts of Virginia land patents; The Flournoy family, by Flournoy Rivers; Notes and queries; List of counties and cities of Virginia, by R. S. Thomas; The house of burgesses, 1639; Clerks of Middlesex, 1673–1892, by B. B. Chowning; Total amount of taxable property in Norfolk County for 1784; Frontier forts in Bath County; Instructions to Governor Yeardley, 1618; Causes of discontent in Virginia, 1676; Two wills of the seventeenth century—Richard Kemp (1656), John Laurence (1684);

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Parishes of Norfolk County; Claiborne genealogy, by A. S. Tatum; * Library of Dabney Carr, 1773, with notices of Carr family; Virginia officers men in the Continental line; Instructions to Berkeley, 1642; Northampton gr ances, 1671; Racing in colonial Virginia; Act to incorporate the Virginia Hist cal and Philosophical Society, 1834; Letter of John Benger, 1762, in regard to Brayne estate in England; Will of Thomas Marshall; Extracts from Prin Anne County records, by E. W. James; Instructions to Yeardley, 1626; Ind wars in Augusta County, Va.; Maj. Robert Beverley and his descendants, W. G. Stanard; Abstracts of Virginia land patents, by W. G. Stanard; The Lan family.

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Historic elements in Virginia educat and literary effort. A paper read before the Society December 1891. By J. B. Henneman. [Richmond, 1892.]

8vo, pp. 22.

Reprinted from *Virginia Historical Collections*, Vol. XI, 1892.

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Organization and list of publications the Society. Richmond, 1894.

8vo, pp. vii.

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. In memoriam. Thomas Hicks Wyn

Broadside.

288. *WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY.*

Lexington, Va.

WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY. Historical Papers. Nos. 1–5. Bal more, 1890–95.

8vo, pp. iv, 129.

No. 2. Early history of Washington College, now Washington and Lee U versity, by Henry Ruffner; Washington College, by S. L. Campbell; Letter the location of Robert Alexander's school, John Brown's residence, and Mou Pleasant. J. T. Patton.

No. 2. The founders of Washington College, by H. B. Gigsby. Address bef the Alumni Association of Washington College, by A. Alexander, June 29, 18 pp. vii, 140.

No. 3. The Scotch-Irish settlers in the valley of Virginia; Alumni address Washington College, Lexington, Va., July 1, 1859, by Bolivar Christian; Notes the History of Washington Academy and College, from 1799 to 1829, by Sidney Baxter; Notices of the life, character, and work of Dr. George A. Baxter; Sketch of trustees, continued: Rev. Samuel Conick, Thomas Edgar, Rev. James Mitch Rev. Samuel Houston, Rev. John P. Campbell, M. D.; Dr. Samuel L. Campbe Col. James McDowell, by Mrs. S. C. P. Miller; Benjamin Grigsby; Rev. Samu Brown, Samuel and William Lyle, James Ramsey, John Montgomery, trustee William McClung and many alumni, or the Lyle chapter in the history Washington College, by William Henry Ruffner, LL. D. Baltimore, 1892, p vii, 167.

No. 4. Continuation of the history of Washington College, embracing the admi istration of Rev. George A. Baxter, D. D., president, 1799–1829, with sketches alumni of that period, by William Henry Ruffner, LL. D.; Sketches of trustee Gen. Samuel Blackburn, Rev. William McPheetors, D. D., Judge John Brow James J. Mayers, Robert White, Capt. Henry McClung, Hon. William Taylor, D William McCue, Col. Henry Bowyer, Rev. Andrew B. Davidson, Allen Taylo Rev. James Morrison. Baltimore, 1893. pp. vii, 194. Portrait.

No. 5. Continuation of the history of Washington College, embracing th regency of Rev. Henry Ruffner, D. D., 1829–30, with sketches of distinguishe alumni: Lewis Ruffner, George W. Summers, Rev. William S. Plum, D. D., William Henry Ruffner, LL. D.; Sketches of trustees, continued: Col. Samu McDowell Reid, James McDowell. Baltimore, 1895. pp. vii, 210. Portrait.

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289. *WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE.*

Williamsburg, Va.

WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE. Quarterly Historical Papers. Vol. I. Williamsburg, [1893].

8vo, pp. 64, 66, 135, 211.

Same. Reprint. Williamsburg, 1893. 8vo, pp. (2) 234, xxi.

Contents: Williamsburg Lodge of Masons, by L. G. Tyler; A lost paper of Thomas Jefferson, by Kate Mason Rowland; A first Roman Catholic priest [Raymond, of Norfolk County, 1687]; Marriage-license bonds on file in York County court, by L. G. Tyler; Early presidents of William and Mary, by L. G. Tyler; Lieut. Col. Walter Chiles, by L. G. Tyler; Virginia threads for the future historian, by E. D. Neill; Pedigree of a representative Virginia planter [Edward Diggs], by L. G. Tyler; Maj. Edmund Cheesman, jr., by L. G. Tyler; Original letters; Brett-Isham-Randolph, by W. G. Stanard; The Ludwell family, by W. G. Stanard; Coats of arms in Virginia, by L. G. Tyler; James Silk Buckingham, by E. W. James; Portraits of colonial Virginians, by R. A. Brock; Witchcraft in Virginia; Journal of the meetings of the presidents and masters of William and Mary College, 1729–1784; * * * Northampton County, Lancaster County, Elizabeth City County; Virginia Randolphs, by R. A. Brock; Births and baptisms, Norfolk County, Va., by E. W. James; Vestrymen of Elizabeth River Parish, by E. W. James; McClurg descent, by J. B. McCaw; English origin of the Carters, by W. G. Stanard; Spottsylvania County marriage licenses, 1726–1744; John Washington on a trading voyage in the "East country," by W. G. Stanard; Virginia under the Commonwealth, by L. G. Tyler; The Ohio Company, by Kate Mason Rowland; Princess Anne County marriage bonds, by E. W. James; Carrington family; Henry Woodhouse, by E. W. James.

WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE. Quarterly Historical Papers. Vol. II. Williamsburg, 1894.

8vo, pp. xvi, 282.

Contents: Temple farm, York, Va., by L. G. Tyler; Virginians at Oxford, by W. G. Stanard; Coats of arms in Virginia; Virginia's past in portraiture, by R. A. Brock; Col. John Washington, by L. G. Tyler, Journal of the meetings of the president and masters of William and Mary College, by L. G. Tyler; Witchcraft in Virginia; * * * The bicentennial celebration of the college; Ancestry of George Wythe, by L. G. Tyler; Abstracts from Princess Anne County marriage licenses, 1765–66; Old tombstones in York and James City counties, by L. G. Tyler; Morson-Scott-Payne; The Lightfoot family, by L. G. Tyler; The Ennolls and Waggaman families, of Maryland; The Calthorpes; The Spotswood boys at Eton in 1760, by S. C. Grinnan; Slave owners in Princess Anne County, by E. W. James; Rev. John Wilson, by E. W. James; Calthorpe pedigrees, with an account of the Howard family, by L. G. Tyler; Libraries in colonial Virginia; New England and the slave trade, by R. A. Brock; Extracts from the records of Lower Norfolk and Princess Anne counties, by E. W. James; Judge St. George Tucker's pamphlet in relation to Williamsburg, and letter to Judge John Tyler, with notes, by L. G. Tyler; Marriage licenses granted in Elizabeth City County from 1689 to 1699; Inscriptions on old tombs in Gloucester County, by L. G. Tyler; Throckmorton.

WASHINGTON.

290. *STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Tacoma, Wash.

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Washington Historical Magazine. A record of State history. Published by the State Historical Society. Vol. I, October, 1893. No. 1. Tacoma, 1893.

8vo.

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WEST VIRGINIA.

291. *WEST VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Morgantown, W. Va.

WEST VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Constitution and by-laws. Org
ized December 30, 1869. Morgantown, 1870.
8vo, pp. 8. Circular. Broadside.

WEST VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Proceedings. Vol. I, part 1. M
gantown, 1871.
8vo, pp. 150.
Contents: Preliminary meetings, September 30, December 30, 1869; Constituti
By-laws; Geological survey of West Virginia, by J. J. Stevenson; Meeti
February 9, 1870; Report of committee to present memorial on geological surv
to the legislature, Historical studies and historical societies, by A. Mart
"Annals of the Pan Handle," by W. K. Pendleton; First annual meeting, Ju
15, 1870; Historical and descriptive notice of the Berkeley Springs, by D.
Strother; Second annual meeting, June 14, 1871; Geographical history of Mon
galia County, W. Va., by W. T. Willey; Appendix.

WEST VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. A brief history of the soldie
medals issued by the State of West Virginia as "tokens of respec
to those of her citizens who served in the Army of the United Stat
from 1861 to 1865. By Horace Edwin Hayden. Paper read before t
Historical Society of West Virginia, June 10, 1879. Wilkesbarre, 18
8vo, pp. 17 Plate.

WISCONSIN.

292. *MILWAUKEE PIONEER ASSOCIATION.*

Milwaukee, Wis.

MILWAUKEE PIONEER ASSOCIATION. Alexander Mitchell. A memor
address, by J. P. McGregor, February 22, 1888. Milwaukee, 1888.
8vo, pp. 15.

293. *OLD SETTLERS' ASSOCIATION OF SAUK COUNTY.*

OLD SETTLERS' ASSOCIATION OF SAUK COUNTY. Programmes of seco
and third reunions, 1873 and 1874. With outline sketches of Sa
County.
8vo.

OLD SETTLERS' ASSOCIATION OF SAUK COUNTY. Transactions, June
1872.
8vo, pp. 20. No title-page.

294. *OLD SETTLERS' CLUB OF MILWAUKEE COUNTY.*

Milwaukee, Wis.

OLD SETTLERS' CLUB OF MILWAUKEE COUNTY. A paper on the judici
and legal condition of the Territory of Wisconsin at and after i
organization. By A. G. Miller, D. A. J. Upham, and W. A. Prentis
Read before the Club by Judge Miller, July 4, 1870. Milwaukee, 187
8vo, pp. 17.

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OLD SETTLERS' CLUB OF MILWAUKEE COUNTY. A paper on the number, locality, and times of removal of the Indians of Wisconsin, with appendix containing chronology of Wisconsin; By I. A. Lapham, Levi Blossom, and G. G. Dousman, a committee of the Club. Milwaukee, 1870.

8vo, pp. 27. Map.

OLD SETTLERS' CLUB OF MILWAUKEE COUNTY. Address to the Club, by E. Chase, July 4, 1872, on Milwaukee history. Milwaukee, 1872.

8vo, pp. 10.

OLD SETTLERS' CLUB OF MILWAUKEE COUNTY. Annual address, January 6, 1873, by A. G. Miller. Milwaukee, 1873.

8vo, pp. 14.

OLD SETTLERS' CLUB OF MILWAUKEE COUNTY. Annual address, January 5, 1874, by A. G. Miller. Published by order of the Club. Milwaukee, 1874.

8vo, pp. 12.

OLD SETTLERS' CLUB OF MILWAUKEE COUNTY. An historical poem. Milwaukee's early days. By J. S. Burk. Read before the Club, January 5, 1874. Milwaukee, 1874.

8vo, pp. 16.

OLD SETTLERS' CLUB OF MILWAUKEE COUNTY. Annual address [Reminiscences of Milwaukee County], January 5, 1875, by I. A. Lapham. Milwaukee, 1875.

8vo, pp. 10.

OLD SETTLERS' CLUB OF MILWAUKEE COUNTY. Annual address, January 4, 1875, by I. A. Lapham. Milwaukee, 1875.

8vo, pp. 10.

OLD SETTLERS' CLUB OF MILWAUKEE COUNTY. Increase Allen Lapham. Biographical sketch, read before the Old Settlers' Club, December 11, 1875, by S. S. Sherman. Milwaukee, 1876.

8vo, pp. 80. Portrait.

295. *OLD SETTLERS' SOCIETY OF LA FAYETTE COUNTY.*

OLD SETTLERS' SOCIETY OF LAFAYETTE COUNTY. Address before the Society, June 3, 1874. By M. M. Strong.

From *LaFayette County Democrat*, June 12, 1874.

296. *OLD SETTLERS' SOCIETY, RACINE COUNTY.*

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Vol. VII. List of officers, etc.; Vinland, by L. G. Power; Early history of St. George's Church, Halifax; Papers relating to early history of Church of England in Nova Scotia; Deportation of negroes from Nova Scotia to Sierra Leone, by Governor Archibald; In memoriam: J. W. Ritchie. 1891. pp. 154 (6).

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NOVA SCOTIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Inquiries into the history of the Acadian parish of Pisiquid. Part 3. The Abbé Casgrain's charges against the Nova Scotia Historical Society and the Record commission. [By Henry Youle Hind.] [Halifax, 1889.]

8vo, pp. 9–32. No title-page.

"In consequence of misapprehensions respecting the character of this paper and the subjects of which it treats, a few copies of part 3 have been struck off prior to the publication of the whole paper in the proper form and place."

NOVA SCOTIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Proceedings of the Haliburton of the University of King's College, Nova Scotia. Haliburton: the man and the writer. (A study.) By F. Blake Crofton. Windsor, Nova Scotia. January, 1889.

8vo, pp. 73 (4). Portrait.

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312. *NUMISMATIC AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY OF MONTREAL.*

NUMISMATIC AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY OF MONTREAL. The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal. Vol. I. Montreal, 1872–1874.

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313. *PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF THE COUNTY OF YORK ONTARIO.*

Toronto. Canada.

PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF THE COUNTY OF YORK, ONTARIO. Centennial of Upper Canada, now the Province of Ontario: the hundredth anniversary of the establishment of the representative system, July 16, 1792. A paper read before the Pioneer and Historical Society of the County of York, Ontario. By Henry Scadding. Toronto, [1892].

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

On page 784 add:

LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Publications of the Louisiana Histo Society, New Orleans, La., 1895. New Orleans, 1895.

8vo, pp. 35.

Contents: Report of Prof. Alcée Fortier, as chairman of committee on worl archives; Address of President Fortier at annual meeting; Report of Jol Ficklen, secretary and treasurer; Oration of Dr. B. M. Palmer; List of of and members.

LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Publications of the Louisiana Histo Society, Vol. I, Part II, 1895. New Orleans, 1895.

8vo, pp. 49, facsimile of Andrew Jackson letter.

Contents: Resolutions on the death of Charles Gayarré; Old Colonial Pa by Alcée Fortier; A Relic of the Confederacy, by Thomas J. Semmes; The Florida Resolution, by Henry L. Faurot; A Letter from Gen. Andrew Jac (January 7, 1815), by William H. Seymour; An Old Manuscript, reviewe Grace King.

LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Publications of the Louisiana Histor Society, Vol. I, Part III, 1896. New Orleans, 1896.

8vo, pp. 42.

Contents: List of Members; Minutes of the Secretary; Sketch of Pierre gry; The West Florida Revolution; The Capture of Fort Charlotte; The Defe of New Orleans in 1797; Letter of Gen. Andrew Jackson (May 19, 1821); Pub tions received.

On page 826, in contents of Vol. I, Publications of the Colonial Soci of Massachusetts, omit "by Washington"; for Edmund G. Wheelwri read *Edward M. Wheelwright;* for Boynton read *Baynton;* and for ce articles read *contributions.* (Corrections received from the author after work was stereotyped.)

On page 1135 add:

WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE. Quarterly Historical Papers, Vol. Williamsburg, [1895].

8vo, pp. xxiii (1), 286.

Contents: The Norfolk Academy, by E. W. James; President Madison and John Taylor of Carolina, by A. G. Grinnan; Naturalization papers of Nich Yager; A Few Things about our County [Gloucester, Va.], by W. B. Taliafe Inscriptions on tombstones in Gloucester County; Libraries in Colonial Virgi by E. W. James; Throckmorton of England and Virginia, by W. G. Stan Slave Owners in Princess Anne County; Journals of the meetings of the presi and masters of William and Mary College; Will of Sir Philip Honywood; Colonial Council of Virginia; The Seal of Virginia; Grace Sherwood, the Virg Witch, by E. W. James; Tolman Family; The Lightfoot Family; The Pea Family; Bacon's Speech at Green Spring; Records of Surry County; Lamb ily; Writ of Habeas Corpus; Sir William Thompson, by K. M. Rowland; C William Carver, by E. W. James; Coats of Arms in Virginia; Bruton Chu The Jameson Family; Letters of William Beverley; The Listers of Virgi Tombstones in Mathews, Northampton, and Accomac counties; Shield Fan Historical and Genealogical Notes; Index.

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